



ANCIENT MACEDONIA

PAPERS READ AT THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL
SYMPOSIUM HELD IN THESSALONIKI,
26-29 AUGUST 1968

Edited by
BASIL LAOURDAS
CH. MAKARONAS



INSTITUTE FOR BALKAN STUDIES
THESSALONIKI
1970

Diethnēs Symposio gia tēn Archaia Makedonia
Archaia Makedonia

ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ

ΑΝΑΚΟΙΝΩΣΕΙΣ ΚΑΤÀ ΤΟ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ
ΔΙΕΘΝΕΣ ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟΝ ΕΝ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ,
26-29 ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΥ 1968

Ἐπιμελεία
ΒΑΣ. ΛΑΟΥΡΔΑ
Χ. ΜΑΚΑΡΟΝΑ

DF
261
.M2
A6
no. 1



ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ
1970

45/30

INDIANA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

5-26-77
11-22-80

ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ

Ἀπὸ τῆς 26ης μέχρι τῆς 29ης Αὐγούστου συνήλθεν εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην Διεθνὲς Συμπόσιον μὲ θέμα «Ἡ Ἀρχαία Μακεδονία», ὀργανωθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰδρύματος Μελετῶν τῆς Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἵμου τῆς Ἐταιρείας Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν, ἐν συνεργασίᾳ μετὰ τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης, τῆς παρὰ τῷ Ὑπουργεῖῳ Προεδρίας Κυβερνήσεως Γενικῆς Διευθύνσεως Ἀρχαιοτήτων καὶ Ἀναστηλώσεως καὶ τῶν Πανεπιστημίων Οὐτσκόνσιν καὶ Καλιφορνίας εἰς Λὸς Ἀντζελες.

Κατ' αὐτὸ ἐγένοντο 34 ἐπιστημονικαὶ ἀνακοινώσεις δημοσιευόμεναι ἐν τοῖς ἐπομένοις, πλὴν τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν τίτλον *Delphes et la Macédoine* ἀνακοινώσεως τοῦ καθηγητοῦ κ. Georges Daux, δημοσιευθησομένης, κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν του, ἀργότερον.

Ἡ ἑναρξίς τοῦ Συμποσίου ἐγένετο τὴν πρωτὴν τῆς Δευτέρας 26 Αὐγούστου 1968 εἰς τὴν αἴθουσαν τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἐταιρείας Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν.

Κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀπηύθυναν χαιρετιστηρίους προσφωνήσεις πρὸς τοὺς συνέδρους ὁ Πρόεδρος τοῦ Ἰδρύματος, καὶ οἱ ἐκπρόσωποι τῶν συνεργασθέντων εἰς τὴν ὀργάνωσιν ἡμετέρων καὶ ξένων ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἰδρυμάτων, ἦτοι: ὁ κ. Κ. Γκανιάτσας, Πρύτανης τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης, ὁ καθηγητὴς κ. Σπ. Μαρινάτος, Ἀκαδημαϊκός, Γεν. Ἐπιθεωρητὴς Ἀρχαιοτήτων καὶ Ἀναστηλώσεως, ὁ κ. Charles F. Edson, καθηγητὴς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τοῦ Wisconsin καὶ ὁ κ. Paul A. Clement, καθηγητὴς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τῆς Καλιφορνίας ἐν Los Angeles.

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἠκολούθησαν αἱ τακτικαὶ συνεδρίαί, μὲ τὸ ἐξῆς πρόγραμμα:

ΗΜΕΡΑ ΠΡΩΤΗ, 26 Αὐγούστου. Πρὸ μεσημβρίας. Προεδρία J.M.R. Cormack Ὁμιληταί: Οἱ κ.κ. Charles F. Edson, Σπ. Μαρινάτος, N.G.L. Hammond καὶ J.R. Ellis. Μετὰ μεσημβρίαν. Προεδρία κ. Ch. F. Edson. Ὁμιληταί: οἱ κ.κ. G. Mihailov, George J. Stagakis, Ἐμμ. Μικρογιαννάκης καὶ Ἄνδρ. Βαβρίτσας.

ΗΜΕΡΑ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ, 27 Αὐγούστου. Πρὸ μεσημβρίας. Προεδρία κ. Christian Habicht. Ὁμιληταί: Οἱ κ.κ. Harry J. Dell, John A. Alexander, Georges

Daux και Α. Giovannini. Μετά μεσημβρίαν. Προεδρία κ. N.G.L. Hammond. Όμιληταί: Οί κ.κ. Άπόστ. Δασκαλάκης, Χαρ. Μακαρόνας, Μ. Άνδρόνικος, Γ. Μπακαλάκης και Δημ. Κανατσούλης.

ΗΜΕΡΑ ΤΡΙΤΗ, 28 Αδγούστου. Πρό μεσημβρίας. Προεδρία κ. Georges Daux. Όμιληταί: Οί κ.κ. J.M.R. Cormack, Φώτιος Πέτσας, ή δις Άγγελική Άνδρειωμένου και ό κ. Michael John Vickers. Μετά μεσημβρίαν. Προεδρία κ. Frank W. Walbank. Όμιληταί: οί κ.κ. Paul A. Clement, Pierre A. MacKay, Christian Habicht και I. Τουράτσογλου.

ΗΜΕΡΑ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ, 29 Αδγούστου. Πρό μεσημβρίας. Προεδρία Paul A. Clement. Όμιληταί: οί κ.κ. Frank W. Walbank, R.A. Tomlinson, ή δις Siegrid Düll και ό κ. Rex Witt. Μετά μεσημβρίαν: Προεδρία κ. Άπ. Δασκαλάκη. Όμιληταί: οί κ.κ. Άγαπητός Τσοπανάκης, Lloyd L. Gunderson, K. Μητσάκης, Robert W. Hartle και ή Ka Maria Marinescu-Himu.

Είς συνοπτικές συμπερασματικές παρατηρήσεις προέβη μετά τó πέρας τών ανακοινώσεων ό κ. Charles F. Edson.

Τέλος ό Πρόεδρος τού Ίδρύματος Καθηγητής κ. Χ. Φραγκίστας απέχαιρέτησε δι' όλίγων τούς συνέδρους, εύχαριστήσας αυτούς διά τήν συμμετοχήν των είς τó Συμπόσιον.

Είς τās δημοσιευομένας ένταθθα ανακοινώσεις, αί όποιαι καταχωρούνται καθ' ήν σειράν άναγνώσθησαν, τηρείται ή όρθογραφία τών όνομάτων και τών τοπωνυμίων τήν όποιαν ακολουθεί έκαστος τών συνέδρων. Ή διόρθωσις τών τυπογραφικών δοκιμίων έγέμετο υπό τής κ. Λουίζας Συνδίκας Λαούρδα, έν συνθεργασία μετά τών συγγραφέων, τó Εύρετήριον Όνομάτων και Λέξεων συνετάγη υπό τής φιλόλογου δ. Θωμαΐδος Βέρρου ή δέ έκτύπωσις εΐναι έργον τού τυπογραφικού οίκου Έμμ. Σφακιανάκη.

Θεσσαλονίκη
Αδγουςτος 1970

ΒΑΣ. ΛΑΟΥΡΔΑΣ - Χ. ΜΑΚΑΡΟΝΑΣ

ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΑ

Προσφωνήσεις	11-14
Charles F. Edson, University of Wisconsin: <i>Early Macedonia.</i>	17-44
Sp. Marinatos, Academy of Athens: <i>Mycenaeen Elements within the Royal Houses of Macedonia</i> (Πίν. I-III).	45-52
N.G.L. Hammond, University of Bristol: <i>The Archaeological Background to the Macedonian Kingdom</i> (Πίν. IV-V).	53-67
J. R. Ellis, Monash University, Clayton, Victoria, Australia: <i>The Security of the Macedonian Throne under Philip II.</i>	68-75
Georgi Mihailov, Université, Sofia: <i>La Thrace et la Macédoine jusqu'à l'invasion des Celtes.</i>	76-85
George S. Stagakis, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee: <i>Observations on the Έταίροι of Alexander the Great.</i>	86-102
Emm. Mikrojannakis, University of Athens: <i>The Diplomatic Contacts between Alexander III and Darius III.</i>	103-108
A. K. Βαβρίτσας, Γενική Διεύθυνσις 'Αρχαιοτήτων και 'Αναστηλώσεως: <i>Σχέσεις της Μακεδονίας με την Θράκην και ιδίως την Σαμοθράκην κατά την Έλληνιστικήν εποχήν</i> (Πίν. VI-XII).	109-114
Harry J. Dell, University of Virginia: <i>The Western Frontier of the Macedonian Monarchy.</i>	115-126
John A. Alexander, Georgia State University, Atlanta: <i>Cassandra during the Macedonian Period: An Epigraphical Commentary.</i>	127-146
A. Giovannini, Universität, Heidelberg: <i>Philipp V., Perseus und die delphische Amphiktyonie.</i>	147-154
Ap. Dascalakis, Université d'Athènes: <i>L'origine de la maison royale de Macédoine et les légendes relatives de l'antiquité.</i>	155-161

- X. I. Μακαρόνας, Ίδρυμα Μελετῶν Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἵμου: *Χρονολογικά ζητήματα τῆς Πέλλης* (Πίν. XIII-XIX). 162-167
- Manolis Andronikos, University of Thessaloniki: *Excavations at Vergina. Presentation of the Final Report.* 168-171
- Γ. Μπακαλάκης, Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης: *Τὸ λατομεῖο τῆς ἀρχαίας Κύρρου(;) (Πίν. XX-XXXI).* 172-183
- Δ. Κανατσούλης, Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης: *Ἡ ὁργάνωσις τῆς Ἀνω Μακεδονίας κατὰ τοὺς Ρωμαϊκοὺς χρόνους.* 184-192
- J.M.R. Cormack, King's College, University of Aberdeen: *Progress Report on the Greek Inscriptions on the Trite Meris for IG X (Πίν. XXXII-XL).* 193-202
- Φ. Μ. Πέτσας, Γενικὴ Διεύθυνσις Ἀρχαιοτήτων καὶ Ἀναστηλώσεως: *Αἰγαι-Πέλλα-Θεσσαλονίκη* (Πίν. XLI-LX). 203-227
- Ἀγγελικὴ Κ. Ἀνδρειωμένου, Γενικὴ Διεύθυνσις Ἀρχαιοτήτων καὶ Ἀναστηλώσεως: *Τρεῖς ὑπόγεια ταφικὰ οἰκοδομήματα ἐν τῇ Δυτικῇ Μακεδονίᾳ* (Πίν. LXI-LXII). 228-238
- Michael J. Vickers, University College, Dublin: *Towards Reconstruction of the Town Planning of Roman Thessaloniki.* 239-251
- Paul A. Clement, University of California, Los Angeles: *The Chalcidic Coinage: Epilogue* (Πίν. LXIII-LXXII). 252-255
- Pierre A. Mackay, University of Washington, Seattle: *The Coinage of Macedonian Republics, 168-146 b. Chr.* (Πίν. LXXIII-LXXIV) 256-264.
- Christian Habicht, Universität, Heidelberg: *Epigraphische Zeugnisse zur Geschichte Thessaliens unter der makedonischen Herrschaft* (Πίν. LXXV-LXXVI). 265-279
- Ι. Π. Τουράτσογλου, Γενικὴ Διεύθυνσις Ἀρχαιοτήτων καὶ Ἀναστηλώσεως: *Δύο νέα ἐπιγραφικὰ μαρτυρεῖαι περὶ τοῦ Κοινοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων κατὰ τὸν τρίτον μεταχριστιανικὸν αἰῶνα* (Πίν. LXXVII-LXXVIII). 280-290
- F. W. Walbank, University of Liverpool: *Polybius and Macedonia.* 291-307
- R.A. Tomlinson, University of Birmingham: *Ancient Macedonian Symposia.* 308-315

Siegrfd Düll, München: <i>De Macedonum Sacris. Gedanken zu einer Neubearbeitung der Götterkulte in Makedonien.</i>	316-323
Rex Wit, University of London: <i>The Egyptian Cults in Ancient Macedonia.</i>	324-333
Ἀγαπητὸς Τσοπανάκης, Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης: <i>Γλωσσικὰ Μακεδονίας.</i>	334-352
Lloyd L. Gunderson, Saint Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota: <i>Early Elements in the Alexander Romance.</i>	353-375
K. Mitsakis, Oxford University: <i>The Tradition of the Alexander Romance in Modern Greek Literature.</i>	376-386
Robert W. Hartle, Queens College, City University of New York: <i>The Image of Alexander the Great in Seventeenth Century France (Πίv. LXXIX-LXXXIV).</i>	387-406
Maria Marinescu-Himou, Université de Bucarest: <i>La légende d'Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature roumaine.</i>	407-416
Εὐρετήριο	419-436

ΠΡΟΣΦΩΝΗΣΕΙΣ

Προσφωνήσις τοῦ Καθηγητοῦ κ. Χ. Φραγκίστα, Προέδρου τῆς Ἑταιρείας Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν καὶ τοῦ Ἰδρύματος Μελετῶν τῆς Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἰμου, κατὰ τὴν ἑναρξιν τοῦ Συμποσίου.

Κύριοι Σύνεδροι,

Ἡ Ἑταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν καὶ τὸ Ἰδρυμα Μελετῶν τῆς Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἰμου σᾶς ὑποδέχονται εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν τῆς Μακεδονίας μετὰ μεγάλην χαρὰν καὶ πολλὴν ἀγάπην.

Ἐκτιμῶντες βαθύτατα τὸ ἐπιστημονικὸν ἔργον σας καὶ ἰδίᾳ τὴν προσωπικὴν σας συμβολὴν εἰς τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν μυστικῶν τῆς Ἀρχαίας Μακεδονίας, ἐσκέφθημεν νὰ σᾶς καλέσωμεν εἰς τὸ Συμπόσιον τοῦτο, ἵνα γνωρίσωμεν ἀλλήλους καὶ ἵνα σᾶς δώσωμεν τὴν εὐκαιρίαν νὰ μᾶς ἀνακοινώσῃτε τὰ πορίσματα τῶν νεωτέρων ἐρευνῶν σας.

Σᾶς εὐχαριστοῦμεν θερμότατα διότι ἀντεπεκρίθητε εἰς τὴν πρόσκλησίν μας. Εὐχαριστοῦμεν ἐπίσης διὰ τὴν συνεργασίαν τὰ Πανεπιστήμια τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης, τοῦ Wisconsin καὶ τῆς Καλιφορνίας εἰς Los Angeles, ὡς καὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Γενικὴν Διεύθυνσιν Ἀρχαιοτήτων καὶ Ἀναστηλώσεως. Ἰδιαίτερος εὐχαριστοῦμεν τὸν καθηγητὴν τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τοῦ Wisconsin κ. Charles F. Edson διὰ τὴν πολύτιμον συνδρομὴν του εἰς τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ Συμποσίου.

Μὲ τὰ αἰσθήματα ταῦτα σᾶς ἀπευθύνω, κύριοι Σύνεδροι, ἐγκάρδιον χαιρετισμὸν καὶ κηρύσσω τὴν ἑναρξιν τοῦ Συμποσίου «Ἡ ἀρχαία Μακεδονία».

Προσφωνήσις τοῦ κ. Κ. Γκανιάτσα, Πρυτάνεως τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης.

Κύριοι Σύνεδροι,

Ὡς εκπρόσωπος τοῦ Ἀριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης μεταφέρω τοὺς χαιρετισμοὺς τῶν συναδέλφων καὶ ἐκφράζω τὴν χαρὰν μου διὰ τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι, χάρις εἰς τὴν πρωτοβουλίαν τοῦ Ἰδρύματος Μελετῶν τῆς Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἰμου, λαμβάνει χώραν εἰς τὴν πόλιν μας Συμπόσιον περὶ

της Ιστορίας της Μακεδονίας από της εποχής του σιδήρου μέχρι του Γαλερίου.

Είς τὸ Συμβούλιον τοῦ ἐν λόγῳ Ἰδρύματος ἀπευθύνω ἐκ μέρους τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου θερμὰ συγχαρητήρια διὰ τὴν πρωτοβουλίαν συγκλήσεως καὶ διὰ τὴν ὀργάνωσιν τοῦ Συμποσίου.

Αἱ σχετικαὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θέματος ἀνακοινώσεις (ἱστορικαί, ἀρχαιολογικαὶ κ.λ.π.), αἱ ὅποσαι θὰ γίνουν ὑπὸ τῶν διαπρεπῶν ἐπιστημόνων κατὰ τὴν διάρκειαν τοῦ Συμποσίου, θὰ συμβάλουν ἀναμφιβόλως εἰς τὴν λεπτομερεστέραν γνῶσιν τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς Μακεδονίας. Μολονότι αἱ ἀνακοινώσεις τὰς ὁποίας θὰ κάμουν οἱ κύριοι Σύνεδροι θὰ εἶναι ἐπιστημονικῶς ἐνδιαφέρουσαι, ἐν τούτοις θὰ ἦτο εὐχῆς ἔργον νὰ πληθυνθοῦν αἱ ἔρευναι τῶν εἰδικῶν, ὥστε νὰ γνωρίσωμεν καλύτερον τὸ θαῦμα τῆς Ἀρχαίας Μακεδονίας.

Μὲ τὴν πεποίθησιν ὅτι θὰ πράξητε ὅ,τι σᾶς ἐπιβάλλει ἡ ἐπιστημονικὴ σας συνείδησις, σᾶς ἀπευθύνω, ἀγαπητοὶ κύριοι Σύνεδροι, τὸ «καλῶς ἦλθατε» καὶ εὐχομαι ὅπως αἱ ἐργασίαι τοῦ Συμποσίου στεφθοῦν ὑπὸ ἐπιτυχίας καὶ ἀποδώσουν ἀγλαοὺς καρποὺς ἐπ' ἀγαθῇ τῆς ἐπιστήμης καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας.

Προσφωνήσις τοῦ κ. Σπ. Μαρινάτου, Καθηγητοῦ τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν, Ἀκαδημαϊκοῦ καὶ Γενικοῦ Ἐπιθεωρητοῦ Ἀρχαιοτήτων καὶ Ἀναστηλώσεως.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

As a member of the Academy and Professor of the University of Athens and as Head of the Archaeological Service of Greece I extend to you a cordial welcome in our country.

It was happy idea to organize here, in Thessaloniki, a Symposium on Ancient Macedonia. Indeed, Macedonia has been at all times a vital part of Greek land and of Greek economic life. When its own time of greatness came, Macedonia ruled over almost all the lands then known and propagated Greek culture more than any other ruling state in ancient history.

No less vital has been its role during the later periods of Greek history. This town, especially, welcomes you in the name of all periods of Greek civilization. Indeed, Thessaloniki greets you today as the second capital of Greece; she greets you as the site richest beyond all others in precious monuments of Byzantine history and civilization. She greets you as a town that is older than the Macedonian period, from which her actual name originated.

Indeed, she greets you as a town of the Bottiaeans, which began when a part of the Creto-Mycenaean population of Southern Greece fled here to find fertile lands and to enjoy hospitality.

As happens in virtually every corner of the land of Greece, the capital of Macedonia greets you in the name of at least three and a half thousand years of continuous history.

Προσφωνήσις τοῦ κ. Charles F. Edson, Καθηγητοῦ τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Wisconsin.

Κυρίες καὶ Κύριοι,

Ἐχω τὴν τιμὴ, ἐκ μέρους ὄλων τῶν συνέδρων, νὰ ἐκφράσω τὶς θερμὰς εὐχαριστίας μας στὸ Ἰδρυμα Μελετῶν τῆς Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἰμου, ποὺ μὲ τόση εὐγένεια καὶ φροντίδα κατέστησε δυνατὴ τὴ σύγκληση τοῦ πρώτου διεθνoῦς Συμποσίου τῶν μελετητῶν τῆς Ἀρχαίας Μακεδονίας. Τὸ σχέδιο γιὰ ἓνα Συμπόσιο στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη μὲ θέμα τὴν Ἀρχαία Μακεδονία τὸ εἶχαμε συζητήσει μὲ τὸν διευθυντὴ τοῦ Ἰδρύματος, τὸν κ. Βασίλειο Λαούρδα, τὸ φθινόπωρο τοῦ 1966, ὅταν ἦταν μαζί μας στὸ Πανεπιστήμιο τοῦ Wisconsin μὲ τὸ κληροδότημα Herbert Johnson. Ὅλοι, ὅσοι συμμετέχουμε στὸ Συμπόσιο, τοῦ εἴμαστε εὐγνώμονες γιὰ τὴ δραστηριότητά του, τὸν ἐνθουσιασμό του καὶ τὴν φιλικὴ κατανόησή του.

Εἶναι, νομίζω, σωστὸ νὰ παρατηρήσουμε ὅτι ἡ ἱστορία τῆς Ἀρχαίας Μακεδονίας δὲν ἔχει μελετηθῇ ἀνάλογα μὲ τὴ μεγάλῃ σημασία της. Ὑπάρχουν ἀρκετὲς αἰτίες γιὰ τὴν παράλειψη αὐτή, μιὰ ἀπὸ τὶς ὁποῖες εἶναι ὅτι κατὰ τὸ παρελθὸν οἱ συνθήκες ποὺ ἐπικρατοῦσαν στὴν περιοχὴ τῆς Μακεδονίας δὲν ἦταν εὐνοϊκὲς γιὰ συστηματικὴ ἐργασία. Μιὰ ἄλλη αἰτία εἶναι ἡ τάση ποὺ ὑπῆρχε νὰ βλέπουν οἱ ἐπιστήμονες τοὺς ἀρχαίους Μακεδόνες ἀπὸ τὴν ἀποψη τῶν πόλεων-κρατῶν τῆς νοτίου Ἑλλάδος καὶ ἔτσι νὰ παραμελοῦν τοὺς ἐσωτερικοὺς θεσμοὺς καὶ τὴν ὀργάνωση τοῦ βασιλείου τῶν Μακεδόνων.

Ἄς ἐλπίσουμε ὅτι τὸ Συμπόσιο αὐτὸ θὰ ἀποτελέσῃ τὴν ἀρχὴ μιᾶς διεθνoῦς ἐπιστημονικῆς προσπάθειας καὶ συνεργασίας γιὰ τὴν καλύτερῃ γνῶση καὶ κατανόηση τῆς Ἀρχαίας Μακεδονίας καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων Μακεδόνων.

Σὰς εὐχαριστῶ πολὺ καὶ εὐχομαι καλὴν ἐπιτυχία.

Προσφωνήσις τοῦ κ. Paul A. Clement, Καθηγητοῦ τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τῆς California εἰς Los Angeles.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Rector, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is indeed a honour for us in California to be associated with such distinguished institutions and such distinguished individuals in consponsoring this Symposium.

Macedonia was my first love and the vitality of Macedonian studies, I think, the programme of the days to come demonstrates very clearly.

I am looking forward with great pleasure indeed to what is to follow immediately.

Ἀποχαιρετιστήριος προσφώνησις τοῦ Καθηγητοῦ κ. Χ. Φεργκίστα κατὰ τὸ πέρας τοῦ Συμποσίου.

Ὅλα τὰ πράγματα ἔχουν ἓνα τέλος· καὶ τὰ ὥραφα πράγματα εἶναι συνήθως τὰ συντομώτερα. Ἐφθάσαμεν, λοιπόν, καὶ εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ πνευματικοῦ μας Συμποσίου.

Κατὰ τὴν στιγμὴν αὐτὴν ὀφείλω πρῶτα-πρῶτα νὰ εὐχαριστήσω ἐκείνους, οἱ ὅποιοι συνέλαβον τὴν ἰδέαν τοῦ Συμποσίου, τοὺς κυρίους Edson καὶ Λαούρδαν. Ἐν συνεχείᾳ πρέπει νὰ εὐχαριστήσω τοὺς κυρίους Συνέδρους καὶ ἰδιαιτέρως ἐκείνους ἐξ αὐτῶν, οἱ ὅποιοι προέβησαν εἰς ἀνακοινώσεις. Ἐπίσης πρέπει νὰ εὐχαριστήσω τοὺς συνεργάτας μου εἰς τὸ Ἰδρυμα τῶν Μελετῶν τῆς Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἵμου, ὡς καὶ τὰς κυρίας καὶ δεσποινίδας, αἱ ὁποῖαι εἶχον τὴν εὐγένειαν νὰ τοὺς βοηθήσουν διὰ τὴν ὁργάνωσιν τοῦ Συμποσίου. Τέλος, θέλω νὰ εὐχαριστήσω τοὺς φίλους τῆς Ἑταιρείας Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν καὶ τοῦ Ἰδρύματος Μελετῶν Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἵμου, οἱ ὅποιοι διὰ τῆς παρουσίας των ἐτίμησαν τὰς συνεδριάσεις.

Κατὰ τὰς ὀλίγας αὐτὰς ἡμέρας εἶχομεν τὴν εὐκαιρίαν νὰ γνωρίσωμεν ἀλλήλους. Ἐπίσης εἶχομεν τὴν εὐκαιρίαν ἀκούοντες τὰς ἀνακοινώσεις νὰ πλουτίσωμεν τὰς γνώσεις μας καὶ νὰ λάβωμεν ἀφορμὰς νὰ σκεφθῶμεν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα προβλήματα τῆς ἐρεῦνης τῆς ἀρχαίας Μακεδονίας. Ἡμεῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶχομεν τὴν χαρὰν νὰ διαπιστώσωμεν τὰ αἰσθήματα ἀγάπης καὶ φιλίας, τὰ ὁποῖα οἱ προσκεκλημένοι μας τρέφουν πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

Χωριζόμενοι ἐπ' ἀλλήλων δυνάμεθα νὰ ἔχωμεν τὴν πεποίθησιν, ὅτι τὸ πνευματικόν μας Συμπόσιον ἀπετέλεσε γενναίαν συμβολὴν εἰς τὴν μελέτην τῆς Μακεδονίας. Ἡ Ἑταιρεία τῶν Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν καὶ τὸ Ἰδρυμα Μελετῶν τῆς Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἵμου σὰς εὐχαριστοῦν καὶ πάλιν καὶ σὰς εὐχονται καλὴν ἐπάνοδον εἰς τὰς πατρίδας σας. Θὰ διατηρήσωμεν πάντοτε ζωνηράν τὴν ἀνάμνησιν τῆς ἐπισκέψεώς σας εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν τῆς Μακεδονίας.

ΑΝΑΚΟΙΝΩΣΕΙΣ

.

EARLY MACEDONIA

The concept of the frontier has rarely been associated with the study of ancient Greek history. Of course in the larger sense Hellenism, that is, Greek civilization, did maintain a whole series of frontiers along the littorals of the Mediterranean and Black Seas. But impressive as was the cultural achievement in many of these colonial areas and decisive as was Hellenic influence on several of the non-Greek peoples on whose shores the Greeks had settled, no single one of the regions of overseas settlement — with the striking and highly important exception of the colonies in south Italy and Sicily — was to prove decisive for the development of Greek civilization as a whole. The extensive colonization of the Archaic age consisted of coastal settlements only. The characteristic type of Hellenic socio-political organization, the *polis* or city-state, was, in the words of William Scott Ferguson, "incapable of growth except by subdivision,"¹ and the Greeks of the *polis* never sought to achieve a method for the control over and the colonization of extensive continental areas.² Plato's witty characterization of the Greeks as dwelling "like frogs around the edges of a pond"³ is as accurate as it is facetious.

Only one considerable land mass was throughout classical history continuously and exclusively inhabited by Greeks. This was the Greek peninsula itself, and, as the event was to show, the total subjugation of this peninsula by a power alien in spirit to the basic Hellenic values marked decisively the end to the creative period of Greek culture.

Yet this peninsula, the Hellenic homeland with its attendant seas and islands, to the north confronted the wild tribesmen of the Balkan mountains. Beyond these tribes the peoples of Central Europe might be subject to the pressure of still other peoples with the resulting displacements and forced

1. *Greek Imperialism* (Boston, 1913) viii.

2. Note the acute observation of the Roman Cicero (*De re pub.*, 2. 9): "—coloniarum vero quae est deducta a Graiis in Asiam, Thracam, Italiam, Siciliam, Africam praeter unam Magnesiam quam unda non adluat? ita barbarorum agris quasi adtexta videtur ora esse Graeciae—"

3. *Phaedo*, 109 B.

migrations. Such convulsive movements had, in early times, brought the ancestors of the Hellenes themselves southward to the clear light and bright waters of the Aegean, and we need only recall the stormy advent of the Germans and steppe nomads and the imperceptible intrusion of the Slavs in late antiquity.

Surely the serious student of Greek history must sooner or later face the question: Why were the Greeks throughout their history spared barbarian invasion from the north? In the days before the Romans imposed upon them the peace of desolation the Greeks experienced invasion by land only twice. The first was Xerxes' massive invasion of 480 B.C., and the second was the devastating assault of the Gauls two centuries later which aroused profound consternation and terror.

Both these invasions were possible only because the northern frontier of Hellenism had not been maintained. In 480 the young state of Macedonia was not sufficiently strong to challenge the vast resources of the Great King and hence, as a vassal principality, served as the base for Xerxes' attack on Greece. In 279 the death of a Macedonian king in combat on his borders opened the frontier to the Celts, whose warriors ravaged as far south as the famed temple of the Pythian Apollo at Delphi in central Greece. It is proposed here to examine the earlier development of the chief Hellenic frontier and to sketch the origins and growth of a highly individualized society which intense and continuous frontier pressures brought into being.

1.

In contrast to the Greek peninsula the Macedonian area is larger in scale, northern, more austere. High mountain ranges, in antiquity covered by standing forests, separate the valleys through which deep, perennial rivers flow from their headwaters in the Balkan mountains toward the Aegean Sea. This region of lakes, mountains and river basins lacks the fine marbles and, save for points on the coastal periphery, the olive groves so characteristic of Old Greece. But, for ancient circumstances, its own resources were considerable. The forests were to become one of the chief sources in the eastern Mediterranean for such shipbuilding material as timber and pitch.⁴ There were rich deposits of precious metals. The fertile plains grew cereals and furnished good pasturage for sheep, cattle and the horses which were to be the mounts of the famous Companion

4. See notes 46 and 85 below.

Cavalry. Every kind of game abounded, even lions and the wild bull,⁵ the aurochs.*

The region, however, hardly possesses true geographical unity. It is best envisaged as a great circle, the southeastern segment of which is filled by the Aegean Sea. In proportion to its area, Macedonia was to have the longest possible extent of exposed frontier, and that frontier could run only where force of arms maintained it. Cicero, a century after the conquest of Macedonia by the Romans, can speak of the country as "one which so many barbarian nations adjoin that, for its governors, the boundaries of the province are identical with the points of their own swords and spears."⁶

When, in the sixth century before our era, the dawn of history first illuminates the Balkan peninsula, a congeries of barbarous tribes, mostly Thracian, are found occupying the central and eastern portions of what was to become Macedonia, together with other peoples, such as the Paeonians,^{6a} whose ethnic connections remain uncertain. Indeed, down into the fourth century, the Greeks continued to regard the area as part of Thrace.⁷ The coast had of course received considerable Hellenic settlement, particularly on

*The English traveller E. D. Clarke who journeyed from Old Greece into Macedonia at the beginning of the nineteenth century, has left the following impression of the Macedonian landscape: "With regard to the scene of Alexander's birth, it may be truly said, all that Nature hath anywhere exhibited of vast and varied objects, possessing either sublimity or beauty, had their counterpart here: mountains and hills and valleys and plains and rivers and seas and islands; and these, moreover, simultaneously invested with every feature peculiar to all the seasons; with upland ice and snow, with lowland verdure, and summer suns; with barren rocks and fertile fields; altogether constituting such an assemblage of the works of God, as suggested to the Bard of *Israel* his sacred theme of *power and might and majesty and dominion.*"^{8a}

5. Herod 7.126.

5a. E. D. Clarke, L.L.D., *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa*, 4th ed., VII (London, 1818), 429-30.

6. *In Platonem* 16.38.

6a. See I. L. Merker, "The Ancient kingdom of Paeonia," *Balkan Studies*, 6 (1956), 35-54.

7. Hence the phrase *ἐπὶ Θράκης*, "Thraceward," continued to be applied to the Macedonian coasts throughout the pre-Hellenistic period.

the great triple peninsula of Chalcidice which projects about sixty miles southeastward into the Aegean.⁸

But the ultimate origins of the Macedonian state are to be sought far to the west along the reaches of Pindus range, the central spine of the Greek peninsula.⁹ In this remote mountainous region, all but isolated from civilization, we find by the sixth century a group of tribes occupying both sides of the Pindus watershed. Ancient writers refer to these tribes both as "Macedonian" and as "Epirotic." Each had its own particular tribal name and its own royal house. For convenience and for clarity we may, adapting a term from Herodotus,¹⁰ collectively designate these Pindus peoples as "Makednian," although one must emphasize we do not know that these tribes used the word collectively to describe themselves. Like their institutions, their language or dialect seems to have been rudimentary Greek.¹¹ The destiny of the Makednian peoples on the two sides of the Pindus was to be very different. Those inhabiting the eastern slopes were, as we shall see, to be incorporated into the kingdom of Macedonia, while those to the west were to become first members of a federation, or "symmarchy," dominated by the Molossians, the most powerful of these tribes, and then, after about 330 B. C., constituent elements in the federation of the Epirotes, a union in which the Molossians and their kings continued to play the chief role.¹²

At some time around 700 B. C. a noble clan called the Argeadae, "descendants of Argeas," left its original home in Orestis, the basin of Lake Kastoria in the eastern area of the Pindus massif, and migrated eastward in search of

8. See D. W. Bradeen, "The Chalcidians in Thrace," A.J.P., 73 (1952), 356-80.

9. In Aelian (*N.A.* 10.48) Pindus is a son of Makedon.

10. Herod. 1.56.3. and 8.43. In Apollodorus "Library of Mythology" (3.8) Makednos is one of the fifty sons of Lycaon among whom is also Thesprotos. Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Ἀντιτάνια) makes Atintan, the eponym of the "Epirotic" Atintanes, a son of Makedon. Strabo (7.7.7 [449 M]) remarks that "some call the entire area up to Corcyra Macedonia, arguing that the inhabitants have about the same style of tonsure, the same speech, costume and so forth." In another passage (9.5.11 [612 M]) Strabo calls the west Macedonian tribes of the Orestae, Pelagones and Elimiatae "Epirotic."

11. O. Hoffman, *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und Volkstum* (Gottingen, 1906) and J. N. Kalleris, *Les anciens Macédoniens. Étude linguistique et historique*, I, Collection de l'Institut français d'Athènes, No. 81 (Athens, 1954). From Curtius (6.11.4) it appears that some ordinary Macedonians did not understand (Attic?) Greek but needed interpreters: "—qui non erubesceret, Macedo natus, homines linguae suae per interpretem audire." But this need mean no more than that Macedonian was a highly dialectical form of Greek. Cf. below note 122.

12. See N. G. L. Hammond, *Epirus* (Oxford, 1967), 525-40, with the evidence there adduced and discussed.

land for settlement.¹³ The Argeadae and their Makedonian followers ultimately occupied Pieria, the rich coastal plain extending northward from Mt. Olympus, and expelled the native Thracian inhabitants, the Pieres, who left their name to the region.¹⁴ During the next generation or so the Argeadae continued to expand their domain to the north along the western shore of the Thermaic Gulf and finally subjected the area called Bottiaea—Homer's Emathia,¹⁵ the "sandy land," that great alluvial plain due west of the head of the gulf—and drove out the Bottiaeans.¹⁶

The achievement of this conquest is marked by the first specific event in Macedonian history, the capture of the Thracian stronghold Edessa, a strategic site which dominates the main east to west line of communication through the Macedonian area, the later route of the Roman military road called the Via Egnatia. Near Edessa the Argeadae founded their own citadel, Aegae.¹⁷ At Aegae were established the tombs of the Argead kings,¹⁸ who

13. Appian, *Syr.* 63; Diod. 7.15 and Syncellus [Dindorf], I, 373, 498-99. Cf. *Fr. Gr. Hist.*, Nos. 135-36, Fr. 10.

14. Hesiod [West-Merkelbach] Fr. 3, the earliest source to mention the Macedonians, associates them with Pieria. Thucydides (2.99.3) asserts that Pieria was the first conquest of the Argeadae.

15. *Iliad* 14.226.

16. Thucydides (*loc. cit.*) lists Bottiaea as the first region to be occupied by the Argeadae after Pieria. One of the two Macedonian historians named Marsyas (*Fr. Gr. Hist.*, Nos 135-36, Fr. 13) stated that Pieros and Amathos, respectively the eponyms of Pieria and Emathia (roughly the equivalent of Bottiaea), were the two sons of Makedôn. Clearly Marsyas believed that these two districts were the original "Macedonian" territory. Herodotus (7.126) brings the founder of the Argead kingdom from "Upper," i. e. western Macedonia to the "Gardens of Midas," the richly watered area along the eastern base of the Bermium range, and then states, "Setting out from there after they had gained control of this land, they conquered the rest of Macedonia." This passage has led most modern scholars to conclude that the "Gardens of Midas" were the first, the original, Argead conquest. But Herodotus (7.127) asserts that the Loudias and Haliacmon rivers, mixing their waters, bound γῆν τῇν Βοττιαίδα τε καὶ Μακεδονίδα. The "Gardens of Midas" were surely within the district Bottiaea and therefore the "Macedonian land" properly so-called must have been the region to the south of the combined streams of the Loudias and Haliacmon, that is, Pieria. This completely agrees with Thucydides' statement that Pieria was the first Argead conquest. On the course of the rivers see Edson, *Class. Phil.*, 50 (1955), 176 with n. 95.

17. Although late sources such as the scholia to Clement of Alexandria's *Protrepticus* (2.8) and Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus (7.1.10.) assert that Edessa was "renamed" Aegae by the Argeadae, there can be no doubt that the two sites, though doubtless near to each other, were quite distinct. See the following note.

18. The ancient sources always associate the royal tombs with Aegae, never with Edessa: *A.P.* 7. 238; Diod. 22.12; Pliny, *N.H.* 4.33; Plut., *Pyrrhus* 26.12 and the references in the next note.

were buried with elaborate ceremonies climaxed by armed combat between selected Macedonian warriors.¹⁹ The original area of the Argead domain was the coastal plain extending for about sixty miles in a narrow strip along the western shore of the Thermaic Gulf, bounded by high mountain ranges on the south, west and north by the waters of the gulf to the east. In marked contrast to their Makedonian relatives in the Pindus highlands the Argead Macedonians were fully exposed to all the political and economic currents²⁰ and cultural influences of the Aegean world. Unlike the other Makedonian tribes, each of which had its own specific ethnic name, the Argead Macedonians had no particular tribal designation of their own. They were called simply "the Macedonians."²¹

The original institutions of the Argead monarchy were those of early Greeks and indeed of primitive Indo-Europeans in general. At the head of the folk was the patriarchal king who was the war commander and was moreover responsible for the relations of his people with the gods.²² He also acted as judge. An assembly made up of the fighting men chose the new king from the available males of the Argead family, normally the oldest son of the former king, and could express the desires and attitudes of the folk.²³ And there is evidence which perhaps suggests the existence of a Council of Elders.²⁴ Of high importance for the future were the king's Companions, the *Hetairoi*. These nobles were in origin the personal retainers of the king. As elite cavalry they fought for him in battle and in peace served as he desired. In return they received land grants and other perquisites. In social status and function they are most similar to the Homeric *Hetairoi* of the Achaeans rulers²⁵ and recall

19. *Fr. Gr. Hist.*, No. 73, Fr. 1; Diod. 19.52.5.

20. Cf. Edson, *Class. Phil.*, 42 (1947), 91.

21. This is illustrated by the difficulties Thucydides (2.99.6.) encounters in describing the expansion of the Argead kingdom. He is forced to write that "these Macedonians," i.e. those under Argead rule, conquered "a large part of the Macedonians themselves," i.e. the Makedonian tribes of the eastern Pindus. Cf. also Thuc. 4.124.1.

22. There exists as yet no adequate study of the institution of kingship in Macedonia. F. Hampl's Leipzig dissertation, *Der König der Makedonen* (Weida, 1954) has not illuminated the subject. Note, however, A. Aymard, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ [*Mélanges de Visscher*], *Rev. internat. des droits de l'antiquité*, 4 (1950), 61-97.

23. F. Granier, *Die Makedonische Heeresversammlung*, Münchener Beiträge, 13 (Munich, 1931); A. Aymard, "Sur l'assemblée macédonienne," *R.E.A.*, 52 (1950), 115-35.

24. This conclusion is perhaps supported by the specifically Macedonian word *peligán*, "elder." See the discussion in Kallérís, *op. cit.* (above n. 11), 242-45. In the treaty between Athens and Perdiccas II (I.G. I² 71; S. E. G. X 86) as partially reconstructed in *A.T.L.* III, 313, note 6, one may restore [γέροντες rather than the editors' [ἀρχο]ντες.

25. M.P. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae* (London, 1933), Ch. VI, 212-47.

Tacitus' description of the *comitatus* among the early Germans.²⁶ This personal relationship of mutual benefit and obligation was in time to become the foundation of the specifically Macedonian system of government, and it was solemnized by the religious festival of the *Hetairideia* in honor of Zeus Hetairides at which the king presided.²⁷

Other customs and practices reveal the character of early Macedonian society. There are clear traces of the blood feud.²⁸ And in early days, Aristotle tells us, a Macedonian who had not yet killed an enemy was obliged to wear a halter around his waist.²⁹ The marriage ceremony was the severing of loaf of bread with a sword jointly grasped by the bride and groom who then tasted the two portions.³⁰ Feasting and wassail were the relaxation of the aristocracy; the sounding of a trumpet announced the conclusion of the banquet.³¹ Hunting was their passionate avocation, and even a noble of the highest rank who had not yet speared a wild boar without using a net was required to sit, instead of reclining, at table.³² Two Macedonian dances were the *Telesias* and the *Karpala*. The first was a dance of armed warriors. The second mimicked the act of cattle rustling: an armed man attempts to steal an ox from the herder.³³ An old and primitive rite is the formal purification of the army.³⁴ A dog was sacrificed by being cut in two, and the army then paraded ceremonially between the two parts. In the early spring of each year at the beginning of the campaigning season this lustration was performed at the celebration in honor of the god or hero Xandos with the fighting men in full panoply, headed by the king. A sham battle ended this purification. Although the basic religion of the Macedonians was Greek, as is shown by the names of the months and the belief that the folk was descended from Makedôn, son of Zeus, and the royal family from Heracles, there was strong Thracian influence from the peoples the Macedonians had expelled or subdued. This is the origin of the emotional Sabazius worship so widespread among the Macedonians with its local vari-

26. *Germania* 13.3-4.

27. *Athen.* 13. 572d. Compare Heracles Κυνυγίδας. This patronymic epithet is sufficiently attested in Macedonian inscriptions.

28. *Curt.* 6. 11.20. Cf. *Diod.* 19.51. 1 and 5.

29. *Pol.* 1324b.

30. *Curt.* 8.4.27. See M. Renard and J. Servais, "A propos du mariage d'Alexandre et Roxane," *L'Antiquité classique*, 24 (1955), 29-50.

31. *Athen.* 130c.

32. *Athen.* 18a.

33. *Kalléris op.cit.* (above n. 11), 202 and 271.

34. *Op.cit.*, 237-38 with references there cited.

ant of the satyrs, the *Sauadai*, and the wild bacchantes, *Klodonos* and *Mimal-lones*.³⁵

It is little wonder that to Greeks of the old Greek city-states this archaic society with its stolid peasantry, boisterous nobles and patriarchal king should seem alien, un-Hellenic, or, as they would say, "barbarian." The voluminous and heated modern controversy concerning the "nationality" of the ancient Macedonians is essentially beside the point, for never in their history until after the Roman conquest,³⁶ when it no longer mattered, did Greeks really regard Macedonians as brothers.*

Such is our view of the Macedonian monarchy at the beginning of its history. It is a relatively primitive society, loosely organized, and, after the capture of Edessa, no longer consistently aggressive. Indeed the Argead kings were so weak, or so unconcerned, that they did not challenge the presence of two Greek colonies, Pydna and Methone, directly on the Pierian coast of their domain.³⁸ And there are perhaps suggestions that the institution of the kingship itself may have been tending gradually to wither away as it had long before in the city-states of Old Greece.³⁹

But the future of the monarchy and the people was to be assured by their response to an apparently overwhelming menace from without.

*That great Irish scholar and gentleman Sir John Pentland Mahaffy intuitively apprehended the spirit of Macedonian society: "The Macedonian way of life was quite different (i. e. from the Greek) and more like our country gentleman's notion who can afford to despise bodily training in the way of abstinence, who eats and drinks what he likes, nay often drinks to excess, but works off evil effects by those field sports which have always produced the finest type of man—hunting, shooting, fishing—in fact the life of the natural or savage man reproduced with artificial refinements."³⁷

35. Edson, *O.C.D.*, 526.

36. Strabo (7. Fr. 9) writing at the turn of the eras can say that "Macedonia is also Hellas."

37. *Greek Life and Thought from the Age of Alexander to the Roman Conquest* (London, 1887), 88.

38. The mother city of Pynda is unknown. According to Plutarch (*Mor.* 293 A. B.) Methone was an Eretrian colony. I am quite unable to accept Kahrstedt's suggestion (*Hermes*, 81, 1953, 85 ff.) that these two cities were not really Greek colonies at all but communities of his supposed "Greek" element in the Macedonian area.

39. Herodotus (9.44.1.) calls Alexander I "general and king of the Macedonians," and this phraseology perhaps suggests that, at least in the mind of Herodotus, these two functions had not hitherto necessarily been united in the same person. Cf. Plut. *Alex.* 9.3. Note that none of the Argead kings before Alexander I struck coins in their own name.

2.

Around 513 B. C., the Grand Army of the Persian Empire entered Europe. Although the objective of the expedition, the subjugation of the "Scythian" steppe nomads of the Wallachian and south Russian plains, was not, and could not have been, achieved, Persian dominion was established over the Thracian tribes and Greek coastal settlements of the eastern Balkans. Officers of Darius I broke the power of those Paeonian tribes who, intermingled with Thracian peoples such as the Bisaltae, Odomanti and elements of the Edonians, had inhabited the basin of the lower Strymon river and deported them to Asia.⁴⁰ As a consequence, Persian emissaries visited the court of the Argead king Amyntas I, who ultimately made the symbolic presentation of earth and water and so became a Persian subject. His daughter Gygaea was given to the Persian noble Boubares.⁴¹ From around 510 to 479 B. C., for three decades, the Argead kingdom was a vassal principality under Persian suzerainty, but not—and this is a fact of capital importance—under direct satrapal administration. Even the Ionian revolt of 499-94, although it presumably for a time freed the Macedonians from any immediate concern with Persian interference, did not cause the Argead kingdom openly to renounce Achaemenid rule. When a Persian expeditionary force commanded by Darius' son-in-law Mardonius reappeared in 491, the Macedonians made no attempt to oppose it.⁴² Eleven years later when Xerxes arrived with his vast army, Amyntas' able son Alexander I loyally discharged his duties as a subject prince, and the Argead domain became the staging area for the assault on Greece.⁴³ The Macedonians obediently followed Xerxes southward.⁴⁴

There was of course no possibility of directly challenging the Persians by open revolt, and Alexander perceived that the one chance to regain independence lay in the defeat of the Persians by the Greeks. At some time before Xerxes' invasion Alexander had been honored by the Athenians as "proxenus and benefactor,"⁴⁵ and these at that time by no means banal honors are only to be motivated by concluding that Alexander had provided Athens with the ship-building materiel for the construction of the fleet which fought the battle

40. Herod. 5.15.

41. 5.17-22.

42. 6.45. The ancient chronographical tradition as preserved in Syncellus, *op. cit.* (above n. 13), I, 469, remembered that Alexander I "gave earth and water to the Persians."

43. Herod. 7.127.

44. 7.185.2.

45. 8.136.1.

of Salamis, since all other areas of the eastern Mediterranean which produced such materiel, except for the Argead kingdom, were and had been under direct Persian control.⁴⁶ Alexander moreover in 480 secretly advised the Greeks to abandon their untenable position at the Vale of Tempe,⁴⁷ and a year later before the final decision at Plataea he warned them of the Persian intentions.⁴⁸

Immediately after the battle of Salamis, Xerxes seems to have given Alexander additional territory, an act surely designed to insure the Argead's loyalty to the Persian cause.⁴⁹ But after the overwhelming defeat at Plataea, when the remnants of their forces were fleeing in retreat through the Macedonian area,⁵⁰ Alexander turned on the Persians and inflicted what is described as "complete catastrophe,"⁵¹ an achievement crowned by the defeat of a Persian force at the "Nine Ways" on the eastern side of the only crossing over the lower Strymon not far from the river's mouth.⁵² From the spoils of this victory Alexander dedicated a golden statue of himself to the god Apollo at Delphi,⁵³ by this act symbolizing his own participation in the Greek defeat of the barbarian invader.

The defeat and withdrawal of the Persians gave Alexander the opportunity to extend his domain. The first conquest was the expulsion of Paeonian tribes from the valley of the lower Axios river and the destruction of their

46. Theophrastus (*Hist. plant.* 4.5.5.) lists the regions of the Mediterranean which produced shipbuilding materiel. Save only for Macedonia all the other areas in the eastern Mediterranean mentioned by Theophrastus in this passage were under direct Persian control during the decade 490-80 B. C. Even allies of the Great king could not fell ship timber on Persian territory without explicit permission from the Persian authorities. See Xenophon *Hell.* 1.1.24.-25.

47. Herod. 7.173.3-4 and *Fr. Gr. Hist.*, No. 5, Fr. 4.

48. Herod. 9.44-45.

49. Justin (7.4.1.) states that Xerxes gave Alexander rule over the area between Olympus and the Haemus mountains! The garbled brevity of the epitomator makes it impossible to determine what may have stood in the original text of Trogus.

50. The route of the Persian retreat is given by Aeschylus, *Persae*, 485-511

51. Demosth. 23.200 (whence 13.24). The phrase employed, τέλειον ἀτόχημα, is very strong indeed. The orator wrongly attributes this achievement to Perdicas (II), but this is a mere lapse.

52. [Demosth.] 12.21, the letter of Philip II to the Athenians, surely as rewritten by Anaximenes of Lampsacus in his *Philippica*. See *Fr. Gr. Hist.*, No. 72, Fr. 41, with Jacoby's discussion and commentary. There can be little doubt that the content of Philip's letter is accurately reproduced.

53. *Loc. cit.* From Herodotus (8.121.2) we learn that the Greeks set up the "first fruits" (ἀκροθίνια) of the victory at Salamis near Alexander's statue. This suffices to associate Alexander with the Greek defeat of the Persians.

chief citadel, Amydon, situated somewhere near the river.⁵⁴ Alexander then drove the Edonians from Mygdonia, the great basin containing Lakes Koroneia and Bolbe which extends for almost fifty miles from just north of the Thermaic to the Strymonic Gulf.⁵⁵ The king then turned west and expelled the tribe of the Eordoi, whose ethnic connections are unknown, from the land-locked basin of Lake Begoritis,⁵⁶ west of the Bermium mountains, a valley running thirty five miles from north to south, and drove the Almopians from their hollow valley, ringed with mountains, due north of Edessa. Both these regions were added to the realm.

The conquest of Eordaea, as the former land of the Eordoi was henceforth named, brought the Argead Macedonians for the first time into direct contact with their kinsmen, the Makedonian tribes of the eastern Pindus. These peoples became vassals of the Argead king, a status which Thucydides describes as "allied and subject,"⁵⁷ and this extension of Argead power to the west explains the historian's language when he states that "these Macedonians,"

54. Thuc. 2.99.4; Strabo 7. Frs. 10 and 20 *ad fin.* I follow Thucydides' listing of the Argead conquests which he largely arranges in chronological order. The occupation of the lower Axios basin must be associated with the Argead conquest of Ichnae, whose location was at, or very near the modern Koufalia. See Edson, *Class. Phil.*, 50 (1955), 187, n. 70. The control of Ichnae situated in antiquity on the narrow strip of land between the southeastern slopes of the Paikon massif and the head of the Thermaic Gulf (Herod. 7.123.3. *ad fin.*) was mandatory for any permanent advance into the Axios valley. Ichnae struck coins of its own into the earlier years of the fifth century (H. Gaebler, *Die antiken Münzen von Makedonia und Paonia*, vol. III, Part II of *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands*, ed. F. Imhoff-Blumer [Berlin, 1935], 63-65), and independent coinages end with the Argead conquest. Note that the coinage of Lete (*op cit.*, 67-72), located about twelve miles north-northeast of Thessaloniki ended at about the same time or perhaps somewhat later.

55. Thuc. 2.99.4. Cf. Strabo 7. Fr. 11[454 M].

56. From Thucydides (2.99.5) it appears that at sometime before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War the Argeadae had decimated the Eordoi and expelled the survivors from "what is now called Eordaea." But Herodotus (7.185.2.) specifically lists the Eordoi among the peoples who followed Xerxes to Greece. It follows that the Argead subjugation of Eordaea must be placed between Xerxes' invasion and the Peloponnesian War. Alexander I is the obvious candidate. I have associated the conquest of Almopia with that of Eordaea because Thucydides (2.99.5) does so, and it is my belief, which must be justified at greater length elsewhere, that the historian lists the Argead conquests in approximately the correct chronological sequence. For the location of Eordaea see Edson, *Class. Phil.*, 46 (1951), 8 with nn. 55 and 56.

57. 2.99.2. The treaty between Athens and Perdikkas II (*I.G.* I² 71; *S.E.G.* X 86) calls these rulers "the kings *with* (μετὰ) Perdikkas." The phrase clearly implies that there were other kings who were *not* "with" Perdikkas, and those other kings can only be the rulers of the Makedonian tribes on the western slopes of the Pindus.

that is, those under Argead rule, established control over "a large part of the Macedonians themselves."⁵⁸ Although these tribes maintained their own royal families and almost complete local independence, they could be required to send the Argead king troops at his request.⁵⁹ The northernmost of the east Makedonian tribes, the kingdom of Lynceus in the southern basin of the Erigon river, was consistently to challenge Argead suzerainty, and the other tribes attempted from time to time to go their own way.⁶⁰

Alexander moreover established his control over the Thracian Bisaltae who inhabited the western portion of the lower Strymon valley. It is notable that the Bisaltae were not expelled or destroyed but continued to remain in their original territory where their existence as a distinct people is attested as late as the Roman conquest of Macedonia in 168. Alexander seems merely to have taken the place of the former king of the Bisaltae.⁶¹ A similar arrangement seems to have been concluded with the Crestonians on the western slopes of the Dysoron range to the west of the Bisaltae.⁶² The king also acquired the basin of the Anthemus river, due east of the head of the Thermaic Gulf.⁶³ The importance of Alexander's achievement is shown by Thucydides' description of the Macedonian kingdom of his own day as the creation of "Alexander, father of Perdiccas, and his ancestors,"⁶⁴ a locution which unmistakably attributes the major portion of the conquests to Alexander I.

Indeed it is precisely because of the expansion of the Argead realm under Alexander that the term "Macedonia" came to be used to designate the whole kingdom.⁶⁵ So Thucydides after listing the Argead conquests can say that

58. See. n. 21 above.

59. Thuc. 2.100.5.

60. Thuc. 4. 79.2.; 83.1-5; 124-28; Aristot. *Pol.* 1311b

61. Herodotus (8.116) relates that the king of the Bisaltae at the time of Xerxes' arrival in 480 withdrew to Mt. Rhodope and forbade his six sons to accompany the Persians. But the sons nevertheless followed Xerxes to Greece. After the Persian defeat the king returned and blinded them! Alexander seems simply to have taken the place of the king of the Bisaltae and this would explain the peculiar relationship of the tribe to the Macedonian kings. The Bisaltae maintained their separate ethnic identity at least until the Roman conquest (Livy 44, 45.8; 45.29.7; 30.3). It is notable that in spite of their considerable military reputation (*loc. cit.*) the Bisaltae are never attested as serving in the Macedonian army.

62. Because according to Herodotus (*loc. cit.*), the king of the Bisaltae also ruled over the Crestonians. The location of Crestonia is given with the utmost clarity by Herodotus, 7.124.

63. Thuc. 2.99.6. For Anthemus see Edson, *Class. Phil.*, 50 (1955), 171-72.

64. Thuc. 2.99.3.

65. Herodotus, who completed his history not long after the beginning of the Peloponnesian War is the first author to use the term "Macedonia."

"the whole area is called Macedonia,"⁶⁶ and he also refers to "the present Macedonia by the sea."⁶⁷ This recent appearance of the word "Macedonia" as a political and territorial designation explains why the Athenians throughout the fifth century continued to regard the area as part of Thrace, as is shown by their references to it as "the Thraceward regions" and their inclusion of cities on the Macedonian coasts in the Thracian District of the Tribute Lists.⁶⁸

Alexander's achievement was considerable. He had quadrupled the royal domain and imposed his suzerainty on the Makedonian tribes of the eastern Pindus, the region which was henceforth to be known as "Upper Macedonia,"⁶⁹ and over the Thracian Bisaltae and Crestonians to the east. The Persian menace and Alexander's brilliant liquidation of that menace increased the prestige of the monarchy and would assure the king the more acquiescent support of the proud and intractable nobility. From the silver mines near Lake Prasias, somewhere in the area of the lower Strymon, he gained an income of one silver talent a day.⁷⁰ The increase in the power and resources of the kingship is shown by the fact that Alexander was the first Argead ruler to strike coins in his own name.⁷¹ It is very understandable that Aristotle should include the kings of the Macedonians, along with those of the Spartans and Molossians, as rulers revered by their peoples because they had "settled or conquered territory."⁷²

3.

But the conquests themselves created the circumstances which were continuously to confront the Macedonians throughout the independent history

66. 2.99.6.

67. 2.99.3.

68. Such cities as Strepsa and Methone which were situated on the coasts of the Argead domain appear in the Thracian *Phoros*.

69. Herod. 8.137.1; Polyb. 5.97.3; Strabo 7.7,7 [449 M]; Arrian, *Anab.* 1, 2,5 Cf. Thuc. 2. 100. 5.

70. Herod. 5.17.2. Attempts to identify Lake Prasias with modern lakes such as Doiran, Butkovo or Tahinos are fruitless, for Pliny (*N.H.* 4,38) records the important fact that the Strymon in classical times passed through no less than seven lakes before it reached the sea. In late antiquity a considerable dam or barrier whose materials were furnished by the ruins of Amphipolis was constructed across the river at that site. See M. Feyel, *Rev. arch.*, 6 sér., 2 (Jan.-June 1934), 39 ff. We possess no precise information concerning the ancient hydrography of the lower Strymon basin.

71. D. Raymond, *Macedonian Royal Coinage to 413 B.C.*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 26 (New York, 1953).

72. *Pol.* 1310b.

of the nation, indeed until the emperor Augustus at last established the Danube river as the northern defensive boundary of the classical world, and which were permanently to condition the society and institutions of the country. For the kingdom faced new and widely extended frontiers perpetually menaced by barbarians. Across the Strymon river, now the eastern border of the kingdom, were Thracian peoples such as the Odomanti and Edonians.⁷³ Beyond these tribes and across the Rhodope massif the Odrysian Thracians in the central valley of the Hebrus river were soon to found a powerful empire extending from the Danube to the north Aegean coast and from the western shores of the Black Sea to the course of the upper Strymon river.⁷⁴ To the north the free Paenonian tribes were dangerous neighbors.⁷⁵ And to the west beyond the restless vassal princes of Upper Macedonia the fierce Illyrians, devotees of human sacrifice,⁷⁶ could threaten the Argead control over the allied Makedonian tribes of the eastern Pindus.⁷⁷ For Alexander's conquests had not only brought much new land and greater resources into the Macedonian state but also a considerable and essentially alien barbarian population. The newly expanded kingdom required a political method by which the new territories might be permanently integrated into the realm.

Alexander achieved this by further developing the old and traditional institution of the Companions—*Hetairoi*—and extending that institution to include the yeomanry, the free Macedonian peasants. From the Companions themselves and also surely from the minor nobility and larger landowners⁷⁸ the king formed true organized cavalry units, the Companion Cavalry—*Hetairoi* *hippos*. These are the "brave and corseleted horsemen" who provoked Thucydides' admiration.⁷⁹ But the basic new departure was the creation of the *Pezetairoi* or Foot Companions. As the name indicates, the Foot Companions served as infantry, but the salient importance of this new institution is that it extended the personal relationship which had hitherto existed between the king and the aristocratic Companions to include the ordinary Macedonian peasants. Thus was laid the foundation for the characteristically

73. Thuc. 2.101.3; 4.107.3; 5.6.2.

74. 2.96-97.

75. See Merker, *op. cit.*, above n. 6a.

76. Arrian *Anab.* 1.5.7.

77. Note Thucydides' description (4.124-25) of the role played by the Illyrians in the war between Perdiccas II and Arrabaeus of Lynceus.

78. Under Philip II the Companions properly so-called were eight hundred in number (Theopompus, *Fr. Gr. Hist.*, No 115, Fr. 225b), while the units of the Companion Cavalry were of course much more numerous.

79. Thuc. 2.100.5.

Macedonian system of government: the holding of land from the king in return for the obligation to military service.

But the purpose of this radical reform was not merely nor so much military as political. By distributing land in the new conquered territories, larger grants to the Companions and Companion Cavalry and smaller allotments to the Foot Companions, Alexander was able to integrate most of these regions permanently into the realm. And by means of these grants he would increase the prestige of the kingship and the loyalty of the Macedonians to himself and to the Argead house. The aim of these reforms was, in the words of the ancient writer from whom we gain our knowledge of them, that the Companions and Foot-Companions "both sharing in the royal companionship"—*hetairia*—"should continue to show zeal" in the king's service.⁸⁰ Actually, the creation of the Foot Companions did not bring into being an effective infantry force, at least according to Greek standards. Before the reign of Philip II the Macedonian foot soldiers seem to have been little more than partially trained levies called out *ad hoc*.⁸¹ The real military strength lay in the Companion Cavalry. But from the point of view of the king the new Foot Companions could be a vital counterpoise to the nobility, the Companions proper, and an internal support which could be used to maintain the king's position against the pretensions, ambitions and truculence of the aristocracy.

It is in this context that we are to place the developed form of the primary Macedonian assembly, the "army assembly" (*Heeresversammlung*) as modern scholars usually call it. This assembly or folkmoot of the Macedonian people in arms continued to exercise its traditional right of choosing the king from

80. *Fr. Gr. Hist.*, No. 72 Fr. 4, from Harpocration and the *Suda* s.v. πεζεταῖροι, "Anaximenes of Lampsacus in the first book of his *Philippica* speaking of Alexander says, 'Then accustoming the most distinguished to serve on horseback he called them *hetairoi*, but the majority, that is, the foot soldiers, he divided into *lochoi* and *dekades* and other *arkhai* and called them *pezetairoi* so that each [i.e. of the two groups] sharing in the royal companionship should continue to show zeal.'" There is no reason whatsoever to "emend", actually to rewrite, the transmitted text and to read "Archelaus" for "Alexander." See A. Momigliano, *Filippo il Macedone* (Florence, 1934), 9-11. Thucydides in his brief summary of Archelaus' achievements (2.100.2) mentions only fortifications, road building and war materiel such as horses, arms and "other preparation." There is no suggestion that Archelaus initiated any constitutional changes. The quotation is from the first book of Anaximenes' *Philippica*. Obviously the historian was giving a sketch of earlier Macedonian history before embarking upon his main theme, the reign of Philip II.

81. The conclusion emerges from all that is known of Macedonian history down to Philip II. In this connection Thucydides' detailed description (4.124-28) of the invasion of Lynceus by Perdiccas II and Brasidas is particularly instructive.

the members of the Argead family and, when necessary, of appointing a regent for a minor king. But of decisive importance for the relationship between king and people is the fact that the king could not legally put a free Macedonian to death on the charge of high treason, that is, an attempt to overthrow or assassinate the king himself!⁸² A formal trial before the assembly was mandatory, in which the king was plaintiff. The assembly heard the evidence, gave the verdict and, in case of condemnation, could itself execute the death sentence on the spot. It is difficult to envisage a more severe limitation on the arbitrary exercise of the royal power, and this limitation, which no king would voluntarily concede, must represent a carefully thought out compromise between king and people.⁸³ The kingdom of the Macedonians was most definitely not a despotism but a semi-constitutional monarchy based on traditional usage, custom and established precedent.

4.

The territorial expansion and re-organization of the kingdom was accompanied by a new and urgent menace which was to dominate the history of Macedonia for two generations. This was the new maritime empire of Athens. The north Aegean coast from the city Strepsa at the head of the Thermaic Gulf⁸⁴ eastward to the Hellespont was under Athenian control, for the Greek cities and even some barbarian communities on these shores were first members of the Delian League and then, by an almost imperceptible transition, became subjects of imperial Athens. Macedonia was the nearest and the best source of shipbuilding material so essential for Athens' navy, as we have seen, the only source not under direct Persian control, and the country was also rich in precious metals. From the Athenian point of view access to Macedonia was vital.⁸⁵

The basin of the lower Strymon river, the western portion of which, that inhabited the Thracian Bisaltae, had been taken by Alexander after the Persian defeat, was the prime Athenian objective. The tyrant Pisistratus had already shown interest in this rich area.⁸⁶ In 476 the forces of the Delian League under

82. Curt. 6.8.25. There are a number of instances where kings did put to death prominent Macedonians without a trial by the assembly. But the occasional, and infrequent, violation of a constitution does not mean that it has ceased to exist.

83. Cf. W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, II (Cambridge, 1948), 138, n. 1.

84. Edson, *Class. Phil.*, 50 (1955), 169-90.

85. Note Thucydides' remarks (4.108.1) on the importance of Amphipolis to Athens.

86. Edson, *Class Phil.*, 42 (1947), 91.

the command of Cimon had taken Eion on the coast just east of the river's mouth from its Persian garrison.⁸⁷ In 465 the Athenians made an attempt to colonize the Nine Ways,⁸⁸ the strategic point controlling the eastern side of the only crossing over the lower Strymon where Alexander had destroyed a Persian force in 479, but after initial success the settlers, who had ventured too far inland, were destroyed by the Edonian Thracians. Alexander may well have played a part behind the scenes in this disaster. But this failure did not discourage the Athenians from their objective of establishing control over the lower Strymon basin. Their interest in the area [is shown by the charge made against Cimon in 463 by his political enemies that he had failed to seize the opportunity "cut off a large portion of Macedonia" because he had been bribed by Alexander.⁸⁹ The expression can only refer to Bisaltia, the region along the west bank of the river which was under Argead control. The Tribute Lists of the Athenian empire reveal that the community Berga, situated in Bisaltia over twenty miles from the coast,⁹⁰ paid tribute to Athens from 452 to 446, although the town is absent from the list for the Athenian year 443-42. At some unknown time before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War Pericles had sent one thousand Athenian cleruchs to "settle with" the Bisaltae.⁹¹ In 437 Athens finally succeeded in establishing a composite colony at the Nine Ways, now renamed Amphipolis, and thus reasserted her authority in the lower Strymon. This is shown by the reappearance of Berga as a tributary community in the years 435 to 431.⁹² The rivalry of Athens and Macedonia in the lower Strymon valley during the fifth century is indeed evident.

But direct means of coercion were available to the imperial city. At Strepsa, a town situated directly on the north shore of the Thermaic Gulf, Athens maintained an enclave in Macedonian territory until the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war.⁹³ The Athenians could at will impose a blockade on the shores of that gulf under Argead rule.⁹⁴ It was possible for Athens to exploit, or provoke, dynastic rivalries in the kingdom by supporting pretenders to the throne. So, when Thucydides' narrative opens, we find a state of war existing between Athens and Macedonia because the Athenians had made an alliance with

87. Schol. Aeschin. *De fals. legat.*, 31.

88. Herod. 9.75; Thuc. 1.100.3; 4.102.3.

89. Plut. *Cimon* 14.3.

90. Edson, *op. cit.*, 95.

91. Plut. *Pericles* 11.5.

92. Edson, *loc. cit.*

93. Edson, *op. cit.*, above n. 84.

94. E. g. Thuc. 5. 83.4.

Philip, a younger brother of Perdiccas II, Alexander's son and successor, and supported this prince's claim to the throne.⁹⁵ The rulers of the vassal principalities in Upper Macedonia could be instruments in Athenian diplomacy. The fragmentary treaty between Athens and Perdiccas II, probably negotiated around 413, reveals the imperial city acting on behalf of the king of Lynceus,⁹⁶ and the royal house of Elimeia, a vassal kingdom along the great southern bend of the Haliacmon river, had supported the claims of Perdiccas' brother Philip, Athens' ally.⁹⁷ Barbarian peoples beyond the Macedonian frontiers could be suborned in the Athenian interest. In 429 at Athens' instance the imposing military forces of the Odrysian empire, accompanied by Athenian representatives,⁹⁸ assaulted Macedonia in an attempt to install a pretender, the son of the recently deceased Philip, ravaging and laying waste the central portions of the kingdom.⁹⁹ And there is a connection between the honors paid by Athens to the Illyrian chieftain Grabus, surely the king of the Taulantioi in the hinterland of Epidamnus,¹⁰⁰ during the first phase of the Peloponnesian war and the sudden breaking of their alliance with Perdiccas by the Illyrians in 423 and their support of Perdiccas' enemy, the king of Lynceus.¹⁰¹ From the defeat of Xerxes until the destruction of the Athenian expeditionary force at Syracuse in 413 by far the most compelling problem confronting the Macedonian kings was the Athenian incubus.

Alexander I perished by assassination under circumstances unknown to us.¹⁰² There followed an obscure period of confusion and disturbance. This is reflected in the dwindling away of the royal coinage which under Alexander had been voluminous.¹⁰³ Around or shortly after 440 Alexander's son Perdiccas II succeeded in establishing himself as king in Macedonia, and his position was, for the time being, recognized by Athens in a treaty between the states which established a formal relationship of alliance and friendship.¹⁰⁴ However, the basic conflict of interest between the two powers could not long be concealed, and we have already seen Athens allied with Perdiccas' rebel

95. 1.57.3.

96. *A. T. L.*, III, 313, n. 61.

97. *Thuc.*, *loc. cit.*

98. 2.95.3.

99. 2.100.3-5.

100. *S. E. G.*, X 88.

101. *Thuc.* 4.125.1.

102. *Curt.* 6.11.26. Cf. Edson, *Class. Phil.*, 52 (1957), 280, n. 6.

103. Raymond, *op. cit.*, above n. 71.

104. *Thuc.* 1.57.2.

brother. The founding of Amphipolis in 437 and the consequent reassertion of Athenian power in the lower Strymon was a direct blow to Macedonian interests. In 434 Athens added to her empire the old Eretrian colony Methone¹⁰⁵ situated on the west coast of the Thermaic Gulf at the point where the northern extension of the Pierian range touches the sea. The possession of this site made it possible for the imperial city directly to intervene in Macedonian affairs, as, for example, by introducing Macedonian exiles to harrass the king,¹⁰⁶ and also to cut the main route of communication to the south.¹⁰⁷ The treaty of 413 prohibited Perdiccas from exporting ship timber without the explicit permission of Athens.¹⁰⁸ And we have already examined other means used by Athens to coerce the Argead ruler. But Perdiccas knew how to exploit the crisis of the Peloponnesian War for his own ends and by a masterly policy of tergiversation between the two combatants brought about the ruin of the Athenian empire on the Macedonian coasts. However, the Chalcidic League, a federation of the Greek cities in the peninsula Chalcidice which Perdiccas' support first brought into effective political existence¹⁰⁹ as an embarrassment to Athens, was in time to create serious difficulties for Macedonia.

Perdiccas died in 413 or 412. His son and successor Archelaus reaped the fruits of this father's policy.¹¹⁰ The disaster at Syracuse made it impossible for Athens to continue the methods she had hitherto employed to impose her will on Macedonia. Of necessity her new role was that of petitioner. So in the Athenian year 407-6 we find Athens honoring Archelaus as "proxenus and benefactor," the same honors granted early in the century to his grandfather Alexander I, in recognition of naval materiel provided by the king,¹¹¹ and the Athenian politician Andocides, who had been exiled by the *demos* for his alleged participation in the mutilation of the Hermae, recounted that among the services he had rendered to his native city even as an exile was the

105. See above n. 38.

106. Thuc. 6. 7.3.

107. For this route see Edson, *Class. Phil.*, 50 (1955), 173-82.

108. *S. E. G.*, X 86, line 23.

109. Thuc. 1.57.5; 58.2; The coinage of the league begins in the year 432/1. See D. M. Robinson and P. A. Clement, *The Chalcidic Mint and the Excavation Coins found in 1928-34*, Excavations at Olynthus, Part IX, The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, No. 26 (Baltimore, 1938). I express no opinion concerning the creation of the League. It may well have existed before 432/1.

110. See the monograph (in Greek) by D. Kanatsoulis, *Archelaus and his Reforms in Macedonia* (Thessaloniki, 1948), for a collection and discussion of the evidence.

111. *S. E. G.* X, 138.

procuring of ship timber from Archelaus.¹¹² The new freedom from Athenian pressure enabled the king to strengthen the administrative and military organization of the realm. Forts were built throughout the country and roads constructed, and the armed forces were supplied with weapons, horses and other equipment.¹¹³ In these respects it was Thucydides' considered judgement that the king accomplished more than all Argead rulers before him.¹¹⁴ It was probably Archelaus who moved the royal residence from Aegae to Pella,¹¹⁵ a more central location with access to the sea through the channel of the Loudias River.¹¹⁶ The freedom from Athenian interference and the increased resources of the kingdom made it possible for Archelaus to discipline the vassal princes of Upper Macedonia¹¹⁷ and successfully to intervene in the disturbed politics of Thessaly to the south.¹¹⁸

5.

There is, however, a different aspect altogether to the impact of Athenian imperialism on Macedonia throughout the fifth century. The poet Horace observed that it was a conquered Greece—*Graecia Capta*—which culturally subdued her rude conqueror Rome.¹¹⁹ Greek culture was introduced into Macedonia by Athens in the days of her greatest power and creativeness¹²⁰ and, essentially, in an Athenian form. The continuous military, diplomatic and commercial contacts between Athens and the Argead kingdom produced cultural consequences decisive for Macedonia and for the world. Relations of guest-friendship—*xenia*—were established between prominent Athenians

112. Andoc. 2.11.

113. Thuc. 2.100.2.

114. *Loc. cit.*

115. See Kanatsoulis, *op. cit.* (above n. 110), 77-82.

116. Edson, *Class. Phil.*, 50 (1955), 188, n. 5.

117. Aristot. *Pol.* 1311b.

118. Herodes, *Περὶ πολιτείας* (ed. Drerup [Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, II. 1] Padeborn, 1908).

119. *Epist.* 2.1.156-57.

120. Note Dow's remarks ("The Greeks in the Bronze Age," *Comité international des sciences historiques*, XIe Congrès international des sciences historiques, Rapports II. Antiquité [Göteborg-Stockholm-Uppsala, 1960], 30, n. 37) on the influence of the Minoan culture on mainland Greece during the Bronze Age: "It was perhaps fortunate that in contrast to classical Rome, which in the main acquired art and taste from Greece only when Greece had reached the decaying (second century B. C.) phase of the Hellenistic period, the Bronze Age Greeks acquired art and taste from Crete when Crete was most flourishing."

and the kings.¹²¹ The kings supported Greek writers and artists. The court and the aristocracy became increasingly familiar with Greek art, literature and thought, and Attic Greek was to become the administrative language and the preferred speech of at least a considerable portion of the nobility. As a result the native Macedonian language or dialect declined to the status of a rustic patois, probably a kind of *Plattgriechisch*, which has left behind no literary monument, no administrative document, not a single inscription.¹²² If, as Pericles said, Athens had become the "school of Hellas," Macedonians of the ruling class were among her earliest and most receptive, if hardly her most talented, pupils. The Greek culture which the conquests of the Macedonian king Alexander III were to introduce into western Asia, Egypt and Iran was, basically, that of Athens.¹²³

As a youth Alexander I had sought to compete in the Olympic Games, probably at the Seventy First Olympiad of 496. His participation was challenged on the grounds that he was not Greek, but the *Hellandikai* judged that the Argead house took its origin from the Temenids, the old royal family of the Peloponnesian Argos, and Alexander was allowed to enter the stadion race; he tied for first.¹²⁴ This decision, although utterly without relevance to the problem of the nationality of the Macedonians, did establish that the royal family was Argive, that is, Greek, a view which the critical Thucydides was to accept without comment.¹²⁵ The claim of the Argeadae to be of Hellenic stock and to trace their origin to Argos illuminates the significance of the names given to the first two Macedonian towns situated on the main road running into Pieria from the Vale of Tempe, Herakleion and Dion.¹²⁶ The first takes its name from the Argive hero Heracles, who

121. Andocides (2.11) calls Archelaus his *xenos patrikos*. In 426/5 Andocides' father Leogoras appears as the leader of an Athenian embassy to Perdiccas II: *A. T. L.* II, D. 4, line 50 [p. 49].

122. See. n. 11. above. Note also Curtius 6.10.23 (from the speech of Philotas): "iam pridem natus ille sermo commercio aliarum gentium exolevit—."

123. Note that the area to which the *Koiné* was extended coincides almost precisely with the area of Alexander's conquests. See Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, IV, 2 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), the last map at the end of the volume entitled "Das griechische Sprachgebiet um 220 v. chr." Regions immediately contiguous to Attica such as Boeotia and Megara maintained their local dialects throughout the Hellenistic period, admittedly with increasing evidence of *Koiné* influence.

124. Herod. 5.22.

125. 2.99.3.

126. Edson, *Class. Phil.*, 42 (1947), 97.

was regarded as the progenitor of the Argead clan,¹²⁷ and the second from Zeus, the chief of the Greek gods, who was not only believed to be the divine father of Heracles, but also, according to the old Hesiodic genealogy,¹²⁸ was the father of Makedôn, the eponymous ancestor of the Macedonians themselves, by the nymph Thyia. The names of these two towns, whose existence is attested by the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, is clear evidence of an attempt to emphasize the Hellenic origin, not only of the dynasty, but also of the nation, and, though specific evidence is lacking, there can be little doubt that both were foundations of Alexander.¹²⁹

Alexander encouraged Greek settlement in his kingdom. At the time of the destruction of Mycenae by Argos soon after 478 he received over half the common people, the *demos* of Mycenae, into Macedonia.¹³⁰ When the Athenians under Pericles' personal command in 446 took the city Histiaea on the north coast of Euboea by assault, the inhabitants migrated to Macedonia.¹³¹ And a generation later, in 423, we find a hoplite force of three thousand "Greeks resident in the kingdom" serving in the army of Perdiccas II.¹³² Alexander patronized the famous poets Pindar¹³³ and Bacchylides;¹³⁴ the latter composed for the king, appropriately, a drinking song.

"Hang no more, my lyre, upon thy peg
nor hinder the clear voice of thy seven strings!
Come hither to my hands!
For I hasten to send a golden feather of the Muses
to Alexander as an adornment for feasts on twentieth days
when the sweet inducement of the moving cups
makes warm the tender heart of youths
and the anticipation of Cypris,
mingled with gifts of Dionysus,
disturbs their senses
and sends men's thoughts on high.

127. Note the Argead royal cult of Heracles *Propator*: Arrian *Anab.* 6.3.2.

128. See n. 14 above.

129. If we are to take Speusippus' citation of Damastes of Sigeum (*Fr. Gr. Hist.*, No. 5, Fr. 4) at its face value, Herakleion was already in existence as early as 480 B. C.

130. Paus. 7.25.6.

131. *Fr. Gr. Hist.*, No. 115, Fr. 387 (Theopompus). See L. Robert, *Études de numismatique grecque* (Paris, 1951), 179-216.

132. Thuc. 4.124.1.

133. *Frs.* 120, 121 [Snell].

134. *Fr.* 20 B [Snell].

Then does one destroy the citadels of cities
 and rule as monarch over all humanity.
 His halls gleam with gold and ivory,
 and over the radiant sea from Egypt
 wheat-laden ships bring him vast wealth.
 Such are the longings of the drinker's heart.
 O child of greatly famed, proud Amyntas—"

(Here the papyrus breaks off.)

Under Perdiccas II the head of Heracles, the heroic ancestor of the dynasty, for the first time appears on the royal coinage,¹³⁵ and this type was continued with greater frequency by Archelaus.¹³⁶ The manifold political and military problems which engrossed Perdiccas throughout his reign seem to have given the king little opportunity to encourage the reception of Greek culture.¹³⁷ But his son, an educated ruler and one with a marked taste for Greek artists and intellectuals,¹³⁸ enthusiastically invited all that was best in Greek art and thought. The royal residence was decorated by the famous painter Zeuxis of Heraclea.¹³⁹ The epic poet Choerilus,¹⁴⁰ the choral poet Timotheus¹⁴¹ and the Athenian dramatist Agathon¹⁴² were the king's guests. Socrates himself is said to have received an invitation from the king, which the philosopher refused.¹⁴³ At Dion in Pieria just below the northern face of Mt. Olympus, Archelaus founded a religious festival called the Olympia, sacred to Olympian Zeus and the Muses. The festival consisted of athletic and, in the Greek sense, musical contests and lasted for nine days, one day for each of the nine Muses.¹⁴⁴

But the reception of Greek culture into Macedonia is most strikingly symbolized by the arrival of Euripides at Archelaus' court, where the king honored him with the rank of Companion.¹⁴⁵ There he composed the "Arche-

135. Raymond, *op. cit.* (above n. 71), 164; Gaebler, *op. cit.* (above n. 54), II, 155, no. 12.

136. Gaebler, II, 156, nos. 8-10.

137. The Suda (s. nomm.) states that Hippocrates the physician and the dithyrambic poet Melanippides were at Perdiccas' court. Plutarch (*Mor.* 1095 D) seems to associate Melanippides with Archelaus.

138. Dio Chrys. 13.30: — πολλὰ εἰδὼς καὶ πολλοῖς συγγεγονὼς τῶν σοφῶν...

139. Aelian, *V. H.* 14.17.

140. Athenae. 8.345d.

141. Plut., *Mor.* 177B (Fr. 24 [Page]).

142. Aelian, *V. H.* 2.21; 13.4.

143. Seneca, *De benef.*, 5.6.6; Diog. Laert. 2.25; Dio Chrys., *loc. cit.*, above n. 138.

144. W. Baege, *De Macedonum sacris*, (Halle, 1913), 10-12.

145. The Macedonian poet Adaeus in his epitaph on Euripides (*A. P.* 7. 51, line 4) speaks

laus," a play named for his royal patron, in which he gave definitive literary form to the foundation legend of the Argead monarchy.¹⁴⁶ The qualities of noble descent, bravery and endurance were strongly emphasized in the drama.¹⁴⁷ The poet died in Macedonia and was buried at Arethusa near the eastern end of Lake Bolbe at the entrance to the pass leading on toward the Strymonic Gulf, where his grave was to be pointed out for centuries.¹⁴⁸ The Athenians sent an embassy asking the return of the poet's remains to his native city. The Macedonian assembly by unanimous vote refused the request.¹⁴⁹

For us the most moving evidence of Euripides' residence in Macedonia is the most extraordinary of his plays, the "Bacchae." A great scholar has said, "It is as if renewed contact with nature in the wild country of Macedonia, and his re-imagining there of the old miracle story, had released some spring in the aged poet's mind, re-establishing a contact with hidden sources of power which he had lost in the self-conscious, over-intellectualized environment of late-fifth century Athens, and enabling him to find an outlet for feelings which for years had been pressing on his consciousness without attaining complete expression."¹⁵⁰ The ideas with which the tragedy deals seem to owe nothing to Macedonia,¹⁵¹ but the untouched freshness of the landscape there and the sight of women in the throes of Dionysiac frenzy¹⁵² cannot but have had their effect on the poet. In an exquisitely beautiful passage Euripides has shown his feeling for the country which, in his old age, gave him refuge.¹⁵³

"Where on Nysa,
the nurse of wild beasts,

of the poet as "honored by the companionship" — *ἐταίρη* — "of Archelaus." Adaeus, himself a Macedonian, employs precisely the correct technical term, *hetairia* (cf. n. 80 above), for the relationship between the Macedonian king and his companions. Note also Aelian, *V.H.* 13. 4. *ad init.*

146. The plot of the play is preserved in Hyginus, *Fabulae*, CCXIX, ed. Rose (Leiden, no date), 143-44. Cf. Dio Chrys. 4.70-72. Note the new fragment of the prologue published by E. Siegmann in B. Snell, *Griechische Papyri der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts Bibliothek* (Hamburg, 1954), 1-14.

147. Frs. [Nauck] 232, 233, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 242, 243, 244 and 246.

148. *It. Burd.* 604.6-7 [Cuntz]; Ammian. Marcell. 27.4.8.

149. Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, 15.20.9.

150. E. R. Dodds, *Euripides: Bacchae* (Oxford, 1944), xlv.

151. Dodds, "Maenadism in the *Bacchae*," *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, 33 (1940), 155-76.

152. A half century after Euripides' stay in the country Macedonian women were still devoted to these practices. See Plutarch, *Alexander*, 2.5.

153. *Bacch.* 556-73.

O Dionysus, does thy wand
 wave over thy bands of worshippers,
 —or on the Corycian ridges?
Perchance in the forested chambers of Olympus,
Where once Orpheus with his lyre
 brought together trees with his muses,
Brought together the savage wild beasts.
Blessed art thou, O Pieria!
Euioi reverences thee.
He will come that he may dance
 with his Bacchic bands,
And he will lead the whirling maenads,
 crossing the swiftly flowing Axios
 and father Loudias, who gives
 the bounty of good fortune to mortals,
Loudias, whom they know makes rich
 the land of good horses with his lovely waters.”

The sequence of place names reveals the poet's intention. Nysa is the fabled mountain somewhere in the East where Dionysus was born.¹⁵⁴ The “Corycian ridges” are the heights above the shrine of the Pythian Apollo at Delphi, the most celebrated sanctuary of the Greek world. But “the forested chambers of Olympus” take us beyond the boundaries of Hellas, for they are the northern reaches of that mountain, the region long held to be the home of Orpheus.¹⁵⁵ Here, as we have seen, the city of Dion was situated, and it was possibly at Dion itself that the “Bacchae” was first staged.¹⁵⁶ Pieria is of course the beautiful coastal plain extending northward from Olympus, the original conquest of the Argead house, while the Axios is the great river flowing southward through northern Macedonia to the Thermaic Gulf, and the lesser stream of the Loudias waters the lush pasture land near Aegae and Pella, the heartland of the kingdom. The lyric sincerity of this passage not only attests the poet's feeling for the new environment of his last years, but it would also, albeit with a subtle indirection, induce in a Greek audience awareness of his patron's nation.

154. *Hom. Hym.* 1.8-9.

155. See Edson, *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, 41 (1948), 202, with references there cited.

156. See Dodd's commentary on lines 409-11.

6.

During Archelaus' reign Macedonia seemed to have become one of the important powers of the Aegean world. But the aristocracy, and members of the royal family as well, were not yet sufficiently disciplined to support and further the cohesion of the realm. Archelaus, an overconfident type,¹⁵⁷ was assassinated by a disgruntled noble.¹⁵⁸ His heir was a child. There followed a period of four decades during which the Macedonian state all but went down.¹⁵⁹ The break in the direct line of succession in the Argead house provoked a series of pretenders whose ambitions and intrigues plagued the kingdom. The weakness of the monarchy enabled the Chalcidic League to expand inland into Macedonian territory as far as Pella, and this threat could only be met at the price of an appeal to Sparta, for the time being the dominant power in the Greek world. Later Thebes and Athens were to exploit the frequent occasions of Macedonian weakness. For most of this troubled period only the energy and diplomacy of king Amyntas III, a scion of a collateral branch of the royal family, maintained any semblance of order and continuity.

Intensive and repeated barbarian attacks along the frontiers harrassed the kingdom. Even the savage Triballi of the northern Balkans raided south to the Aegean coast. In 376 they destroyed the armed forces of Abdera,¹⁶⁰ the flourishing Greek colony on the north Aegean coast to the east of Macedonia, and that kingdom itself was not spared their assaults.¹⁶¹ North of Macedonia in the basin of the Middle Axios the Paeonian tribes had become united under their own kings.¹⁶² Far away in Central Europe a great movement of peoples was under way. Important elements among the Celts were advancing eastward along the Danube. Their advent disturbed Illyrian tribes of the northwest Balkans and forced them south on Macedonia. Amyntas III was expelled from his kingdom at least once by the Illyrians, and Macedonia was forced to pay them tribute.

During the short reign of Amyntas' second son, Perdiccas III, a degree of recovery and stability seemed to have been attained. But in the spring of

157. [Aristot.], *Problem.*, 954b.

158. Aristot. *Pol.*, 1311b.

159. The evidence for this period is conveniently assembled by F. Geyer, *Makedonien bis zur Thronbesteigung Philipps II*, *Historische Zeitschrift*, Beiheft 19 (Munich and Berlin, 1930), ch. 5, 105-39.

160. Hirshfeld, *R.E.*, 1(1894), 22.

161. Arrian, *Anab.*, 5.26.6. and 7.9.2.

162. See Merker, *op. cit.*, above n. 6a.

359 Perdiccas and four thousand of his Macedonians perished in a great battle against the Illyrians on the northwest frontier. Macedonia lay open to invasion on the west, north and east. No less than three pretenders appeared, one supported by an Athenian fleet and a force of mercenary soldiers, another with the backing of the Thracians. It was this moment of catastrophe and desperation which forged a nation out of the Macedonian people. All elements of society could now apprehend that mere survival depended upon willing obedience to the royal authority. The princes of Upper Macedonia were soon to face the choice of remaining isolated and exposed to Illyrian assault or accepting integration into the Argead kingdom. The meteoric rise of Macedonia to the position of a great power under the genial rule of Perdiccas' younger brother, the famous Philip II, remains a classic instance of courageous and successful response to seemingly insurmountable external pressures.

* * *

In a profound sense both the kingdom of the Macedonians and the Roman republic are successful institutional and social responses of peoples situated on the periphery of ancient Mediterranean civilization to the continuing menace of northern barbarism. During the first half of the fourth century, while the Macedonians were undergoing their years of crisis and decision, the republic was facing the Gauls and at the Allia river had itself experienced catastrophe at the hands of barbarians. Polybius expressly attributes to the long struggle with the Gauls the emergence of those qualities of discipline, endurance and obstinacy which were to be the causes of Rome's military achievements, as of her empire.¹⁶³ And the greatest of the modern historians of Rome, Theodore Mommsen, has apprehended the similarity between the two peoples: "In steadfast resistance to the public enemy under whatever name, in unshaken fidelity to their native country and their hereditary government, no nation in ancient history bears so close a resemblance to the Roman people as the Macedonians."¹⁶⁴ It is this kinship in primary historic function which lends such poignancy to the four wars between Macedonia and Rome.

Mommsen's estimate may perhaps be thought to justify the attempt made here briefly to sketch the main features of the development of the Macedonian state and society from their origins down to the moment of the

163. 2.20.8-10.

164. *A History of Rome*, II, "Everyman's Library" (London and New York, 1911), 201.

nation's emergence as one of the major powers of the ancient world. And possibly this attempt may be of value, for the obsessive preoccupation of modern scholarship with the sensational career of the Argead king Alexander III, "the Great," has caused the study of Macedonia itself, the country's institutional and administrative structure and way of life, to be generally neglected, as though Alexander can be adequately understood or justly appreciated apart from the people which produced him and of which he was the king! It is appropriate, therefore, to emphasize that the ancient Macedonians are themselves a most worthy object for serious investigation, for Macedonia was the first large territorial state with an effectively centralized political, military and administrative structure to come into being on the continent of Europe,¹⁶⁵ and, moreover, represents a pure type of frontier or march society. It is precisely this highly individualized character of the Macedonian state and society which made it psychologically so difficult for the Greeks of Old Greece to accept the Macedonians as, in their sense, Hellenic, in spite of the prolonged contacts between the two peoples and the total acceptance of Hellenic culture by the Macedonian ruling classes.

We need not here consider the disputed question of the relations of the Macedonians with the Greeks nor the larger problem of the role of Macedonia in the history of the ancient world. But, in conclusion, one essential aspect of the people's history is to be emphasized. For three hundred and eleven years, from the defeat of Xerxes to the destruction of the nation by the Romans, Macedonia maintained the frontier of Hellenism against the barbarian north. On the eve of the Roman intervention into Greece a Greek ally of the Macedonians paid just tribute to the kingdom's achievement when, before a hostile audience, he asserted that "the Macedonians spend the greater portion of their lives fighting barbarians on behalf of the safety of us Hellenes, who constantly would be in great danger, did we not have the Macedonians as an advanced bastion — "*prophragma*" — and the honorable ambition of their kings."¹⁶⁶ Throughout the Classic Age and the earlier, creative phase of the Hellenistic period the northern frontier of Hellenism was fairly broken only once, by the strange and savage Gauls in 279, when the new king of Macedonia was an evil and irresponsible adventurer, reared in Egypt. This performance alone assures the Macedonian monarchy a significant place in western history.

University of Wisconsin

CHARLES F. EDSON

165. The only rival is the shadowy Etruscan dominion in Italy during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. But the completeness and the speed with which that "empire" disintegrated is sufficient evidence for the lack of any effective and centralized administrative structure.

166. Polyb. 9.35.3.

MYCENAEAN ELEMENTS WITHIN THE ROYAL HOUSES OF MACEDONIA

It is well known, that the Macedonians and their origin has been and indeed is still a matter of controversy. This is due partly to the fact, that some people tend to mingle political tendencies with the discussion. However, it seems clear that there can be no reasonable doubt about the Greek origin of the Macedonians. Quite especially this is clear in the royal houses. One of them, the most prominent and powerful, claimed a direct descent from the mythical period of Greece. This was the house of the Argeades.

The Macedonian kings were very proud of this fact, which has been justified not only according to ancient conceptions, but also by modern scientific research. Alexander the Great, for instance, on his father's side was a descendant of Heracles and on his mother's side a descendant of Aeacus. Still more, he was very fond of the idea, that he was thus a direct son of Zeus.¹ Olympias used to say that Alexander calumniated her before Hera. This seems to have been not merely the vengeance of that formidable woman against her son's complaint, that he paid a heavy permanent rent for the ten months he had been a guest in his mother's womb. In fact, the Macedonians were less inclined to believe in the Mystery of Zeus-born kings than were their Southern brothers, the Mainland Greeks. But we will return below to this subject.

For us today it is of great significance, that the royal houses of Macedonia continued to exist down to the last years of the ancient world. We can study, therefore, their qualities and compare them with what we believe that we know of the period of the Mycenaean kingship.

The study of the Macedonian court does not offer abundant material. It is assisted, however, by what we know about the Molossian kings, because both kingdoms were practically identical in nature. We shall try to complete this rather scanty material by archaeological facts. Some observations about Macedonian kings have been made already long ago. Thus it has been recognized, that the Macedonian army made the decisions in all important

1. *Plut. Alex. II*, I.

questions, as had formerly happened during the Homeric kingship. Some further primitive elements in the royal customs are common to other Indo-European kingships, for instance the fact, that the succession to the throne was half hereditary and half subject to election by the army or that the king's power was small in times of peace but great in war.²

A well established fact of the Mycenaean period is the double kingship. For instance, in Messenia two kings ruled together, Aphareus and Leukippos, though it is added, that Aphareus was the more important of the two (Paus. IV, 2, 4.). Many such examples exist, ending usually in quarrels and exiles and even deaths: Proitos-Akrisios, Pelias-Neleus, Atreus-Thyestes, Tyndareos-Ikarios etc.). The Homeric world knew still the same conditions, though blurred by the passage of time (comp. for instance the pairs Diomedes-Sthenelos, Idomeneus-Meriones, Ialmenos-Askalaphos of Orchomenos, Schedios-Epistrophos of Phocis, Podaleirios-Machaon of Trikke). This custom was still usual in the Molossian court, as Pyrrhos and Neoptolemos could afford to rule together, till the latter was murdered by the former.³

Besides all these and further qualities of the Macedonian royal houses, which belong to the Mycenaean and more generally to the Indogermanic family, we recognize some other elements, which may be characteristic as Mediterranean. We may call them in our own terminology Minoan. From this point of view we must mention the persistent ancient traditions that a part of the Cretan refugees after the decline of the Minoan power reached Macedonia; They installed themselves there under the name of Bottiaeans and they persisted down to the last years of the ancient world. Strabo knows still a lot about them.⁴ This fact may explain some of the qualities of the Macedonian rulers. Indeed, we find in them the character well known in those more

2. See F. Schachermeyr, *Griech. Geschichte* (1960) p. 247 and *Alexander der Grosse* (1949) p. 15. Indeed, the king was the only ruler during a war and he had the full power to declare or to stop wars and to dispose of the conquered lands. He sacrificed to the gods and fulfilled all religious ceremonies as a real priest-king; This may be the reason, why some kings, particularly Pyrrhos, were always creating reasons for war, a fact criticised not only in modern, but also in ancient times (for instance by Plutarch in his life of *Pyrrhos*). From older bibliography I mention a selection: Nilsson, *Das homerische Königtum* Sb. Preuss. Akad. 7, 1927 p. 27. The same, *Homer and Mycenae* 220. *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Religion* 240-41. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*² IV, I p. 380. F. Granier, "Die Maked. Heeresversammlung", *Münch. Beitr. zur Papyrusforsch.* 13 (1931). Franz Hampl, *Der König der Makedonen* (Diss.) 1934, especially pp. 10-19. Σ. Δάκαρης, *Γενεαλογικοί μῦθοι τῶν Μολοσσῶν* (Diss.) 1964, 19.

3. Plut. *Pyrrhos* V, 7. About double kingship see: Nilsson, *Klio* 12 (1912) 337.

4. See my paper, "Τὸ ἡφαίστειον τῆς Θήρας καὶ οἱ Πολιτισμοὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου" *Acts of the 2nd Cretological Congress A'* (1967) p. 214 and Strabo VI 279, VII 329, 11 and 330, 20.

Southern conditions, which we call usually the Creto-Mycenaean world and civilization. A further historical fact may be mentioned here, because it may have its root in the above traditions: after the destruction of Mycenae by the jealousy of the Argives (468 B.C.), the greatest part of the Mycenaeans fled to Macedonia.⁵ Why did they choose precisely this land? There must have been some reasons which escape us, possibly their glorious past, with which the Macedonian kings used to feel themselves connected in some way.

A fundamental Mycenaean characteristic is, that the kingship was of divine character and the Mycenaean kings were either descendants or direct sons of a god. Usually this was the supreme god, Zeus.⁶

It is highly interesting, that this feature which would be rather anachronistic during the development of the classical intellectual world, was maintained vividly alive within the Macedonian dynasties. Alexander the Great was very sensitive about this fact. In the times of the Diadochs it was extended to become a direct apotheosis. This fact was of purely Greek and especially of Southern Greek (not Macedonian) origin. It had nothing to do with the similar Oriental or Egyptian conceptions. Its background, therefore, cannot have been of other than Minoan-Mycenaean origin.⁷ The Macedonians rather opposed such ideas and Ulrich Wilcken aptly insists, that the idea of the divine kingship originated in Greece; so also did the idea of apotheosis (Wilcken *l.c.* 302-304). A few other families, and particularly the Lagides, claimed an equally divine, or at least heroic ancestry. This facilitated the next step, that of the apotheosis; Arsinoe II, the Queen and sister of Philadelphos, was declared a goddess by him and he promoted himself to a god also. Thus the cult of *Θεοὶ ἄδελφοί* was created.⁸ We must not forget, that the gods married too their sisters!

Modern archaeological and philological research can add more elements to the Mycenaean origin in which the kings of Macedonia themselves so firmly believed. The very name of Archelaos, a characteristic Macedonian name, originates in the Mycenaean period. We find it in the royal stock of the Perseids in Mycenae (Apollod. II,4,5.). Soon after the fall of Troy we meet a son of Penthilos (another name connected with the Pylian tradition), who was the

5. Paus. VII, 25, 6.

6. See my paper "Διογενεὶς βασιλῆς" in *Studies D. Robinson I* (1951) p. 126 f.

7. Especially fundamental about this question is the article of Ulrich Wilcken, "Zur Entstehung des hellenistischen Königs Kultes" in *Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akad., Phil.-Hist. Klasse XXVIII* (1938) p. 298 f. Further bibliography may be found in the article Pyrrhos in *R.E.* XXVI p. 106 f. by Kienast.

8. Wilcken *l.c.* 310-14.

head of an Aeolian colony —expedition to Asia Minor. Pausanias gives him the name Ἐχέλας (III,2,1), but Strabo calls him Ἀρχέλαος (Str. 13 I, 3 p. 582).

Many characteristic customs within the Macedonian court, which we tend to judge rather as primitive and even barbarous, are archaic features, and we can trace them back to the Mycenaean period. Every one knows, for instance, that the high officers of Alexander's army and Alexander himself organized turbulent banquets where they all drank too much;⁹ but this is exactly a heroic, a Mycenaean feature based on the primitive conception, that much eating and much drinking signifies a great man. In Troy nobody could lift king Nestor's huge goblet, when it was full, except himself. The excavations have proved completely the reality of these conceptions.¹⁰ Comparable with Mycenaean customs, as we know them now from the Pylos-tablets, is the social organization of the landholders, on which the Macedonian war-aristocracy lived.¹¹

It has been already mentioned that the Indoeuropean kingship was hereditary within the family, but not always from father to son. It is a well known Mycenaean fact, that the kingship often passed from the king to his brother, then to the son of the previous king. A classical example is the transmission of Agamemnon's sceptre in the Iliad: It passed from Pelops to Atreus, then to Atreus's brother Aegisthos, then it returned to Atreus's son Agamemnon.¹² It is a remarkable fact, that this very custom was still in existence well into the period of the Diadochs. Plutarch has preserved us an instance, and the fact itself is the essential thing, not the explanation he gives: Eumene's kingship passed to his brother Attalos, then to Eumenes's son.¹³

Another curious and characteristic fact about the Macedonian kings was their medical ability; since it is described as miraculous, it derives clearly from their divine descent, just as once happened with Machaon and Podaleirios. It is stated about Pyrrhos, that he possessed special powers of medical treatment. The great toe of his right foot was miraculous; therefore it was found unharmed by the fire after the consumption of his body.¹⁴ Alexander is an-

9. Characteristic are the words of Professor F. Schachermeyr in his richly gifted book, *Alexander der Grosse* (p. 18): "Man trank nach alten Komment, man trank sogar um die Wette."

10. See my paper "Ἄνδρες ὑπερφιάλοι" in *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 40 (1965) p. 1-14.

11. Schachermeyr *l.c.* p. 23.

12. II. B 105-7. See for further details my paper "Περὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τάφου τῶν Μυκηνῶν", *Geras Keramopulos* (= *Makedonica*, Vol. 9) p. 9.

13. Plut. *Mor.* (*Reg. et Imper. Apophthegmata*) 184.

14. Plut. *Pyrrhos* III, 4-5.

other instance of a Macedonian king exercising with special pleasure the doctor's duties, though Plutarch was inclined to explain this fact as due to Aristotle's influence.¹⁵

Another characteristic feature of the Macedonian royal families, this time concerning the women, was the extremely active and often very strong influence of Macedonian Queens or princesses in public life.¹⁶

Since there was a general exclusion of women from public life all over the Mainland Greece in classical times, there remains only the Mycenaean period, with women like Aerope, Klytaimnestra and Anteia, Atalante or Deianeira and the like, as a parallel to the Macedonian royal women.

Olympias comes to mind, of course, in the framework of the condition described above; there are, indeed, further interesting links with the Cretan-Mycenaean world in this strong personality. It is stated repeatedly, that some extraordinary events made her still more dreaded: a serpent was once seen lying stretched out by the side of Olympias, and this may have been one of the reasons of Philip's aversion to her.¹⁷ On several other occasions Olympias used to appear with great tame snakes.¹⁸ In fact, we know from further sources, that in the neighbourhood of Pella this special breed of serpent did exist. When the charlatan seer Alexander reached Pella with his able companion Kokkonas, they still saw such domestic serpents.¹⁹

All these facts could be passed over as mere anecdotes without further significance; but now, with Minoan-Mycenaean evidence available, and with modern studies about snakes, and the cult of the snake as a domestic god, we must pay more attention to the evidence about snakes within the Macedonian court. The appearance of Olympias with snakes must remind us of appearances like the "Snake Goddess" or the "Snake priestess" of Knossos and of other places.²⁰

We shall mention two other points, one concerning the exterior appearance of the Macedonian warrior rulers and one concerning the officers of

15. Plut. *Alex.* VIII, 1.

16. Schachermeyr says aptly (*Alex.* 18), that: Ganz ungrisch... die Frauen den Männern fast gleichst... Bei den Makedonen spielte die Gattin, die Mutter, eine um so bedeutsame Rolle und stand oft an Herrschaft, Energie und trotzigem Feuer dem Gatten und Vater kaum nach."

17. Plut. *Alex.* II, 4.

18. *L.c.* II, 6.

19. Lucian, *Alex.* 7.

20. The Classical treatment of this subject is still that of Martin Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion* 2, 310 f., 321 f. (domestic cult of the snake), 360, f. (the so-called snake-frame).

their court. The appearance of the Mycenaean warriors is a subject, which can not be treated here. It is enough to say that the Mycenaeans were the first to decorate their weapons with elaborate motives and accessories. The first spectacular helmets are due to the early Mycenaean armourers. Among the decorations of the helmet are the horns of animals. Usually we see the ram's horns, but also the horns of a he-goat. We don't yet know, if there was some significance attributed to the different kinds of horns. It seems that there was. In view of this, it is interesting to see, that Pyrrhos bore on his helmet he-goat's horns, as it is stated by Plutarch.²¹ There is evidence, that some Macedonian kings bore horned helmets, and also a statue of Athena from Pella has a horned helmet. Alexander upon the famous mosaic bore, it seems, a horned helmet. Though this type of helmet was known among other people and at all periods (even in Renaissance times), within the Greek World we meet the horned helmet as a prominent feature only in the Mycenaean and in the Macedonian world.

A further interesting analogy exists in the titles of the court-officers. It was a common custom throughout the Oriental and Egyptian courts to designate the supreme state officers by the titles they possessed as servants of the king. The Bible and Herodotos still mention such titles, though not very accurate in translation. We know for instance from the clay-prism found in Nebukadnezar's palace at Babylon and dated 570 B.C. that the "Great Vizir" bore the archaic title of "Chief Breadmaker." His name is Nabu-zeri-Idinam. In the Bible (*Jeremiah* 52, 12) his name is Ναβουζαρδάν and his title is the "Chief Cook."²²

We know also from Egyptian sources that an important title was "The overseer of the Cattle." The steward of Amenophis II, named Ken-Amun, bore the title "The Foster of the Lord of the Two Lands, the Overseer of the Cattle of Amun."²³ Similar titles are known from the Amarna period.²⁴

I have tried to show, that a similar title existed in the Creto-Mycenaean world. In this period and even later, in the Homeric social conditions, the chief riches were the cattle and the Ox-herds, not yet agricultural products. Rich people are called in Homer πολύρρηνοι καὶ πολυβοῦται (II.IX 154). From architectural facts and from a series of portrait-gems, into which

21. Plut. *Pyrrhos* XI, 5.

22. The passage of the Greek translation of the Bible is this: Καὶ μηνὶ πέμπτῳ, δεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνός, ἦλθε Ναβουζαρδάν ὁ ἀρχιμάγειρος ὁ ἱσθηκὴς κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ Βασιλέως εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἐνέπρησε τὸν οἶκον Κυρίου.

23. William Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* II p. 147.

24. Erman-Banke, *Aegypten* p. 202.

I can not enter now, I came to the conclusion that the personalities represented are the "Heads of the Cattle." Sometimes they bear a goat's beard (Pl. Ia) and sometimes on the gem there appear in company of the portrait heads of cattle animals. I continue to believe that an official like the Egyptian "Overseer of the Cattle" existed in the courts of Crete and of Mainland Greece.²⁵

Now it is highly interesting to observe, that these titles, which already by the time of Nebukadnezar had no real meaning and were "archaic" (as they were also in the Persian Court), were still existing in the court of the Molossian kings under Pyrrhos. A high official was Samon, who was "Head of the Cattle and of the Ox-herds."²⁶ Samon is especially interesting for us here, owing to the similar position above-mentioned, of his predecessors in Egypt and in the Creto-Mycenaean culture; but it is no less significant that further similar titles existed in the Molossian courts, Μυρτίλος ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴνου (Plut. *Pyrr.* V, 3) and Alexicratos, the ἀρχαιονοχός (*l.c.* V, 4). This is one of the most characteristic instances of very ancient institutions surviving among Molossian and almost surely among Macedonian courts.

One last instance may close this survey, just because it is rather subtle in nature. It is a curious phenomenon which appears in art, but which is connected, I believe, with the divine origin and the apotheosis of the Hellenistic kings, which was mentioned above. This is the question of the supernaturally big eyes as a token of a divine personality. I have treated elsewhere this phenomenon, which appears from the oldest periods of civilization onwards, and among many peoples. It is complicated by the fact, that in some periods of art it becomes an artistic fashion and soon disappears again. But, simply, for the Hellenistic period, there can not be the least doubt, that the personalities are represented with big eyes just because they are divine. They must differ from the rest of mortal men, they must have something of βοῶπις Hera or of γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη. Thus we know from numerous portraits, that Alexander had quite regular eyes (Pl. Ib-IIa); but we find the same Ale-

25. See my papers, "Minoische Porträts" in *Festschrift M. Wegner* p. 12 f., Iakovidis, *Ἡ Μυκηναϊκή Ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, p. 12 f., *Archaeologia Homerica* I, Kap. B. (Haar- und Barttracht) p. 10.

26. Plut. *Pyrrhos* V, 5:2 Samon, a man who managed the flocks and herds of Neoptolemus. The original text is: Σάμωνος τοῦ τὰ ποιμνία καὶ τὰ βουκόλια τῷ Νεοπτολέμῳ διοικοῦντος. Kienast (*RE* s.v. *Pyrrhos* p. 119) observes: «Samon hatte am Hofe eine enge Stellung . . . Weitere wichtige Hofämter waren bezeichnenderweise ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴνου und ὁ ἀρχαιονοχός, die unter Pyrrhos, Myrtilos und Alexikrates basassen».

xander in coins (struck only in Southern Greece!) with a supernaturally big and circular eye (Pl. IIb). In the Naples Mosaic he is represented with an eye as big as that of Boucephalas: (Pl. IIIa); and, the *Θεοὶ ἄδελφοί* in Egypt are represented upon their coins (Pl. IIIb) with enormous eyes. Arsinoe, especially, shows such an exaggerated eye, that she could be called something more than a *βοῶπις*. It seems that this was a way to emphasize the godlike nature of the kings among their subjects.

Academy of Athens

SP. MARINATOS

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND TO THE MACEDONIAN KINGDOM

In 1939 Heurtley wrote his masterly book *Prehistoric Macedonia*. Since the war the excavations of the Greek, Yugoslav and Albanian scholars have added greatly to Heurtley's picture, but the results of most of these excavations are little known and less studied. I begin with Porodin and Crnobuki, two prehistoric mounds which are typical of many in the plain of Pelagonia beside the Cerna Reka, near Monastir (see Fig. 1).

Grbić and his colleagues¹ have shown that the first culture to establish itself in Pelagonia derived from Starčevo in the Danube basin but was distinct from other branches of the Starčevo stock. That was in the Early Neolithic Age. This culture reached as far south as Mogila and Optičare near Monastir. It had an uninterrupted development in Pelagonia from the Early Neolithic Age until the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age. It reached its highest point in the Late Neolithic Age, the period of Porodin, which may be equated with the period from the Arapi stage to the Larissa stage in Thessaly.² It is remarkable for its house-models and altar tables (see Fig. 2-3), and for figurines of humans and animals (see Fig. 4). One of the figurines represents a horse. This is the earliest representation of a horse in the Balkans. The Porodin culture was succeeded by the closely related culture of Crnobuki which lasted until the end of the Early Helladic period.³ It was only in the Middle Bronze Age that external influences made a deep impression on Pelagonia—influences emanating from Central Macedonia on the one hand and from the upper Vardar valley on the other hand—and even so, the Porodin-Crnobuki tradition gradually reasserted itself and continued into the historic period. How do we explain this remarkable continuity and this reassertion? Pelagonia north

1. Miodrag Grbić, Petar Mačkić Šandor Nad, Dragica Simoska, Blaženka Stalio, *Porodin* (Bitolj, 1960). See also M. Garašanin in 39 *Bericht d. Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* (1958) 114 f.

2. For the chronology see M. Garašanin "Zur Chronologie des makedonischen Neolithikums" in *Archaeologia Jugoslavica* 3 (1959) 1 f.

3. The Crnobuki material, reported to be in the Belgrade Museum, is still not published. A summary account is given by M. Garašanin in 39 *BRGK* (1958) 114 f.



Fig. 1. Macedonia and her Western Neighbours.

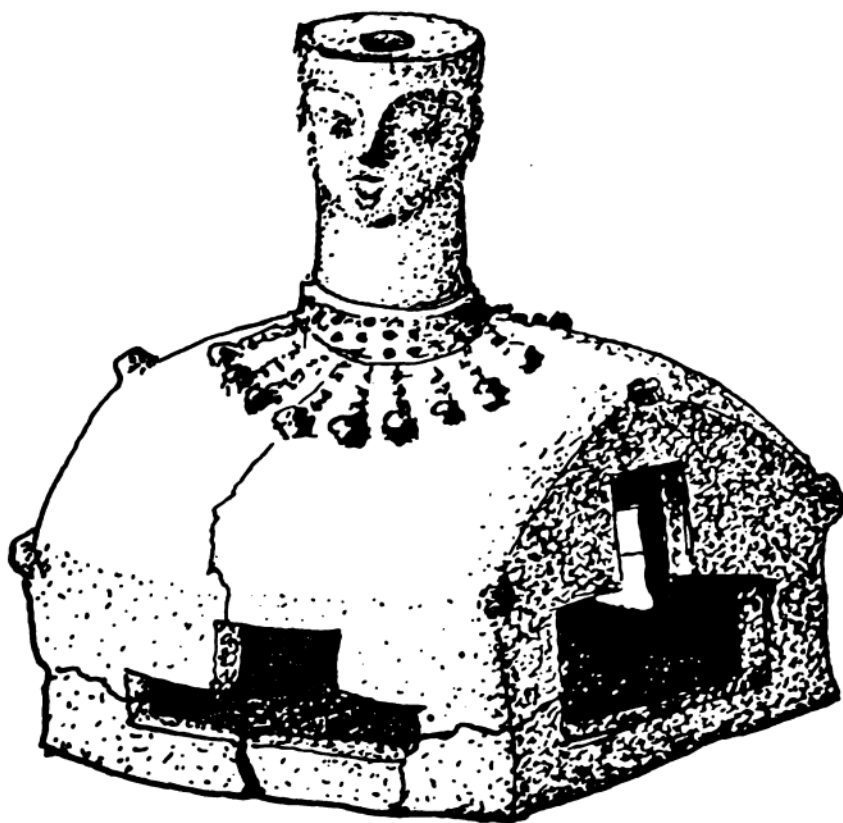


Fig. 2. House model (reconstructed) at Porodin.

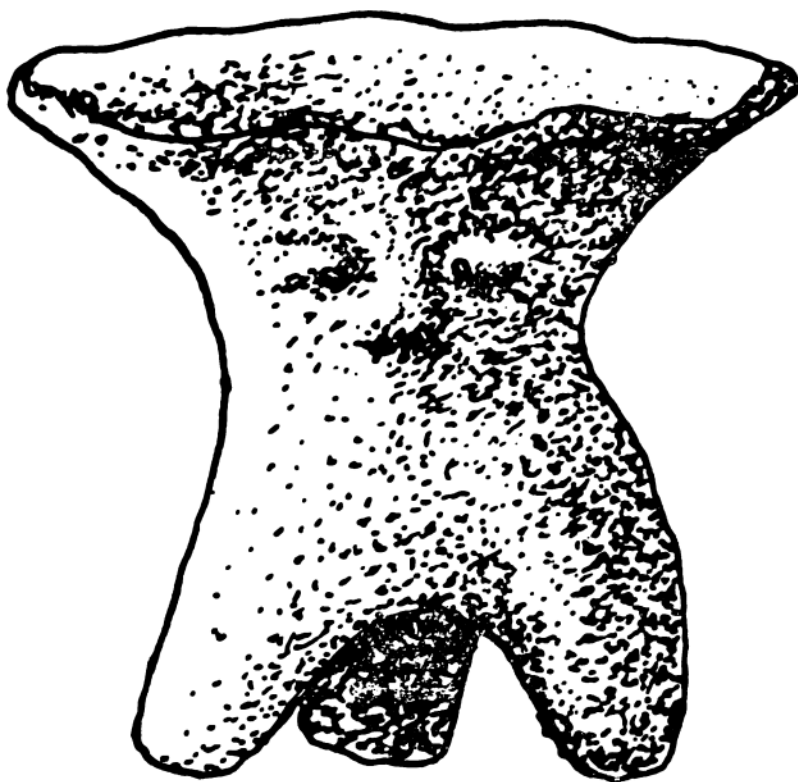


Fig. 3 Altar Table at Porodin.

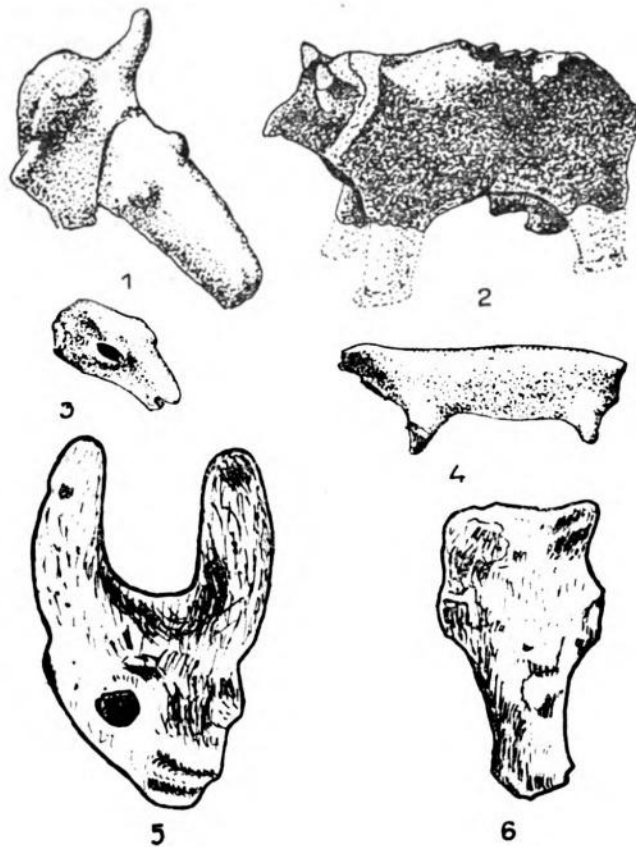


Fig. 4. Animals Figurines at Porodin.

of Monastir and Prilep is a cul-de-sac, and the entries at Monastir from the east and at Prilep from the west are easily defended; so that it seems most probable that we have here a continuity of the basic population, strongly conservative and relatively enlightened and gifted. Something similar happened in the classical period; for ephebic inscriptions at Tsepicovo which date to the Roman Empire show that some Pelagonian institutions lasted probably unaltered for a thousand years, whether the Macedonian kings or the Roman Emperors claimed dominion over Pelagonia. I conclude then that a people of the Starčevo stock persisted in Pelagonia from the Early Neolithic Age into the Late Bronze Age.

One continuing trait is a remarkable amount of plastic decoration of all kinds on the coarser pottery (see Fig. 5), and this profusion of decoration appears not only in Pelagonia over a long period but for a short time at Malik near Koritsa in Early Helladic times⁴ and then in Central Epirus in Middle Helladic times and continuing to the 4th century B.C. (see Fig. 6).⁵ The obvious explanation is that the peoples of Pelagonia expanded via Malik and occupied Central Epirus, probably as a result of pressures from Central Macedonia and the upper Vardar valley. We can now see the cultural basis and no doubt the ethnological basis for the belief of ancient geographers that the "Molossian tribes" or the "Epirotic tribes" included the Pelagones, the Lyncestae and the Orestae.⁶ This pattern of peoples living in high mountainous country and in the marshy plains of the lacustrine basins was evidently all of a piece in the classical period, and it owed its unity to events which had taken place in the Bronze Age. As I have argued in my book *Epirus*, these peoples spoke Greek in the Late Bronze Age, probably Greek of the north-west-Greek dialect. Yet their origin in the Starčevo area means that they were of non-Indo-European stock.

The spread of Greek speech as of other Indo-European languages is associated by our philologists with the spread of the "Kurgan" peoples,⁷ who buried their chieftains in mortuary chambers sunk in the virgin ground and covered with a low tumulus of soil. This manner of burial is absolutely distinctive. The most remarkable discovery of such burials has been made in Albania by Frano Prendi and his colleagues, who have excavated a large number of such tumuli.⁸ They are found in the area from south of Scodra

4. *Studia Albanica* 1966, 1, 259 in Malik IIa.

5. N.G.L. Hammond, *Epirus* (Oxford 1967) 292 and 298 f., there called K2 ware.

6. *Ibid.* 461 f.

7. For example, R.A. Crossland in *Cambridge Ancient History*³ I, XXVII (1967). 49f.

8. Excavation reports or summaries are published in *Buletin per Shkencat Shqetore*

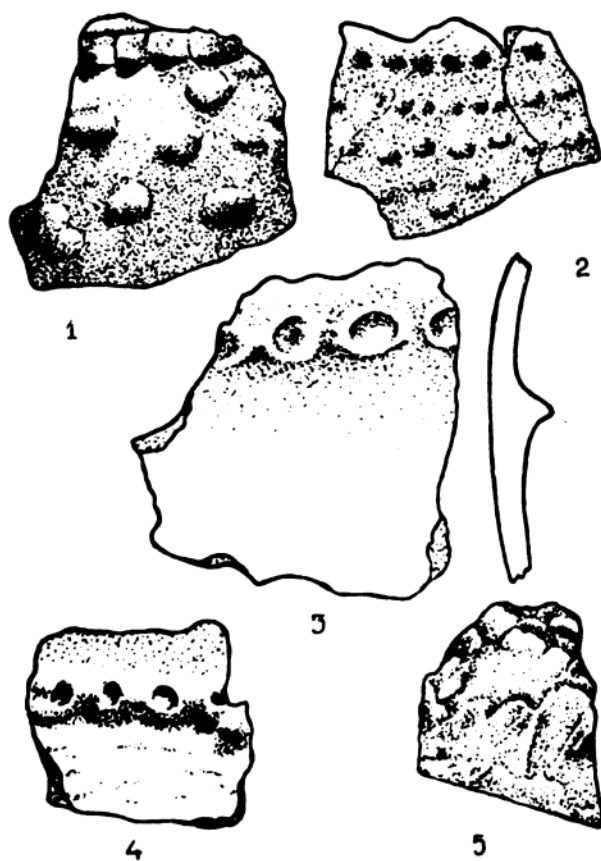


Fig. 5. Incised and impressed Ware at Porodln.

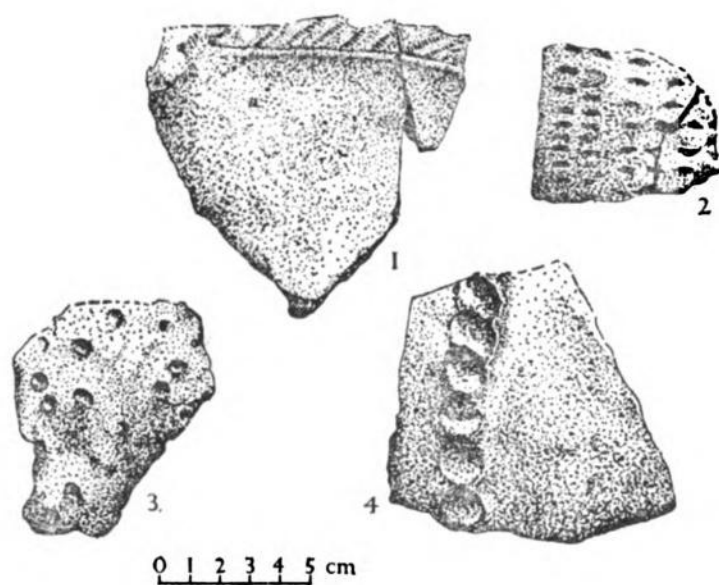


Fig 6. Incised and impressed Ware at Kastritsa.

to the frontier with Greece, usually on the lowland country and beside a river bed. I show a double tumulus at Pazhok southwest of Elbasan in the sink between the Shkumbi and the Devoli in Pl. IV—note the circular mortuary chamber, the ox-head sacrifice, the ring of orthostats, the dome of shingle, the outer ring of the outer tumulus, and the great size of this ring—some 21 m. in diameter. The inner tumulus here and other tumuli from the Mati valley to the Kseria valley near Kakavi are to be dated not later than the Middle Bronze Age and some may be of the Early Helladic period. I show another double tumulus of Middle Helladic date from Vodhinë in the Kseria valley in Fig. 7. It seems certain that Kurgan chieftains were buried here throughout the Bronze Age and may even have arrived with their horses and wagons in the Late Neolithic Age. This exciting discovery reveals the origins also of the tumuli of the R graves at Nidhri in Leucas, of which the earliest are of Early Helladic II, the shingle-covered tumulus at Lerna of Early Helladic II/III, and at many sites in Greece in Middle Helladic; Same in Cephalonia; Samikon in Elis; Pylos in Elis; Papoulia, Peristeria and Malthi in Messenia; Kea in Ceos; Aphidna in Attica; and Elatea in Phocis. I have argued recently in the *Annual of the British School at Athens* that the Grave Circles at Mycenae are of the same derivation, and that they were made originally to retain the soil of a tumulus.⁹ But that is another story. The main point for Macedonia is that we find groups of presumably Greek-speaking chieftains in Albania at this time, and that it is from these chieftains that the Porodin peoples of Pelagonia may be believed to have adopted the Greek language. I envisage the process as lasting from c. 2600 B.C. to c. 1900 B.C. Then began the chief diaspora of Greek-speakers into Epirus as well as into central Greece and the Peloponnesos.

What then of other parts of Macedonia? Here the two burials in a pit at Sérvia are important because they are burials of the Kurgan type, although the tumulus has disappeared.¹⁰ I date the earlier of the burials to Sérvia II b in Early Helladic I. The implication here too is that, as in Pelagonia, Greek speech became current in the upper and middle Haliacmon valley in the course

1955.1.130. f. (Mati); 1956.1.180 f. (Vodhinë); and 1957.2.76 f. (Vajzë); *Buletin i Universitetit Shtetëror të Tiranës, Seria Shkencat Shoqërore* 1959.2.190 f. (Kakavi and Bodrishtë); *Studia Albanica* 1964.1.95 f. (Pazhok) and 101 f. (Mati). Other groups of tumuli are reported in the Zadrimë plain on the right bank of the Drin, SE of Scodra (*Studia Albanica* 1964, 1.101 f.).

9. *BSA* 62 (1967) 83 f. with references to the tumuli at Nidhri, Lerna, Same, Kea etc. on pp. 91 f.

10. W.A. Heurtley, *Prehistoric Macedonia* 54 f., and my comments in *BSA* 62 (1967) 94 f.

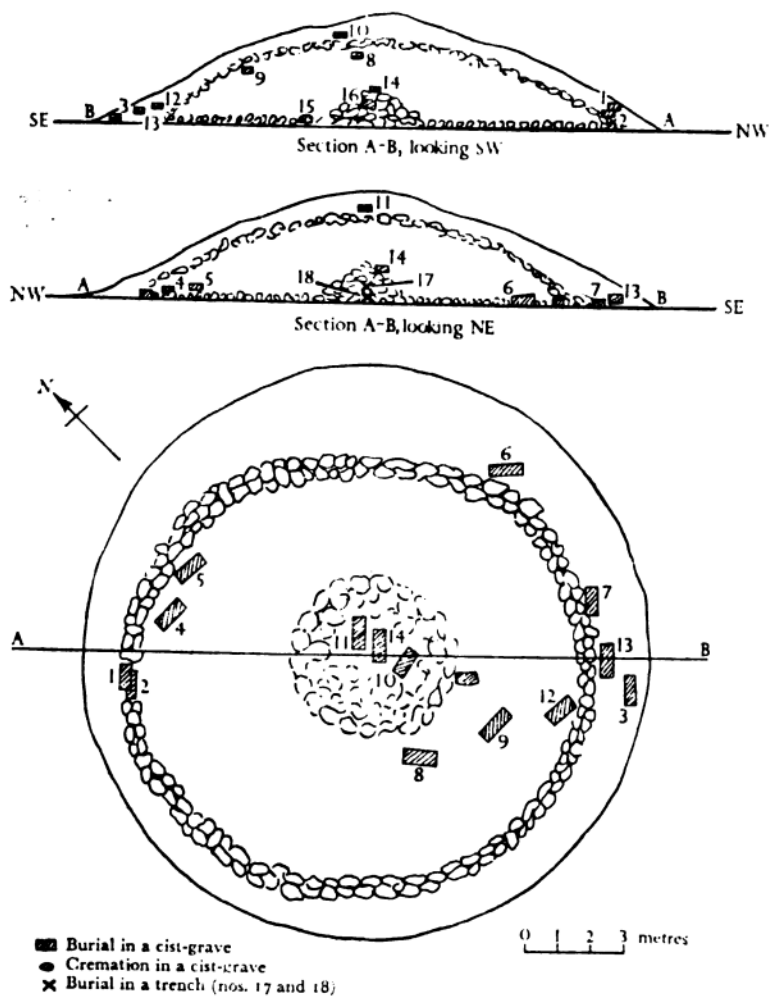


Fig. 7. Double Tumulus at Vodhinž.

of the Early Helladic and Middle Helladic periods. There is evidence too in Thessaly, especially at Sesklo in the cist-graves, that peoples from the Haliacmon valley settled in northern Thessaly in the latter part of the Thessalian Late Neolithic Age which overlaps with the Early Helladic period farther south, and it is probable that these also were speakers of Greek. At this point we may introduce the literary tradition as we find it in Hesiod fragments 7 and 9 (ed. Merkelbach). He gives the origins of the Greek-speaking peoples within and not outside the area later known as 'Ελλάς, and he puts the place of origin in northern Thessaly, where Deucalion's son 'Ελλην begot his three sons, Doros, Xouthos and Aiolos. But in addition to them he mentions the collateral branch descended through Deucalion's daughter Thyia—namely Magnes and Makedon. Of these Hesiod puts Magnes in the area of Olympus. In the Homeric Catalogue of Ships the Magnetes are already beside the river Peneus and the mountain Pelion,¹¹ so that the Hesiodic tradition goes farther back into the Bronze Age.

Makedon and his descendants lived in Pieria, according to Hesiod, that is at a time earlier than the Trojan War. We may infer this also from two statements in Herodotus: first that when the Dorian *ethnos* moved from Thessaly, it passed from Olympus to Pindus and took at this stage the name Μακεδόν (1.56); and second, that when Xerxes went from Thessaloniki to Olympus he went through τὸ Μακεδονικὸν ὄρος (7.131). It seems from these passages that the homeland of the Macedonians lay in the mountains of Pieria and in the middle Haliacmon valley in the latter part of the Late Bronze Age as well as in the Dark Age.

I have said the middle Haliacmon valley because we have new evidence from Malik in Albania.¹² The site at Malik is the richest single site yet found either in Albania or in Macedonia, but for our present purpose all we need say is that Malik provides the origin of the style of matt-painted pottery found at Boubousti (Platania) by Heurtley and dated by him there from 1300 B.C. down to archaic times.¹³ Malik III d has this pottery in a richer form and at an earlier date, namely from c. 1600 B.C.; typical designs on it are shown in Pl. Va and b. We can see then that Boubousti, which was an encampment of shepherds, belongs to the Pindus group, a group which includes the plain of Ioannina, the plateau of Koritsa and no doubt the basin of Kastoria. Indeed we see an analogy here to the importance of Wallachia in medieval times.

11. *Iliad* 2.756 f.

12. *Studia Albanica* 1964.1.91. f. and 1966.1.255 f.

13. W.A. Heurtley, *Prehistoric Macedonia* 100 and in *BSA* 28 (1926-27) 177.

The expansion of the Macedonian people from their homeland in the middle Haliacmon valley was always attributed to the leadership of the royal house. It began only after the arrival of the Temenid Kings, and it happened perhaps late in the 8th century, if we accept the number of generations given by Herodotus and Thucydides.¹⁴ Whether we believe in an ultimate derivation of the royal house from the Temenid kings of Argos or not, we should give importance to the tradition in Herodotus that the royal house came out of Illyria and descended via Lyncus to Lebaea in the Macedonian homeland of Pieria.¹⁵ The later customs of the Macedonian kings and their Hetairoi suggest that the aristocrats were a racial élite, distinct from our Makedones of the Late Bronze Age and more Hellenic than they, perhaps as being of the Dorian stock which ruled Argos in the Peloponnesos. Some comparisons have been drawn between the Macedonian kings with their Hetairoi and the Mycenaean rulers but perhaps not the one I am about to make. In Macedonia the outward and visible sign of a built Macedonian tomb is a low tumulus, and it is for this reason that early travellers wrote of the ancient road at Pella being lined with tumuli. At Mycenae the outward and visible sign of a tholos-tomb was a low tumulus. In each case it is natural to suppose that the tumulus belonged to the traditional form of burial and that the built tomb under it was the elaboration of a more lavish age. I should then assume as a hypothesis that the Macedonian kings and their Hetairoi were of a stock which practised tumulus-burial in the Kurgan manner, unlike the Makedones commoners. I should look for the earlier tumulus-burials at the traditional place of royal burials, Aegeae, the ancient capital of the Macedonians.

As a capital city of the Macedonians, Aegeae has been associated by all scholars, I think, with the modern Edessa, until recently called Vodhena, but on inadequate grounds. In the ancient sources Aegeae is described as being the first capital of the Macedonians. For instance Justin 7.1.7 f. states that Caranos (the first Argead king) renamed a city Edessa as "Aegeae" and the Makedones as "Argeadae," and this was evidently supposed to have been before the Macedonians advanced from Pieria even as far as the gardens of Midas below Mt. Bermium. The implications are that Aegeae was in the Macedonian homeland of Pieria, and that the name Aegeae displaced the name Edessa there for ever. In other words the fourth century city of Edessa at Vodhena is entirely separate from the city of Aegeae. Moreover there is clear evidence that in the fourth century B.C. and later there were two separate and

14. Hdt.8,139 and Thuc.2,100,2.

15. Hdt.8,137; Thuc.2,99,3 and 5,80,2.

important cities, Aegeae and Edessa. In an inscription of the fourth century B.C. recording gifts to the Argive Heraeum (IG IV 617 line 15) gifts came ἐξ Ἰεσάν and ἐξ Ἐδέσσης, and it was seen by Foucart that the restoration ἐξ Ἀλγεᾶν is almost inevitable. In addition, Plutarch (*Pyrrhus* 10.2; 12.6; 26.6), Ptolemy (3.13.39) and Pliny (*HN* 4.33 and 6.216) all mention both Aegeae and Edessa as separate places.

Where then was Aegeae? Theophrastus *De Ventis* 27, who had personal knowledge of Macedonia, gives us the best clue. According to him a strong north wind, striking the high country of Olympus, drives the lower clouds down and back, that is back towards the north, and this happens πρὸς Ἀλγεᾶς τῆς Μακεδονίας. Aegeae, then, must have lain on the north side of the long Olympus massif and low down in relation to a steep escarpment, so that a katabatic wind had this effect. Ptolemy places Aegeae in Emathia, so that it must have faced the central plain of Macedonia. On the basis of these two passages we have to put Aegeae somewhere near the entry of the Haliacmon river into the central plain, for example near Palatitsa-Vergina, which lies under the steep escarpment of the Pierian mountains and overlooks Emathia. When we look for the early graves of the Macedonian kings in this area, we are led inevitably to the tumulus-burials of Vergina.¹⁶ I see some of the burials as those of the Macedonian kings and their closest associates, and I see their tumulus-burial there as the ancestor of the built Macedonian tomb. In other words some tumulus-burials of Vergina are the earliest Royal Graves of the Argeadae.¹⁷

When we look for the source from which the tumulus-burials were derived, we should first follow the pointer given to us by Herodotus, when he brought some Macedonian kings from Illyria via Lyncus to Lebaea. And it is in fact in Illyria that we have the closest analogy to the Vergina burials, closest both in time and in space. The points of similarity are both general and particular. At Vergina the sizes of the tumuli (ranging up to 20 m. in diameter), the ring wall of stones, the occasional cairn of stones, the numerous secondary burials within a tumulus, the burial in a pithos or in a stone-lined mortuary chamber, the inventory of offerings—weapons, jewelry and pot-

16. Reports are in *PAE* 1952, 211f. and 1953, 141f.; *Ergon* 1960, 87 f. and 1961, 99f.; *Archaeological Reports* 1959-60, 1960-1 and 1961-2; *Balkan Studies* 2 (1961) 85 f.; and *Arch. Delt.* 17 (1961-2) 218 f.

17. Of the many "built Macedonian tombs" only one, so far as I know, contained a throne. This was appropriately at Vergina; see K.A. Παυλάτου, *Ὁ Μακεδονιστὸς τάφος τῆς Βεργίνης* (Athens, 1950). Dated to the fourth century B.C. it may well be the tomb of Philip II who was assassinated at Aegeae.

tery—are all features of the tumuli in Albania, which range from the Mati valley to the Kseria valley of North Epirus. The particular points of similarity are as follows. The earliest tumuli at Vergina contain graves of the latest phase of the Late Bronze Age, namely grave CA and grave LXV AP; of the important objects in these graves the bronze sword of Type II Group I is best paralleled by similar swords from tumuli at Vodhinë and Kakavi in the Kseria valley, and the arching fibulae by one from a tumulus at Perlat in the Mati valley.¹⁸ The bulk of the tumuli at Vergina are of the Early Iron Age and between c. 1050 and 600 B.C. This is the case also with the tumuli in the Mati valley, which run into some hundreds in number as at Vergina. The chief similarities in detail are in the possessions or offerings, found in the graves or in the fill of the tumulus. I note the following: bronze diadems, hair-coils of bronze or gold wire,¹⁹ spiralling bracelets, finger-rings, and tweezers of bronze, and iron weapons which include spearheads, swords and knives sometimes of the sickle or curved type, which the Romans called *sica*, an Illyrian word which is doubtless preserved in the modern Albanian *thika*. It was observed by Andronikos that at Vergina the tumuli were arranged in groups which indicated a system of families or clans; and the same point was made independently with regard to the Mati valley tumuli, where the groups had from 4 to 15 tumuli.

If the general source of the Vergina tumuli is clear, the precise source is not yet identifiable, because Vergina has features not found in the Mati valley. Thus Vergina has very many spectacle-fibulae. These are found in the tumuli of Vodhinë in the Kseria valley and as dedications at Dodona,²⁰ but not in the Mati valley (of the latter I have seen recently only a summary report). The pottery at Vergina is generally (not entirely) different from that in Albania. The jug with cut-away neck, for example, is a traditional form in Macedonia and not in Albania. The button-ended handles at Vergina are known in a similar but not the same form in the Dobrača tumuli of West Serbia. The open bowls usually with four handles at Vergina seem to have no

18. *Arch. Delt.* 17 (1961-2) A.242 and Pl. 146a; A.285 and fig. 58 on p. 280; *Studia Albanica* 1964.1. Pl. XIV.2. (Perlat).

19. In my lecture I mentioned amber. This is very common in the Mati tumuli (*Studia Albanica* 1964.1.103). It was reported frequently in the publications of Vergina (e.g. *Arch. Delt.* 17 A.227 f.), but Professor Andronikos and Dr. Petsas tell me that this was incorrect and this material is not amber but carnelian.

20. See N.G.L. Hammond, *Epirus* 350 and 355. After I gave my lecture I travelled in North Greece and Yugoslavia, and Mrs. Vokotopoulou told me of the many spectacle fibulae which are being found at Vitsa in Zagori in Epirus in her current excavations of an Early Iron Age burial ground.

parallels in neighbouring areas.²¹ Nevertheless, on the present evidence it is clear that the probable source of those who buried their dead at Vergina from c. 1050 B.C. onwards was Central Albania.

So far then as our present knowledge goes, it appears probable that the tumulus-burial people of Vergina came from the vicinity of central or northern Albania in the Early Iron Age, individual groups arriving perhaps at different times between 1050 and say 650 B.C. The last of these were perhaps the Argeadae and their Royal House, the Temenidae, Makedones. If so, they were the last of the Greek-speaking Kurgan chieftains to enter the confines of Greece from the Albanian area. On the other hand the tumulus-burying peoples who were in the Mati valley after c. 1000 B.C. were certainly Illyrian-speaking peoples. For they were an extension of the peoples of western Serbia who practised a similar kind of tumulus-burial.

What of the Temenidae themselves? Did they come, as Herodotus thought, from Illyria to become kings of the Makedones, even as the Bacchiadae came from Illyria to become kings of the Lyncestae? If so, did they come via Argos Oresticum in the upper Haliacmon valley, as Appian believed?²² And had their ancestors come from Argos c. 700 B.C., even as the Bacchiadae had come from Corinth c. 657 B.C. to settle in Illyria? We may never know the answer; but it cannot be denied that the excavation of similar tumuli in the Mati valley and in the Haliacmon valley has gone some way towards making the story retailed by Herodotus more credible. Even so probability is one thing and certainty is another: ἄλλα τὰ μάτια τοῦ λαγοῦ καὶ ἄλλα τῆς κουκουβάγιας.

University of Bristol

N. G. L. HAMMOND

21. I can now give several. The most important are from the district of Prilep in Pologonia. The material is in the Museum at Bitola (Monastir) and is unpublished. Large bowls with two button-ended handles are typical of a tumulus at Saraj and open bowls with four handles are typical of a tumulus at Petilep both near Visol. At Visol itself, the large tumulus, containing some 38 cist graves, has examples of very many objects found in the Vergina graves. There are also two examples of the bowl with two button-ended handles from Koundouriotissa in Pieria (in the Museum at Thessaloniki).

22. Appian, *Syr.* 62. "Ἀργὸς τὸ ἐν Ὀρεσταίῳ, ὅθεν οἱ Ἀργεῖαι Μακεδόνες.

THE SECURITY OF THE MACEDONIAN THRONE UNDER PHILIP II

My first intention in this paper is to attempt to show that the evidence for Philip's regency is worthless; to this end I shall discuss the significance of four Boiotian inscriptions, one (*IG* VII 3055) from Lebadeia and three (*Ibid.*, 4250, 4251; for the last see below)¹ from the Amphiareion at Oropos. What I hope will also emerge is a picture of factional strife within Macedonia in the reigns of Philip and Alexander.

On the death in 359 BC of the Macedonian king Perdikkas in battle with Illyrian invaders, Philip II—according to Diodoros—became king of Macedonia, ruling for 24 years until 336.² Justin's version, on the other hand, is that Philip became regent; he remained—*diu*—*non regem sed tutorem pupilli*. His *pupillus*, his ward, was his young nephew Amyntas, son of the late king Perdikkas. But (Justin continues) as Macedonia was threatened by serious wars and needed the leadership of more than a mere boy, Philip *compulsus a populo regnum suscepit*.³ These are the two most detailed sources for the accession of Philip, though we may note additionally that a scholiast on Aischines (III.51) wrote: "in the archonship of Kallimedes, the first year of Olympiad 105, Philip became king of Macedonia" (ἐβασίλευσε Μακεδονίᾳ). Two preliminary remarks may be made at this stage about the evidence. In the first place, Justin's notice appears at the end of what is generally accepted as a distorted account of Perdikkas' death and perhaps deserves little credence purely on its own merits. (Justin must be wrong, for one thing, in his use of the word *diu*; if Philip was regent at all, it was certainly not "for a long time.") Secondly, Justin calls Philip *tutor*; that is, he was the guardian, the protector

1. Βασ. Χ. Πετράκου, «Ἐπιγραφὴ Ὀρωποῦ», *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 21 (1966) Α' 45-47. I am very grateful to Prof. Dr. Christian Habicht for pointing out to me the existence of this stone.

2. *DS* XVI. 1.3, 2.1.

3. *Just.* VIII.5.9-10.

of his ward; the word does not necessarily imply that he was *vice agens*, ruling in place of his *pupillus*, vice-regent in the modern sense of the word. In any case, it is not simply a question of Justin's word against Diodoros'. Although an argument from silence is always dangerous it must nevertheless be a *prima facie* strength of Diodoros' case that Demosthenes from first to last never so much as hints at any regency. He accuses the Macedonian of falsehood, bloodlust, debauchery and treachery; he asserts that the king enjoyed the loyalty neither of his allies nor even of his own subjects—but not once does he charge him with usurping the throne from its rightful incumbent. Yet if Justin were right this charge would have been ready-made for Demosthenes' use. If it was the young Amyntas who became king in 359 then no matter whether Philip seized the throne or was begged to take it, surely, it seems to me, Demosthenes could and would have labelled Philip a usurper. That he did not suggests—though of course it does not prove—either that Diodoros, and not Justin, is right, or that Justin at least oversimplified or distorted whatever did happen.

In the nineteenth century the problem was recognized and the great majority of scholars followed Justin's version. Holm, almost alone, attempted to make use of Diodoros, while still showing awareness of the problem raised by Justin: "It is true that Perdikkas' son Amyntas, ought really to have taken over the government, but Philip was powerful and his rival still a child."⁴

Two English scholars, in the 18th and 19th centuries, saw and copied an inscription of the 4th century BC at Lebadeia in Boiotia.⁵ The stone is now lost but enough survives in our two copies to give us a vital piece of information. The inscription contains first a series of prescriptions governing consultation of the oracle of Trophonios, followed by a list of people who visited this shrine, presumably over a short period.⁶ The key section for our purposes is lines 7-8, which were restored at first as:

[Ἀμ]ύντα[ς Ἀριδῆ]ω Μα]κεδόνων βασιλεύ[ς].

That is, the king who καταβάς ἐν τῷ ἄντρον ὑπὲρ αὐτοσσαντῷ ἀνέθηκε[... ... F]κατῖ was Amyntas III, ruler of Macedonia for nearly twenty years du-

4. *History of Greece*, transl. London 1896, Vol. III, p. 205.

5. R. Pococke, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, P. I c. 5 s. 5 p. 61 and W. M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, Vol. II, pp. 129, 132, Pl. VII no. 32. *IG VII 3055* shows both copies, which are also set out very usefully, in alternating lines, by Meister in H. Collitz, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, Vol. I, pp. 156-9.

6. 21 names or parts of names are preserved—some repeated—in what appears to be over half of the original inscription.

ring the first third of the fourth century.⁷ But Köhler in 1889 proposed this reconstruction:

[Ἀμύντα[ς] Π[ερ]δ[ικ]κα [Μα]κεδόνων βασιλεύ[ς],

a reading that makes considerably better use of the letters as they were copied and which has now been universally accepted. The only Amyntas Perdikka who could possibly be called king of the Macedonians was the young Amyntas, nephew of Philip II. The consequent lowering of the date, to the early years of Philip's reign, pleased Köhler moreover because he thought the dialect peculiarities "für eine spätere Entstehung (than the period of Amyntas III, father of Philip II) zu sprechen scheinen."⁸ This reading would also mean that the young Amyntas, a mere child when his father was killed in 360/59, actually bore the title of king, thus in substance confirming Justin's notice on the regency.

However the problem of the length of the regency still remained, one which had already produced wide-ranging interpretations of Justin's *diu*. A determination of the point at which Philip *regnum suscepit* was necessary, particularly in view of Köhler's unlikely suggestion that Amyntas had been removed from the throne when, and not before, he reached the age of maturity, when for the first time Philip would have been forced to make the decision to resign his regency or to depose his rival. This certainly took Justin literally but meant that Philip would still have been only regent as late as 350,⁹ by which time Demosthenes' opposition was getting into full swing—clearly impossibly late. Alternatively, did Philip assume the throne at or immediately after his appointment to the regency?¹⁰ Or could some likely turning-point be found later in his career that might suggest the assumption of regal power or that might have represented the building up of his stocks to the point where he was begged to take over?¹¹ Or was it impossible to tell?¹² Although all

7. 393/2-370/69, less the two years 384-382 of Argaios' reign; Beloch III, 2, 57ff.

8. U. Köhler, "Boiotische Inschriften aus dem thebanischen Zeit," *Hermes* XXIV (1889) 640-643.

9. Amyntas Perdikka in 359 must have been less than 10 years old. Perdikkas, in 368/9 after the murder of his elder brother Alexander II, had been a minor and the regency had been assumed by his mother Eurydike and step-father Ptolemy of Aloros (cf. Geyer, *RE*, s.v. "Perdikkas" 3; Aischines II.28-9 for Ptolemy's regency, though Aischines' chronology seems completely askew—on which Aymard, *REA* LVI (1954) 19).

10. Holm, *op.cit.*, p.205, Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon* (London 1897) p.42, Pickard-Cambridge, *Cambridge Ancient History* VI, p. 203.

11. Most scholars (eg. Beloch III.1.232, Glotz, *Hist.Grec.* III.226, Momigliano, *Filippo il Macedone*, p.53) date the assumption of royalty around the foundation of Philippi (356). Schäfer puts it earlier, 358 (*Demosthenes und seine Zeit* II. 16ff)

12. By implication, Niese, *Gesch. des Hellenismus* I, pp.27-8, Berve, *Das Alexander-*

three possibilities had their proponents, none but Köhler was prepared to accept a version that would keep the crown for Amyntas at least as late as 350. For while it is hardly conceivable that Demosthenes could have overlooked so perfect an opportunity for denigrating Philip to the Athenians had Amyntas been king for only five minutes, it is quite out of the question that he (and Diodoros, using as we now believe Ephoros for a source¹³) was unaware that Philip was still not king even as late as the *First Philippic*. So while Justin's evidence was accepted to some extent (with more or less latitude in the interpretation of his *diu*), Köhler's suggestion as to the length of the regency was ignored.

However, the reconstruction Ἀμύντας Περδικκα Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς stood unchallenged. Further, it seemed there might be complementary evidence from about the same period in one of a pair of inscriptions from the Amphiareion at Oropos.¹⁴ In this, *proxenia* is awarded to one Ἀμύνταν Περδικκα Μακεδόνα by the Oropian assembly. Interestingly, the word Μακεδόνα is inscribed over an erasure which Dittenberger suggested may have obliterated Βασιλέα.¹⁵ This is most unlikely,¹⁶ but whether it is so or not we may be sure of one thing, that this is the same Amyntas Perdikka we met at Lebadeia; it is straining coincidence too far to assume that two *different* people of the same name and patronymic and from the same country were sufficiently noteworthy to be subjects of approximately synchronous inscriptions in the same general area. The Amyntas Perdikka at Oropos is the same as the Amyntas Perdikka at Lebadeia. Köhler's reading is confirmed.

The other inscription of the pair is also noteworthy. It is exactly identical in form with its twin except that it records the granting of *proxenia* to Ἀμύνταν Ἀντιόχου Μακεδόνα.¹⁷ That is, the man who in a sense is associated

reich II, No. 61, who accept the regency as fact but offer no suggestion as to its terminal date.

13. Hammond, *C.Q.* XXXI (1937) 81-2, 85ff.

14. *IG* VII 4251 = Ditt. *Syll.*³ I, 258. Dittenberger dates it pre-338, Tod (No. 164A) c.350, Hicks and Hill (*GHI*³ 142) around the middle of the 4th c., *IG* between 366 and 338, the years between Oropos' entry into the Boiotian League and the League's dissolution by Philip after the battle of Chaironeia.

15. *loc. cit.*

16. Although the suggestion is attractive, the restitution of the royal title would leave no room at all for the ethnic, which is surely a *sine qua non* in any proxeny-decree; cf. Klaffenbach, *Griechische Epigraphik*, Göttingen 1966, pp. 80-83, esp. 80. The only alternative—that the engraver erased the title and inserted the ethnic in its place before beginning the next word—is rather far-fetched. It has been argued, in any case, that the marks remaining on the stone do not support Dittenberger's conjecture (Leonardos, *AE* 1919, 64a).

17. *IG* VII 4250. As well as the exact coincidence of form, and for most of their length

with Amyntas Perdikka in 336/5, as we shall see, by their treatment at the hands of Alexander the Great is associated also with him in these inscriptions.

Thus the picture emerges of two Amyntases travelling in central Greece, their itinerary preserved in only two details through their contacts with the Boiotian towns of Lebadeia and Oropos. The date, it *seems*, must be in the 350s (to fit the date of Philip's regency)—and because of Demosthenes' silence we must say the *early* 350s. If so, then, as we have seen, one of our travellers is a boy of perhaps 10 years or less. He is using the title of Macedonian king, and he is in company with—or company *including*—Amyntas Antiochou.

Now the son of Antiochos is also an interesting figure. We do not know his background but his appointment as Oropian *proxenos* suggests that he was a person of some importance. At some time after the assassination of Philip in 336 (and before the demotion of Alexander of Lynkos in 334)¹⁸ he fled from Alexander to Asia Minor where he was appointed to the command of a body of Greek mercenaries in the service of Dareios.¹⁹ On this defection he took with him a letter to the Persian king from the Lynkestian noble Alexander, son of Aëropos. This is the Lynkestian who had been in Aigai with his two brothers at Philip's death. All three were accused of the murder; two were executed immediately, but the third, Alexander, was spared because he was the son-in-law of Antipatros and because he quickly hailed his namesake as king and escorted him to the fortress at Aigai.²⁰ His letter, carried by Amyntas Antiochou, was evidently treasonous in content because Dareios responded by promising the Lynkestian 1000 talents plus his aid in securing the Macedonian throne if he were to kill the new king.²¹ Thus between 336 and 334 after the death of Philip, three significant actions took place: Alexander had his cousin Amyntas Perdikka killed;²² Amyntas Antiochou fled to Asia Minor; the Lynkestian Alexander initiated (or continued) treasonous dealings

exactly the same dispensation of letters to the line, both stones bear erasures under the words $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\delta\omicron\zeta\epsilon$. (1.2). Whatever may have been cut originally—and at so early a stage of the text it is not likely to have been historically significant—precisely the same error was made with both; they are clearly exactly synchronous.

18. That is, between the middle of 336 and the winter of 334. Alexander's removal of his Lynkestian namesake from his command (Arrian I.25) provides us with a *terminus ante quem*; before this Amyntas Antiochou deserted with Alexander's treasonous letter to Dareios.

19. Arrian I.17.9, Diodoros XVII.48.2, Curtius III.11.18, Plut. *Al.* 20.

20. Arrian I.25, Curtius VII.1.6-7, Justin XI.2.2.

21. Arrian I.25.3ff; cf. Diodoros XVII. 32.1, 80.2, Curtius VII. 1.9, Justin XII, 14.1, for the subsequent experiences of Alexander Aëropou and for his death.

22. Curtius VI.9.17, Plutarch *de fort. Al.* 1.3 (*Mor.* 327C), Justin XII.6.14.

with Persia. In 336 or 335, that is, these three men were associated in their common opposition to Alexander's throne—or at least in Alexander's suspicion of such opposition. As we have seen, two of them were also associated at Oropos, somewhere near the time that the first was recorded as a visitor to the oracle of Trophonios at Lebadeia. There he was titled King of the Macedonians.

The most likely explanation of all these facts, I suggest, especially in view of the events after Philip's death, is that we have here a group in opposition to the Macedonian throne, trying to strengthen the royal claim of one of its members by seeking support outside Macedonia. And it is tempting to see behind the two central figures the influence—if not the actual presence—of the Lynkestian house, traditionally opposed to the royal house at Pella and perhaps now intending to rule the country through the young claimant to the throne.

To the three associated inscriptions already discussed is now added a fourth by a recent publication by Bas. Ch. Petrakos.²³ This inscription, also from the Amphiareion, contains simply the words:

[Ἀριστομ[ῆδ]ης Με[.....] [Φ]εραῖος Ἀμφια[ράω].

Aristomedes of Pherai, we know from Arrian,²⁴ deserted to Dareios, like Amyntas Antiochou and others. Now whereas the two proxeny-decrees were inscribed on marble stelai, the Aristomedes-inscription appears on the base of what seems to have been a votive offering.²⁵ Nevertheless, the degree of accidental coincidence would be multiplied vastly beyond belief were we not to associate this offertory inscription with the *proxeniai* granted to Amyntas Perdikka and Amyntas Antiochou.

The plot thickens, it seems, to include now a group of three central figures, two Macedonians and a Pheraian. The question of chronology can be avoided no longer. I have assumed to date that this opposition took place extremely early in Philip's reign. We know of three other challenges at this time to the Macedonian throne, at least two of them backed by foreign interests: Pausanias, supported by the Thracian king Berisades, and Argaios, supported by Athens.²⁶ Philip's three half-brothers also appear to have claimed the throne; when the king eliminated one the others fled to Olynthos,

23. *Agx. Δελτ.* 1966, A' 45-47 Cf. Note 1, above. It was my awareness of this stone with its additional weight in favour of a later, rather than earlier, date relative to Philip's reign which led me to revise the original version of this paper.

24. II.13.2.

25. Περσάκου, *ibid.* and fig.1 and Pl. 23.

26. Diodoros XVI.2.6, Beloch III.1.225.

where they were given asylum;²⁷ from this we might infer that their original support also came from outside Macedonia, from the leading city of the Chalkidian League. Could it be that there was yet another pretender, Amyntas Perdikka, perhaps with Lynkestian backing inside the country and Boiotian outside? This is possible, although the young Amyntas was less than 10 years old at 359. But the main difficulty is that the four central figures (including Alexander Aëropou) appear in our sources not before the mid-330s (with the single exception of Amyntas Perdikka in Justin's account of the accession of Philip) whereas the acceptance of this early date would group them nearly 25 years earlier. In fact, the remedy is simple: we must bring the date of the plot down to 336 or 335, to the months just after Philip's death, when it might again have been hoped that the immediate successor, then Alexander, could be unseated before his power was fully established. The other major weakness of the early date is that the sources, which seem particularly well informed on the whole on Philip's early opposition, should have overlooked an attempt (albeit unsuccessful) by the man, or rather boy, with the very strongest legal claim on the throne. By lowering the date we find our plot working out instead at the start of Alexander's reign, that is, precisely at the time when, according to Plutarch, "all Macedonia was festering beneath the surface, looking to Amyntas and to the sons of Aëropos."²⁸ At this date, significantly, the failure of the plot may provide us with the specific cause of the execution of Amyntas Perdikka, of the defection of Amyntas Antiochou and Aristomedes of Pherai and of the treason of Alexander Aëropou of Lynkos. It is interesting too that our evidence for foreign support for the plot is from Boiotia, the area which of all Greek states gave Alexander most trouble in the early stages of his reign. It seems justified to associate this plot not only with the execution, defections and treason of 336/335 but also with the revolt of Thebes and with the harshness of her treatment at Alexander's hands—because, undaunted by the dissolution of the Boiotian League after Chaironeia, she and her neighbours were supporting the claims of the Amyntas-faction.^{28a}

It is apparent therefore that 336/4 is the more acceptable date for the conspiracy. Be it noted, however, that to lower the date of the Oropian inscriptions is to lower also by a quarter of a century the date of the Tropho-

27. Justin VII.4.5, VIII.3.10, Beloch, *ibid.* and III.2.66.

28. Plut. *de fort. Al.* 1.3 (*Mor.* 327C).

28a. After Chaironeia, it seems, Philip gave Oropos to Athens (Pausanias I. 34.1). However, at least in this plot, the Oropians were associated apparently with Boiotia rather than with Athens.

nios-inscription—thereby removing the *only* support for Justin's already dubious notice of Philip's regency. While the regency must be accepted as a possibility, on the basis of this single reference, the evidence is so poor that, in my opinion, the greater probability lies with the silence of the main sources for the time of Philip's accession.

When did Alexander's purge of these plotters take place? As we have seen, the terminal dates are mid-336 (the assassination of Philip) and the end of 334 (the demotion of Alexander of Lynkos). It seems obvious that news of the plot must have reached Macedonia very shortly after its implications were made public in Boiotia by the conspirators' actions there. Therefore, if Amyntas was one of Alexander's generals, as Curtius²⁹ says he was, this must have been before the time of the conspiracy. Our *terminus post quem* is thus advanced by an indeterminate number of months. In spring 335³⁰ Alexander began his campaigns to the north of Macedonia, campaigns which ended in the autumn of that year with the forced march to Thebes.³¹ The king had at one stage, in the middle of the year, actually gone beyond the Danube. Such a time was surely ideal for any attempt to unseat him. Certainly by the September of that year there were rumours reporting Alexander's death among the Illyrians;³² quite possibly they began earlier as a part of a campaign to advance another's claim to the throne.

I suggest then that the most likely date for our conspiracy is mid-335. We may assume that with the terrible punishment of Thebes in the following October all hopes of support from Boiotia perished. Presumably Amyntas Perdikka was captured and then killed—as Justin's order of presentation³³ implies, between the fall of Thebes and the beginning of the Persian campaign in early spring, 334. The date of the conspiracy, that is when all Macedonia looked to Amyntas and the sons of Aëropos, was probably the time of Alexander's absence in the north, and IG 3055, 4250, 4251 (plus the new Aristomedes-inscription) should be dated around mid-335.

Monash University,
Clayton, Victoria, Australia

J. R. ELLIS

29. III.11.18.

30. Arrian I.1.4.

31. Arrian I.7ff.

32. Arrian I.7.6.

33. XL5.1.

LA THRACE ET LA MACEDOINE JUSQU' A L'INVASION DES CELTES

A l'époque la plus ancienne, au II^e millénaire, les tribus thraces occupaient un territoire bien vaste, qui comprenait à l'Ouest au moins la Macédoine de Sud, leur diaspora descendant jusqu'en Phocide et en Eubée et même au Péloponnèse. A l'époque historique, les Thraces étaient encore, au dire d'Hérodote, "le peuple le plus nombreux du monde, du moins après les Indiens" et le coin Sud-Ouest de leur pays touchait la région de l'Axios Inférieur et le pays des Macédoniens. Or, ces deux peuples se trouvaient en rapports étroits depuis les temps les plus reculés, mais nous pouvons les saisir d'une façon plus sûre à partir du V^e siècle.

Pendant la première moitié du 1^{er} millénaire, aussi bien la Thrace que la Macédoine étaient des pays d'une culture primitive et devaient changer peu à peu leur physionomie sous l'influence des colonies grecques plantées successivement sur les côtes maritimes de l'Egée et du Pont Euxin pendant la période du VIII^e au V^e siècles. Cette influence se sentait d'une façon plus marquée dans la région égéenne, autant de plus que celle-ci était vivement comprise dans les événements précédant et accompagnant les guerres médiques et la période suivante qui était l'époque la plus brillante de la politique expansive d'Athènes.

Quand on parle des guerres médiques, on a premièrement en vue le monde hellénique et les changements qui s'y sont produits. Cependant, ces changements ont atteint non moins la partie Nord de la Péninsule balkanique. Ici ont pris naissance deux nouveaux Etats: la Thrace et la Macédoine. De l'époque précédant la fin du VI^e siècle nous ne savons de la Thrace que les Grecs y ont fondé des colonies et que le pays se trouvait sous des princes locaux. Sa véritable histoire commence par l'expédition de Darius contre les Scythes en 511-510, quand il englobe dans son royaume la région du Bas Hebrus. La domination perse s'élargit sous Xerxès et presque toutes les tribus thraces de la région égéenne ont pris part à son expédition contre l'Hellade. Même après leur échec, les Perses ont continué à occuper cette région pendant un certain temps, jusqu'à la conquête de Eion par Cimon en 475. Jusqu'à cette

époque, le commerce perse prenait son terrain en Thrace et les objets trouvés, par exemple dans les tumuli de Duvanlij (arr. de Plovdiv), au cœur de la Thrace, sont d'un style orientalisant. Tout cela a été très mal vu de la part d'Athènes, qui s'efforçait à occuper ses avant-postes en Chersonèse déjà aux temps de Pisistrate par Miltiade qui agissait soit-disant à titre privé. Les intérêts d'Athènes vers l'Hellespont, donc contre la Perse, subtilement identifiés avec ceux de tous les Grecs, ont été propagés par un instrument innocent et charmant qu'est le beau poème de l'Iliade: Troie, fabuleusement riche, était à la fois l'Hellespont avec les régions qui en dépendaient de la Perse, les Achéens et Agamemnon étaient Athènes et Pisistrate. La Perse donc a été forcée d'évacuer la Thrace, mais sans pouvoir être remplacée par Athènes, laquelle n'a eu la force de s'imposer que sur la côte étroite de l'Egée. Une autre puissance qui ne cessait de s'intéresser à la Thrace, étaient les Scythes, mais ils n'avaient pas non plus la force de s'y imposer: l'expédition de Darius était pour la possession de la Thrace contre ses rivaux les Scythes (cf. Hdt., V, 1-2); quinze années plus tard, en 495, les Scythes ont envahi la Thrace et sont arrivés jusqu'à la Chersonèse (Hdt., VI, 40); le mariage d'Ariapeithès avec la fille de Térés au temps de la formation de l'Etat thrace et les hostilités entre Octamasadès, le fils d'Ariapeithès, et Sitalcès, le fils de Térés (Hdt., IV, 80), parlent dans le même sens. Or, après 475 la Thrace est devenue un *vacuum*. Jusqu'alors elle se trouvait sous des princes locaux, dont ceux du Sud étaient vassaux des Perses; maintenant, au deuxième quart du V^e siècle une grande partie du pays est conquise par les Odryses de Térés. Le royaume a été agrandi par son fils Sitalcès, qui a entrepris des expéditions à l'Ouest et au Nord, mais dans ces régions périphériques sont restées des tribus indépendantes; des Thraces indépendants dans la Rhodope nous informe aussi Thucydide. Dans le royaume même il existait aussi le système des *paradynastes*. C'est cette situation que Hérodote a en vue, quand il dit que les Thraces ne se trouvaient pas sous le pouvoir d'un seul prince. Mais Sitalcès avait l'ambition de devenir ce prince. Sous la main forte de Térés et de Sitalcès, la Thrace était un Etat très puissant aussi bien par son territoire que par ses ressources militaires. Mais elle est toujours restée un Etat "continental", les ports se trouvant presque sans exception dans les mains des Grecs, ce qui représentait un désavantage pour le royaume thrace.

A la fin du VI^e et au début du V^e siècle la Macédoine était un Etat modeste, mais le plus fort parmi les tribus voisines, dont une grande partie lui étaient vassales (Thuc., II, 99). Ce peuple qui pendant toute son histoire était d'une vitalité extraordinaire et toujours expansif, se déployait aussi sur le compte des Thraces limitrophes. La consolidation de l'Etat macédonien s'effectue

aussi après les guerres médiques par Alexandre I^{er}. Ce roi, qui a continué la politique conquérante de ses prédécesseurs, a ajouté au royaume la Créstonie et la Bisaltie (l'Anthemus appartenait à la Macédoine déjà en 510, (Hdt., V,94), en établissant donc la frontière au Strymon, et a commencé l'exploitation d'une mine d'argent près du lac Prasias (Butkovo) dans la région de la montagne Dysoros (Kruša) (Hdt., V,17). C'est du temps d'Alexandre qu'apparaissent les premières monnaies macédoniennes, frappées d'après le système phénicien employé chez les Bisaltes et qui remplacent maintenant les monnaies de ces derniers (Head, HN², 218 sq.). Alexandre a conquis aussi la Piérie thrace avec la ville de Pydna. Cependant les intérêts d'Alexandre se croisaient avec ceux des Athéniens qui voulaient s'installer dans la région strymonienne. En 475 Cimon occupe Eion, où la garnison perse était aidée par les Thraces, qui n'ont pas permis aux Athéniens de fonder une colonie sur l'emplacement de la future Amphipolis, aux Ennéa Hodoi. Pendant la guerre entre Athènes et Thasos, les mines d'or à Scaptésylè, qui étaient exploitées par les Thaciens, sont tombées de nouveau entre les mains des Thraces. Les Athéniens ont envoyé 10.000 hommes pour occuper toute l'Edonis et fonder une colonie aux Ennéa Hodoi, une entreprise qui s'est terminée par leur anéantissement à Drabescos (464). On suppose que dans cette affaire a été mêlé aussi Alexandre, qui ne pouvait pas regarder tranquillement l'établissement d'une puissance comme Athènes aux confins de son royaume et voir sa voie à l'Est barrée. Il est bien connu qu'on a incriminé Cimon de ne pas avoir attaqué la Macédoine après la conquête de Thasos (Plut., *Cim.*, 14). Les aspirations d'Athènes vers cette partie de la côte thrace n'ont pas été agréables non seulement à la Macédoine, mais aussi aux colonies grecques de la Chalcidique. Le royaume thrace y avait aussi des intérêts vitaux. C'est dans cette région neuralgique qu'éclate la guerre de Péloponnèse.

Les intérêts étaient multilatéraux et la situation bien compliquée, d'autant plus qu'en Macédoine Perdiccas, après avoir privé de leurs principautés deux de ses frères, Alcétas et Ménélaos, voulait écarter du pouvoir aussi son troisième frère, Philippe, qui régnait en Amphaxiotide. Si Athènes réussissait à régler ses comptes avec Perdiccas, elle aurait les mains libres pour écraser la révolte de Potidée et des alliés. Alors, elle s'adresse au roi thrace Sitalcès et conclut avec lui une alliance. Ce royaume, comme je l'ai dit, était très puissant et bien plus puissant que la Macédoine. L'alliance a été conclue par l'intermédiaire de Nymphodôros d'Abdère, dont Sitalcès avait épousé la soeur. Mais Nymphodôros a réussi à réconcilier aussi les Athéniens avec Perdiccas, qui commençait à s'inquiéter de l'entente des deux grandes puissances. D'ailleurs, au début de la guerre, en 432, Perdiccas a fait à Sitalcès

certaines promesses, à condition que celui-ci se réconcilie avec les Athéniens et n'aide pas son frère Philippe, dont le fils Amyntas se trouvait dans la cour thrace. Mais la réconciliation d'Athènes avec Perdiccas n'a pas duré longtemps, car les intérêts du Macédonien allait à ce moment de paire avec ceux des villes de la Chalcidique. Après la conquête de Potidée, pendant l'hiver de 430/429, les succès athéniens en Chalcidique n'ont pas continué. En 429 Athènes a demandé à Sitalcès de remplir ses obligations et mettre fin à la guerre chalcidienne à la frontière thrace. D'autre part, Perdiccas n'a pas rempli les promesses faites aux Thraces. Nous ne savons pas quelles étaient ces promesses, et notre source unique, Thucydide, n'est point explicite. Cependant, étant donné d'une part l'ambition de Sitalcès d'agrandir toujours son royaume, comme le témoignent ses expéditions militaires, dont l'une va provoquer plus tard sa mort, et la politique expansive de Perdiccas à l'Est en Thrace, d'autre part, je suppose qu'il s'agissait sinon de litiges territoriaux ouverts, au moins d'un croisement des intérêts en ce qui concerne leurs influences dans la région strymonienne en vue de leurs plans futurs. Or, à cause de ces deux raisons, nous informe Thucydide (II,95), Sitalcès, au début de l'hiver de 429, apparaît en Macédoine avec une grande armée de 100.000 fantassins et 50.000 cavaliers, et accompagné d'Amyntas. Les Thraces ont ravagé le pays entre le Strymon et l'Axiros et la Chalcidique, mais souffraient de l'hiver et du manque de vivres; l'armée, que les Athéniens devaient aussi y envoyer, n'est pas arrivée. Dans ces conditions, Perdiccas a réussi à gagner Seuthès, fils du frère de Sitalcès, Sparadocos, en lui promettant de l'argent et sa soeur Stratonice pour femme, et celui-ci a persuadé son oncle de quitter le théâtre d'opérations.

Cette campagne a provoqué un effroi énorme chez les Grecs jusqu'aux Thermopyles, qui ont pris leurs mesures pour la défense, chez les Thraces autonomes dans la région du Bas Strymon et chez la ligue péloponnésiaque, mais d'autre part, les opérations militaires montrent que par rapport aux masses thraces les Macédoniens, et surtout leurs cavaliers, ont montré un art militaire d'un niveau plus élevé. Enfin, la question se pose pourquoi Athènes n'a pas envoyé à Sitalcès les contingents promis. La cause en reste obscure et on en a avancé diverses hypothèses: ou bien qu'il s'agit d'un malentendu — c'est d'ailleurs Thucydide qui dit que les Athéniens ne croyaient pas que Sitalcès viendrait,—ou bien qu'Athènes n'a pas envoyé exprès une armée. A mon avis, un malentendu est exclu, car les Athéniens ont envoyé des ambassadeurs pour exprimer à Sitalcès leur amitié. Or, Athènes ne pouvait ne pas savoir d'avance la date de la campagne. C'était ce front qui était le plus névralgique et Athènes avait le plus grand intérêt de le liquider. Elle n'a rien fait.

Pourquoi? Je pense qu'ont raison ceux qui voient dans la conduite d'Athènes une perfidie. Des deux Etats la Thrace était le plus fort, je l'ai déjà dit, et Athènes soupçonnait qu'un jour elle pouvait devenir aussi dangereuse pour elle que la Macédoine, car la Thrace voulait posséder aussi l'arrière-pays de la Chalcidique, sinon la Chalcidique même. Une fois la Macédoine affaiblie, la Thrace serait le seul maître dans la partie Nord des Balkans, ce qui permettrait à Sitalcès de se mêler dans les affaires des Grecs et même de les diriger dans un certain sens. S'il se mettait du côté des Lacédémoniens, qui voulaient gagner son amitié (Thuc., II,67), ce serait fini pour les Athéniens avec le bois pour leurs vaisseaux, avec l'or et les autres ressources, dont le pays était riche. Ce royaume était un allié dangereux pour Athènes, peut-être plus dangereux que son ennemi, la Macédoine. Or, un conflit entre les deux pays qui leur ferait des dégâts, mais n'aboutirait pas à une solution définitive par la rupture de l'équilibre dans cette région était à ce moment pour Athènes la solution préférable. Le succès de cette politique n'a pas été grand et on pourrait même douter que ce fût vraiment un succès. Il est vrai que Sitalcès a été pratiquement éliminé de la région strymonienne. Il est resté de nom allié des Athéniens qui s'efforçaient à conserver son amitié, mais le roi thrace ne se mêle plus dans la guerre. Au contraire, c'étaient les Macédoniens qui ont gagné de toute cette affaire, car quelques années plus tard le royaume thrace est complètement privé de sa force et n'est plus un obstacle à sa politique. En 424 Sitalcès meurt et devient roi non pas son fils Sadocos, mais le dit Seuthès. Thucydide (IV, 101), qui nous rapporte ce fait, ne donne pas de détails, mais dans une des lettres attribuées à Philippe II dans "Démosthène" (XIII,9) nous lisons qu' "immédiatement après la mort de Sitalcès, que les Athéniens avaient fait citoyen athénien, ceux-ci ont conclu l'amitié avec l'assassin". Nous savons par Thucydide (II,29) que les Athéniens avaient à la vérité fait citoyen non pas Sitalcès mais son fils Sadocos. Cette divergence entre les deux sources n'est point grave et une erreur chez "Démosthène" plusieurs lustres après l'événement est explicable. Ce qui est important, c'est qu'en Thrace il s'est produit un coup d'Etat et si ce n'a pas été le roi lui-même qui a été assassiné, ce fut son fils qui a été tué après la mort du père et cela par la main du personnage "le plus puissant après le roi" (Thuc., II, 101). On suppose, avec raison je pense, que dans cet assassinat on doit voir aussi la main de Perdicas. Nous manquons complètement de témoignages sur les rapports entre la Macédoine et la Thrace sous ce Seuthès I^{er}, mais les faits exposés me font croire qu'il n'y avait plus d'hostilités et que Seuthès était occupé plutôt par les affaires intérieures de son Etat. Il existe un texte de Polyen (VII, 38) qu'un Seuthès a fait la guerre contre les Athéniens dans la Cherso-

nèse, mais nous ne savons pas si c'était Seuthès I^{er}, ni si c'était vraiment lui, s'il s'agit d'opérations coordonnées avec la Macédoine. Il est vrai qu'après la mort de Sitalcès des Thraces servent comme mercenaires athéniens en Chalcidique, mais dans ce cas il s'agit des tribus voisines et non pas du grand royaume thrace.

Avec Sitalcès se termine la brillante époque de la Thrace et sous Seuthès I^{er} commence la maladie endémique dans ce pays, le séparatisme. Les Etats thraces qui se sont formés ne pouvaient jouer un grand rôle dans la politique de l'époque et, en ce qui concerne tout particulièrement la Macédoine, ils n'ont plus été une menace pour elle. Même le royaume de Cotys I^{er} (348-360), qui s'étendait sur une grande partie de la Thrace de Sud, était bien au-dessous de celui de Sitalcès et si on le considère comme fort, c'est d'après l'échelle de l'époque. Mais la guerre de Péloponnèse, qui fut un désastre pour le monde grec et a créé plutôt une instabilité qu'un nouvel ordre dans le bassin égéen, n'a pas épargné par ses conséquences négatives aussi la Macédoine.

Bien qu'elle ait conservé son intégrité, ce qui était un avantage par rapport à la Thrace, la Macédoine est tourmentée périodiquement par des luttes dynastiques et menacée de l'extérieur: elle doit défendre ses intérêts d'une part contre la ligue d'Olynthe, qui avait les ambitions de s'imposer même à la Macédoine, et d'autre part contre Athènes, qui rivalisait pour la possession de la région thrace. Amyntas III (389-369) et Perdiccas III (365-359) appliquaient une politique souple en se rapprochant alternativement des Grecs de Chalcidique et d'Athènes. Les Thraces y jouent aussi un certain rôle et les témoignages quoique maigres révèlent leurs sympathies pour les Olynthiens. Au début du règne d'Amyntas au temps de la formation de la ligue Olynthienne, qui tendait à devenir à la vérité un Etat, les Thraces voisins étaient prêts à aider les Olynthiens dans certains de leurs entreprises (Xen., *Hell.*, V. 2,17). Plus tard, au temps de Perdiccas (en 363), Cotys I^{er} a aidé Amphipolis, la ville qui attire toujours l'appétit de quelqu'un, contre le stratège athénien Timothée. Au début difficile du règne de Philippe II, qui était menacé de tous les côtés, un certain Pausanias, de la famille royale, avait l'intention d'occuper le trône macédonien avec le soutien de ce même Cotys (Diod., XVI,2). Mais dans l'atmosphère de cette politique de tous contre tous, on ne peut pas parler d'un conflit entre la Thrace et la Macédoine avant 356. C'est la première campagne de Philippe II en Thrace et le début du changement du sort de celle-ci.

On connaît bien les événements qui ont pour résultat la réduction de l'Hellade et de la Thrace sous le pouvoir macédonien. Dès les premières victoires du Macédonien (356, 352-351, 346) jusqu'à la conquête définitive de la

Thrace (342-341), les changements qu'il a introduits ne visaient pas l'institution royale en principe, mais le sort des dynastes. Quelques uns se soumettent au vainqueur, mais pensent toujours à se débarrasser du joug, comme Kersebleptès; d'autres, tel Amadokos, concluent une alliance avec lui; certains, probablement de petits dynastes, sont tout simplement remplacés par d'autres. Cependant, après la conquête définitive du pays, le roi le plus fort, Kersebleptès, a été chassé. Tel a été probablement aussi le sort de Térès. Le pays est gouverné par un stratège macédonien. Quelle était à ce moment-là la politique de Philippe à l'égard des rois thraces? Malheureusement, les sources littéraires ne nous renseignent pas sur cette question d'une façon formelle et les opinions à ce propos sont contradictoires. Cependant, il existe certaines données indirectes qui pourraient nous aider à l'éclaircir. Naturellement, la présence d'un stratège macédonien exclut d'une façon définitive l'existence, même nominale, d'un roi central, comme l'a été plus ou moins à l'époque précédente Kersebleptès. Mais l'existence de dynastes locaux soumis au pouvoir macédonien ne pourrait être mise en doute. D'abord, le fait que les Lyncestes, les Péoniens, les Agriens et les Illyriens ont conservé sous la domination macédonienne leurs dynasties, et qui étaient considérés comme des représentants locaux du roi, témoigne en faveur de cette thèse. Certains contingents thraces dans l'armée d'Alexandre le Grand étaient commandés par des princes thraces, par exemple un certain Sitalcès. Ce dernier fait est mis en doute par quelques savants, mais il y a un autre fait qui ne pourrait pas être objet de contestation. A l'époque d'Alexandre, nous connaissons l'existence de Seuthès qui va arrêter aussi plus tard notre attention. Déjà en 330, il a essayé à établir des relations de tendance anti-macédonienne avec Athènes, sans doute en rapport avec la révolte de Memnon; en 325 il se révolte lui-même. Ce Seuthès, un dynaste énergique et ambitieux, nous oblige à admettre qu'en Thrace, sous Alexandre, existaient des princes possédant un territoire et un certain pouvoir local, et que la situation sous Philippe était la même.

Pour consolider ses conquêtes et pour exploiter les richesses du pays, Philippe établit des colonies macédoniennes par étapes. Sa première colonie est Philippos, fondée en 359. On doit accepter que c'est lui qui a fondé plusieurs villes dans la région du Strymon Moyen, comme Callipolis, Orthopolis, Philippopolis, cela après la guerre sacrée (346). Cela continue une politique plus ancienne de ses prédécesseurs, car nous savons par Etienne de Byzance que Héracléa Sintica, dont le nom est choisi en l'honneur de la dynastie royale, a été fondée par Ἀμύντου τοῦ Φιλίππου. Nous ne savons pas qui est cet Amyntas, c'est pourquoi on accepte que le texte est corrompu

et qu'on doit lire Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμόντου, c'est-à-dire Philippe II. Cependant, le fait qu'Alexandre I^{er} a conquis la Crestonie et la Bisaltie et a exploité une mine d'argent près du lac Prasias parle que Héracléa Sintica, qui se trouve justement dans cette région, a été fondée peu après cette date. Sous Philippe, la colonisation a été organisée sur un plan étendu, surtout après la conquête complète de la Thrace. Maintenant, il établit des colonies au cœur du pays, dans la vallée de l'Hebros: Philippopolis, la plus importante de toutes, Cabylè, probablement Béroè et certaines autres. Philippe a installé dans ses fondations une population variée, dont la plus grande partie était sans doute formée par des Macédoniens et d'autres éléments ethniques de la Macédoine, mais aussi des Grecs. On a supposé avec raison qu'après la catastrophe d'Olynthe en 348, pour affaiblir l'élément grec dans la Chalcidique, Philippe a fait transférer une partie de la population dans l'intérieur du pays, et qu'à sa place se sont installés des colons macédoniens. Ceci est étayé par une inscription qui nous parle de dons fonciers de Philippe à des nobles macédoniens (*Syll.*³, 332). Pour une population mélangée dans ces colonies parlent aussi, comme il semble, des noms bizarres tels que Moichopolis ou Ponéropolis, qui ne sont pas de vrais noms, mais sont probablement une création des sentiments anti-philippiens et anti-macédoniens chez les Grecs, c'est-à-dire que Philippe y avait rénuï toute sorte de canailles. Ces villes devaient jouer un rôle dans la propagation de la culture hellénique dans l'intérieur du pays thrace. On doit souligner particulièrement le rôle que Philippopolis a toujours joué dans l'histoire de la Thrace. Philippe a aussi formé dans son armée des unités de cavalerie thrace, au début plutôt à titre d'alliés qu'à titre de mercenaires, comme c'était le cas dans la bataille contre les Phocéens en 352, plus tard comme sujets de la Macédoine.

Le mouvement anti-macédonien qui s'est soulevé immédiatement après la mort de Philippe, ne laisse pas la Thrace exempte et les premières opérations militaires qu'Alexandre entreprend sont notamment dans ce pays. L'ordre une fois établi, la situation reste la même que sous Philippe. Cependant, la marche d'Alexandre en Orient et sa conquête donnent un autre cours à sa politique en Thrace. Maintenant, il veut exploiter les ressources du pays surtout en matériel humain. Dans l'armée du grand conquérant, les Thraces fournissaient deux sortes de combattants, qui n'ont sans doute pas été des mercenaires, comme certains le croient: cavaliers, dont la renommée était bien connue depuis Homère, et fantassins, et leurs contingents étaient assez considérables. Les conquêtes d'Alexandre ont donné aux Thraces, comme aux autres peuples, la possibilité de prendre part, eux aussi, à la vie du nou-

veau monde, et nous constatons toujours leur présence, surtout dans les armées hellénistiques.

Après la mort d'Alexandre, la Thrace a été séparée de la Macédoine et donnée à Lysimaque, qui devait conquérir à nouveau sa satrapie. Dès son arrivée, il a été obligé de lutter contre Seuthès, qui ne voulait pas lui permettre de s'y installer. La situation de Lysimaque est restée longtemps instable, et on conclut avec raison que s'il n'a point pris part aux luttes des diadoques jusqu' en 314, cela a été à cause de ces circonstances. En 313 Seuthès est allié d'Istros, Callatis et Odessos dans la révolte contre Lysimaque qui a éclaté après entente et avec le concours d'Antigone I^{er}. En général, la situation de Lysimaque en Thrace venait de se consolider après ses entreprises militaires contre Antigone (en 304) et les campagnes qu'il avait conduites contre les Scythes (299? et 292-291). De toute façon la Thrace était divisée en deux : la plus grande partie, c'est-à-dire la Thrace de l'Egée, de la Propontide et une large bande suivant la côte pontique avec les villes grecques appartenait à Lysimaque ; jusqu' à quel point il a pénétré dans la vallée de l'Hebros Moyen, nous ne le savons pas, car au moins la Vallée des Roses entre l'Hémus et la Sredna Gora appartenait sans aucun doute à Seuthès — c'est là que se trouvait sa capitale nommée par lui de son nom, Seuthopolis. Je suppose que dans le pouvoir de Seuthès se trouvait aussi la région de Philippopolis (*IG Bulg.*, III,1,1114). Or, il existait deux Thraces, dont celle de Lysimaque vivait en bons termes avec la Macédoine de Cassandre. L'amitié entre les deux diadoques exclut des rapports entre la Macédoine et Seuthès. On a trouvé une nouvelle inscription à Seuthopolis, partiellement publiée (*IG Bulg.*, III,2,1731), qui doit être datée vers la fin du III^e siècle et représente un *h o r k o s* de la femme de Seuthès Bérénice et ses fils Ebryzelmis, Térès, Satokos et Sadalas. Il est évident, que cette Bérénice était une noble de la cour sinon une fille de l'un des diadoques. Je ne pense pas à Lysimaque, bien que celui-ci ait épousé, probablement autour de 313, une princesse thrace, qui pourrait être une fille de Seuthès, et qu'il ait donné une de ses filles pour femme au roi gète Dromichaithès. Pour les raisons énumérées ci-dessus, je ne pense pas non plus que Bérénice appartint à la famille de Cassandre. Il me semble que Seuthès aurait épousé en second mariage une fille ou plutôt une parente de l'ennemi de Lysimaque, Antigone, et cela pendant l'alliance mentionnée en 313 : dans l'inscription, Bérénice est régente du royaume thrace et tutrice de ses fils mineurs.

Après la mort d'Antigone en 301, le royaume thrace ne pouvait plus jouer de rôle dans cette partie des Balkans. Lysimaque était devenu un roi puissant qui a même réussi à réunir en 287 et 285 en un seul royaume sa Thrace et la Macédoine. La mort du diadoque qui a suivi peu après, en 281, aurait

pu provoquer un changement dans les pays thraces si, deux ans plus tard, les Celtes ne s'étaient installés dans la vallée de l'Hebros et n'avaient créé un Etat pour une longue période de 60 années pleine de conséquences.

Université, Sofia

GEORGI MIHAÏLOV

OBSERVATIONS ON THE *ETAIPOI* OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

It is an accepted fact that Alexander had *hetairoi*.¹ Experts agree that this was true of Alexander while he was king of the Macedonians, and a number of them have expressed the opinion, with varying degrees of explicitness, that Alexander had *hetairoi* ca. 337/36 B.C. that is also while he was a member of the Macedonian royal family.²

Scholars have not neglected to raise the question of Alexander's own place within the context of the *hetairos* association. Few of them indicate that they consider Alexander himself an *hetairos*.³ This view has been presented rather summarily, to say the least; the evidence in support of that position, unquestionably, deserves a more exhaustive treatment, for the question of Alexander's belonging to the *hetairoi* is crucial for a better understanding of the phenomenon of the Macedonian *hetairoi*. The question is also of importance for the understanding of the reign of Alexander, for the *hetairos*

1. O. Abel, *Makedonien vor König Philipp* (Leipzig, 1847) p. 130, n. 1. Spiecker, "Der Hof und die Hofordnung Alexanders des Grossen," *II. Jahresbericht der städtischen höheren Mädchenschule in Stolp*, p. (Stolp i. P. 1904) pp. 5ff. Plaumann, "ἑταῖροι," *RE*, VIII, 2(1913) cols. 1374ff. H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, I (München, 1926) pp. 30ff. F. Hampl, *Der König der Makedonen* (Weida i. Thür., 1934) pp. 66ff. W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, vol. II (Cambridge, 1948) pp. 137ff. F. Carrata Thomes, "Il problema degli eteri nella monarchia di Alessandro magno," *Turin Università Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia pubblicazioni*, VII, 4 (1955) pp. 10ff. J. N. Kalléris, *Les anciens Macédoniens, Etude linguistique et historique*, vol. I (Athènes, 1954) pp. 172ff. G. Stagakis, "Institutional Aspects of the Hetairos Relation," Unpubl. Ph. D. Diss. (University of Wisconsin, 1962) pp. 53ff.

2. A. Schäfer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, vol. III, zweite... Ausgabe, (Leipzig, 1887) [Hildesheim, 1966] p. 65 and n. 2. J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen*, fünfte Aufl. (Gotha, 1898) p. 73. Spiecker, p. 5. Kirchner, "Erigyios," *RE*, VI, 1 (1907) col. 452. Berve, p. 30. Idem-W. Capelle, "Nearchos 3," *RE*, XVI, 2 (1935) col. 2132. I. Παπα-σταύρου, *Μακεδονική Πολιτική κατά τὸν 5ον π.Χ. αἰῶνα*, Τεύχος Α' (Θεσσαλονίκη, 1936) p. 38, n. 3. L. V. Cummings, *Alexander the Great* (Boston, 1940) p. 62. J. Miller, "Pixodaros 3," *RE* XX, 2 (1950) col. 1894. L. Homo, *Alexandre le Grand* (Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1951) p. 18 in light of Plut., *Alex.*, X 3 (B. Perrin, *Plutarch's Lives*, vol. VII, The Loeb Class. Library, 1958). Cf. also Stähelin, "2 Harpalos," *RE*, VII, 2 (1912) col. 2397. E. Diehl, "8, Thessalos," *RE*, VI, A 1 (1936) col. 182. H. Volkmann, "18 Ptolemaios I. Soter," *RE*, XXIII, 2 (1959) col. 1603.

3. Stagakis, p. 57. Cf. A. R. Burn, *Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic Empire* (Lon-

phenomenon has implications beyond those which properly can be called sociological. W. W. Tarn imparts that significance of the *hetairoi* to us, when in a summary fashion, he describes the position of Alexander the Great vis-à-vis his *hetairoi* in the following terms: "one might, by analogy, call them the king's 'peers'."⁴

Other scholars see the relation of Alexander to his *hetairoi* as basically one expressing a subordination of the *hetairoi* to Alexander.⁵ Hampl, quite specifically, followed by F. Schachermeyr, establishes Alexander's position rather exactly by defining it as that of a *Lehnsherr*,⁶ with the attendant result that an aspect of *Lehnswesen* is ascribed to the Macedonia of Alexander the Great.⁷ Hampl's view has not found universal acceptance.⁸ W. Scott Ferguson, quite judiciously, has indicated that the evidence which Hampl has adduced to establish his conclusion does not justify the inference which Hampl has drawn from it.⁹ Hampl did not consider the testimony in the proper light, nor did he, as will become evident, consider the totality of the evidence pertinent to the *hetairoi* of Alexander.

Alexander's relation to the *hetairoi* has been formulated in different terms by H. Bengtson; he sees Alexander vis-à-vis his *hetairoi* "wenig mehr als ein *primus inter pares*" in a context which he describes as a *patriarchalisches Heerkönigtum*.¹⁰ Kaerst already has taken the step relating the "patriarchal"

don, 1947) p. 79. The statement "his friend and King" is far from being clear. Does Burn mean *hetairos*? Also Ziebarth, "Εταίρια" *RE*, VIII, 2 (1913) col. 1373f. in view of Anaximenes 72 F 4 (F. Jacoby, *FGH*, 2 A, Leiden, 1961). Ziebarth, if I understand him correctly, would include Alexander among the *hetairoi*.

4. Tarn, p. 138.

5. Cf. M. P. Nilsson, "Das homerische Königtum," *SB Berlin*: (1927) pp. 30, 33 (*Idem*, *Homer and Mycenae*, London, 1933, pp. 229, 232f.). Berve, p. 35.

6. Hampl, p. 73 (F. Schachermeyr, *Alexander der Grosse*, Graz-Salzburg-Wien, 1949, pp. 21, 56, 497 n. 1).

7. *Ibid.* Also E. Kornemann, *Die Alexandergeschichte des Königs Ptolemaios I. von Aegypten* (Leipzig u. Berlin, 1935) pp. 138, 235. But cf. p. 235 "Sie dürfen auf der Basis einer gewissen Gleichberechtigung... mit ihrem König verkehren." *Idem*, *Gestalten und Reiche* (Leipzig, 1943) p. 45. H. Berve, "Die Verschmelzungspolitik Alexanders des Grossen," *Klio*, XXXI (N. F. XIII) 2 (1938) p. 155. Hampl, *Alexander der Grosse* (Berlin-Frankfurt, 1958) p. 17. P. A. Brunt, "Alexander's Macedonian Cavalry," *JHS*, LXXXIII (1936) p. 42.

8. W. S. Ferguson, rev. F. Granier, "Die makedonische Heeresversammlung," *Gnomon*, XI (1935) p. 520 (P. De Francisci, *Arcana Imperii*, vol. II, Milano, 1948, p. 363, n. 4 *et passim*). A. Momigliano, "Re e popolo in Macedonia prima di Alessandro Magno," *Athenaeum*, N. S. XIII, fasc. I-II (1935) pp. 11ff. Cf. also Thomeas, p. 50, n. 7.

9. Ferguson, p. 520.

10. H. Bengtson, *Griechische Geschichte* (München, 1965) p. 332. *Vid. ibid.*, *op. cit.* (1950) p. 405.

Macedonian constitutional structure to the *hetairoi* relation.¹¹

This survey of the opinions of modern scholars on the question of Alexander's position within the context of the *hetairoi* association has revealed a lack of consensus. It has also revealed that the study of the *hetairoi* relationship has been undertaken in order to gain an understanding of the constitutional structure of the Macedonian state, with the result that varying constitutional concepts have been predicated upon the *hetairoi* relation.

The disagreement between scholarly opinions can be eliminated: There is, in fact, testimony which establishes that Alexander is an *hetairos*. That evidence must be reconsidered in detail, for, it is not only vital for the understanding of the Macedonian *hetairoi* relationship, but it also constitutes the proof of the correctness or of the falsity of the opinions presented. This study seeks to re-examine that evidence.

The fragment of a letter published by Grenfell and Hunt, in 1898,¹² does lend support to the view of those scholars who consider Alexander an *hetairos*. A careful analysis of a portion of that letter does indicate that we are justified in concluding that Alexander is an *hetairos*.

The significant portion of the letter reads as follows:¹³

"[ἀ τοῖς] νυν περὶ τὴν σὴν βασιλεῖαν | καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν τ[ῶν] σὼν ἑταίρων παρηνό[μη]σαν, εἰ καὶ τυγχάνεις [εἰ]δώς, ὅμως ἔδοξε μοι γράψαι πρὸς σε. . . . Θηβαῖοι γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν Ἀμύνταν [τὸν] πατέρα τὸν Φιλίππου μ[ε]τ' Ὀλυνθίων ἐπεχείρησαν | ἐκβαλ[εῖν] μὲν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ἀπ[οστ]ερ[ῆ]σαι δὲ τῆς βασιλείας]".

"Therefore, in reference to those acts which they committed concerning your reign and the house of your *hetairoi* even though you happen to know, nevertheless, I thought that I (should) write to you.... (The) Thebans, in the first place, in co-operation with (the) Olynthians, tried to expel Amyntas, the father of Philip, from the land and to deprive him of the kingship."

The letter requires clarification for it is not immediately obvious that its testimony is relevant to Alexander the Great. Only a proper analysis will place the letter in a clearer perspective and will establish its relevance to Alexander the Great.

The author of the letter promises the recipient that he will relate acts

11. J. Kaerst, *Geschichte des hellenistischen Zeitalters*, vol. I (Leipzig, 1901) p. 127. Cf. also F. Granier, *Die makedonische Heeresversammlung* (München, 1931) pp. 6, 20. U. Wilcken, *Alexander the Great* (New York, 1932) p. 25.

12. B. P. Grenfell - A. S. Hunt, *Egypt Exploration Fund, The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, part I (London, 1898) p. 36f.

13. Text used is that in Jacoby, *FGH*, 153, F 1, p. 824.

committed by the Thebans against (a) the addressee himself and (b) the house "οἰκία" of his *hetairoi*. The person addressed is not identified, but certainly, he is not Amyntas, the father of Philip. The language of the text makes that clear. In consequence, the statements concerning Amyntas must represent an act which the Thebans, in co-operation with the Olynthians, have perpetrated against the house of the *hetairoi* of the addressee. In this context, the identification of Amyntas is of importance for it will aid in the identification of the *hetairoi* of the addressee who belong to the same house as Amyntas. The task is simple; the Amyntas who meets the general conditions of the text is the Argead king Amyntas III.¹⁴ The *hetairoi* of the addressee, with the identification of Amyntas secured, no longer remain shrouded in mystery. In line with the conditions of the letter, they belong to the Argead house; they are Argead *hetairoi*.¹⁵ This implies that, since an Argead is regarded as an *hetairos*, Alexander the Great being an Argead¹⁶ must be considered an *hetairos*. De Sanctis has not failed to grasp that, but, without presenting the reader with a fuller explanation of his position, dismisses the right to call an Argead an *hetairos* with "con una facile inversione adulatoria a controsenso, Alessandro e i suoi progenitori potessero essere detti alla loro volta ἑταῖροι di questi loro cortigiani."¹⁷

Felix Jacoby, rather reservedly, questions the right to speak about the "house of your *hetairoi*" and thus indirectly also casts doubt upon the validity of drawing an inference from the evidence related to that expression. This becomes obvious from Jacoby's remark in reference to οἰκία "wegen des genitivs merkwürdig und vielleicht korrupt."¹⁸

14. Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.*, V 2.12f. (Text E. C. Marchant, ed., *Xenophontis Opera Omnia*, vol. I, Oxonii, 1961). D. S., XV 19.2 (F. Vogel, ed., *Diodori Bibliotheca Historica*, vol. III, Stuttgartiae, 1964). Grenfell-Hunt, p. 36.f. F. Rühl, "Zu den Papyri von Oxyrhynchos," *RhM.*, LIV (1899) p. 155. A. Rosenberg, "Amyntas, der Vater Philipps II.," *Hermes*, LI (1916) p. 506. G. De Sanctis, "Una Lettera a Demetrio Poliorcete," *RivFC*, (1931) p. 330. D. M. Robinson, "Olynthos," *RE*, XVIII, 1 (1939) cols. 325ff. Amyntas III is an Argead: Cf. D. S. XVI 1. 3, XVII 1.1, XVII 1.4 (C. Th. Fischer, ed., vol. IV, 1964). Ch. F. Edson, Jr., "The Antigonids, Heracles, and Beroea," *HSCP*, XLV (1934) p. 216 and n. 5. K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, III, 2 (Berlin u. Leipzig, 1923) p.73. *Idem*, *op. cit.*, zweite Aufl. IV, 2 (1927) p. 177. Ferguson, p. 521, n. 3.

15. De Sanctis, p. 331 (Ferguson, p. 521, n. 3) Rühl, p. 153 remarks: "Dass sich die makedonischen Hetären ebenso gut, wie die Könige... über die Thaten der Thebaner zu beklagen hatten, würde sich von selbst verstehen." I am not sure that he is offering that as an elaboration on οἰκία... ἑταῖρον. Should that have been his intent, the very sense of the text excludes it.

16. D. S., XVII 1.4. Edson, p. 216. Beloch (1923) p. 73. *Idem*, (1927) p. 177.

17. De Sanctis, p. 331.

18. Jacoby, *FGH*, 2 B Kommentar (1962) zu 153 F (1) p. 540.

De Sanctis and Jacoby have raised objections against regarding Alexander an *hetairos*. Their objections should be dismissed for they lack supporting evidence; at best, they represent the opinions of serious scholars, and in this sense deserve consideration. We must address ourselves to the task of discovering whether or not there is any actual basis for rejecting the conclusion that Alexander is an *hetairos*. Before that task is undertaken, one should adduce further testimony to support the view that Alexander himself must be considered an *hetairos*.

Chares, a contemporary of Alexander the Great and a person familiar with the court of that king,¹⁹ offers testimony relevant to the study. Chares has related the events connected with the mass marriage ceremonies, at Susa in 324, and a version of that account is subject to interpretation which substantiates the statement that Alexander is an *hetairos*. The account of Chares, however, as preserved, is conducive to difficulty as well; the two authors, in whose writings the text of Chares is found, seem to present different evidence about Alexander's position within the context of the *hetairos* relation. Athenaeus has preserved that portion of the text of Chares pertinent to the study as follows:

“ὅτε φησὶν εἶλε Δαρσείον γάμους συνετέλεσεν ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων.”²⁰

Before the passage is translated, some explanatory remarks are required. Chares is, of course, speaking about Alexander the Great. The individuals who are mentioned as bridegrooms along with Alexander are identified by one of two epithets which can be used to describe them. The other epithet is that of *hetairoi*; we are justified in calling them that, on the basis of the testimony which Aristobulus and Arrian offer.²¹ The version of Athenaeus,

19. Schwartz, “13 Chares,” *RE*, III, 2 (1899) col. 2129. H. Berve, vol. II (1926) p. 405. 820. Jacoby, *FGrH*, 2 B Kommentar, p. 433.

20. Text used that of Jacoby, ed., *FGrH*, 125. Chares v. Mitylene, I, F 4 (16) p. 659.

21. Jacoby, *FGrH*, 139. Aristobulos v. Kassandreia, F 52 (38) p. 789. Arrian, VII 4.4ff. (A. G. Roos, ed., *Flavii Arriani Quae Exstant Omnia*, vol. I, Lipsiae, 1907). The practice of describing an *hetairos* as *philos* (=amicus) is not unusual: Cf. Arrian, I 25.2f., 25.4f. VII 4.4ff. and *Indica*, 20.6 (E. I. Robson, *Arrian*, vol. II, The Loeb Class. Libr., 1958). D. S., XVII 57.1 and Arrian, III 11.8, I 16. 4. D. S., XVII 100.1. Curtius, X 3.12 (J. C. Rolfe, *Quintus Curtius*, vols. I-II, The Loeb Class. Libr. 1962) and Arrian, VII 4.4ff. Plut., *Alex.*, XV 2f., XXIX 4 and XLIX 7. Justin, XI 5.5 (O. Seel, ed., *M. Iuliani Iustini Epitoma Philippicarum Pompei Trogi*, Lipsiae, 1935) to Plut., *Alex.*, XV 2f. Justin, XII 12.11 to Arrian, VII 4.4ff. To the best of my knowledge, I know of no evidence which hinders us from concluding that an *hetairos* is a *philos* (=amicus). *Vid.*, Berve, I (1926) p. 30 and nn. 3-4. Παπασταύπου, p. 38, n. 4. Stagakis, pp. 87, 111. Yet, a number of scholars maintain, quite unreasonably as the evidence itself indicates, that the term *philos* is applied only to a segment of the *hetai-*

with the preceding comments incorporated into it, can be translated as follows: "when," (Chares) relates, "(Alexander) defeated Darius, he celebrated weddings (that) of his own and (those) of the other φίλοι (= *hetairoi*)."

The version of Athenaeus plainly shows that there is evidence to support the inference that Alexander the Great is an *hetairos*. This evidence, however, can not be regarded as *independent* testimony. The word ἄλλων is subject to various interpretations, and "as well, besides" are possible ones. The meaning "other" which has been adopted here is permissible. The choice of this particular meaning is justifiable on the ground that it establishes that Alexander is an *hetairos* and that is in conformity with what has been inferred about Alexander by previous analysis. We are justified in regarding Alexander as an *hetairos* (= *philos*), unless other evidence requires us to abandon that interpretation.²²

Another version of the text of Chares is found in Aelian:

"Ἀλέξανδρος ὅτε Δαρείον εἶλε, γάμους εἰστία καὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων."²³
 "When Alexander defeated Darius, he gave a marriage feast not only (that) of his own, but also (that) of the *philoi* (= *hetairoi*)."

A distinction is made between Alexander and those described as *philoi* (= *hetairoi*). In this respect, the version of Aelian stands at variance with that of Athenaeus, and basically is in concord, with the accounts of the same event in Arrian (VII 4.4ff.) and Curtius (X 3.12); they too draw the same distinction between Alexander and those whom they describe as *hetairoi* and as *proximi amicorum* respectively.

The difference between these accounts, the version of Aelian, and the version of Athenaeus is not really insoluble, as will become apparent when we examine another account of the marriages, at Susa, namely that of Diodorus.

Diodorus introduces a variation in the accounts which are familiar to the reader. In his description of the events, he implies that Alexander and Hephaestion must be excluded from those he calls "ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν φίλων," "most distinguished of the *philoi* (= *hetairoi*)" (XVII 107.6). The distinction which Diodorus draws is a greater one than that encountered in Aelian, Arrian and Curtius, for it encompasses, besides Alexander, Hephaestion

ros group: Spiecker, p. 11. Plaumann (1913) col. 1376. Granier, p. 6f. (but cf. pp. 33, 43, 50). Kornemann (1935) p. 182. De Francisci, p. 367. Thomes, p. 14f. Cf. p. 27, n. 3, p. 34, n. 60, p. 10, p. 34, n. 57. Also Hampl (1934) p. 70, n. 1. Ferguson, p. 521, n. 3.

22. Cf. Jacoby, *FGH*, 126. Ehippos v. Olynth., F 2 (2) p. 665. Curtius, VI 11.6. Justin, XII 6.12.

23. Aelian, *VH.*, VIII 7 (R. Hercheri, ed., *Claudii Aeliani Varia Historia Epistolae Fragmenta*, vol. II, Lipsiae, 1866).

as well who is separated from the *philoi* (= *hetairoi*). It comes as a surprise to find Hephaestion separated from the group;²⁴ Diodorus indicates that he regards Hephaestion as a "most honored" *philos* (= *hetairos*) as early as 333 B.C.,²⁵ and in a passage apropos of the death of Hephaestion, in October 324, he again indicates that he considers Hephaestion a *philos* (= *hetairos*);²⁶ further, in the account of Arrian of the marriages at Susa, Hephaestion is specifically identified as an *hetairos* (VII 4.4f.) bridegroom.

The disagreement between Diodorus and those accounts which relate that those who were married in the same ceremony with Alexander are *hetairoi* could be eliminated by assuming that the exclusion of Hephaestion from the *philoi* (= *hetairoi*) is due to an oversight on the part of Diodorus. The proposed solution, however, must be rejected. Were we to adopt it, it would be tantamount to asserting that Diodorus is a careless writer and that Hephaestion is an *hetairos*, without testing the validity of these statements.

Testimony which indicates that Hephaestion is an *hetairos* has been presented. It constitutes only a part of the evidence relevant to the question of whether or not Hephaestion can be regarded as an *hetairos*. Quite relevant to the same question are also (a) the fact that Hephaestion held the position of Bodyguard, *somatophylax*, (Arrian, VI 28.4)²⁷ and (b) the evidence which establishes the position of a Bodyguard vis-à-vis the *hetairoi*. This evidence requires the closest scrutiny.

The exact chronological instant at which Hephaestion became a *somatophylax* can not be fixed.²⁸ The only certainty, in this respect, is that Hephaestion is mentioned as a Bodyguard in a list containing the names of other *somatophylaces* which is preserved in a passage which relates events of 325 B.C. (Arrian, VI 28.4); it is certain that, in 325, Hephaestion is a Bodyguard. It may also be regarded a certainty, since no other testimony requires us to assume otherwise, that Hephaestion held the position of *somatophylax* between 325 and October 324, the year of his death. Consequently, at the time of the marriages at Susa, Hephaestion is a Bodyguard. Part of the evidence which has been introduced would require us to maintain that Hephaestion is also an *hetairos* (= *philos*).

24. Cf. also D.S., XVII 96.1.

25. D.S., XVII 37.5. Arrian, II 12.6. *Vid.* Berve, II (1926) p. 170 for additional references and an evaluation of the evidence.

26. D. S., XVII 114.1ff. in light of Arrian, VII 4.4f., 14.3ff.

27. Spiecker, p. 10. Plaumann, "3 Hephaestion," *RE*, VIII, 1(1912) col. 291. Berve, (1926) I, p. 27, II, p. 171. Tarn, p. 141. Stagakis, p. 71.

28. Cf. Berve, II (1926) p. 171 (Stagakis, p. 73f.).

That established, the analysis may turn to the examination of statements of Arrian and Curtius concerning the Bodyguards: Arrian, while relating the events associated with the mutiny at Opis, remarks that Alexander, after having addressed the Macedonian troops, left the speaker's platform (βῆμα) escorted only by the "ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι τε καὶ οἱ σωματοφύλακες," "*hetairoi* and the *somatophylaces* about him" (VII 11.2).

Quite plainly the passage draws a distinction between *somatophylaces* and *hetairoi*. If that were to prove correct, this passage would raise an obstacle, another obstacle, towards our assuming that Hephaestion is to be regarded as a Bodyguard and at the same time as an *hetairos*. The distinction, here, between *hetairoi* and *somatophylaces*, however, is not a real one: to begin with, Arrian indicates, elsewhere, (I 6.5f.) that he regards the *somatophylaces* as *hetairoi*; further, the passage under consideration clearly establishes that fact, once the τε καὶ are regarded as alternatives, a possible meaning of these words. That, at least in this context, would remove one obstacle toward our regarding Hephaestion as an *hetairos*.

Another passage of Arrian which seems to raise difficulties similar to those implied by the preceding one is that found in V 13.1: "Αὐτὸς . . . ἐπέρα καὶ ἅμα αὐτῷ Πτολεμαῖός τε καὶ Περδίκκας . . . οἱ σωματοφύλακες καὶ Σέλευκος τῶν ἑταίρων." "He (Alexander)... crossed (sc. the Hydaspes) and with him Ptolemy and Perdikkas... the *somatophylaces* and of the *hetairoi* Seleucus."

This passage which relates events of 326 B.C. is noteworthy in that other testimony of Arrian seems to set the need of distinguishing between *hetairoi* and Bodyguards. In this respect, the passage is related to a passage of Curtius which implies that the same distinction must be made between Bodyguards and those whom Curtius calls *amici* (= *hetairoi*).²⁹ The difficulty, here, which of course has implications significant for Hephaestion qua *somatophylax* is not subject to that solution which was offered to resolve the difficulty raised by the preceding passage of Arrian. Some other explanation must be found. It might be argued that what was true about the *somatophylaces* in 326 B.C. is no longer valid for them in 324 B.C. at the time of the mutiny at Opis, for at that instant the *somatophylaces* are *hetairoi* (= *amici*). That argument is predicated on the assumption that the *somatophylaces* were subject to varying relationships vis-à-vis the *hetairoi* (= *amici*) and that is incorrect. The explanation is really a simple one. The difficulty which is encountered toward firm-

29. Curtius VI 8. 17: "Hephaestio... et Erigyus, hi ex amicis, ex armigeris autem Perdikkas et Leonnatus." *Armiger* is used for *somatophylax*: Cf. Arrian, III 5.5 and VI 28.4. Berve (1926) I, p. 24, 27, II, p. 233. Stagakis, p. 83. *Amici* is used for *hetairoi*: Cf. Plut., *Alex.*, X 3. Arrian, III 28.2. Berve, II (1926) p. 151.302. Stagakis, p. 81.

ly establishing the Bodyguards as *hetairoi* (= *amici*) rises as the result of peculiarities of documentation: An examination of the practices of Arrian and Curtius reveals that the two authors label as *hetairoi* and *amici* respectively those whom they regard as such. Their language does not necessarily imply that those identified as *hetairoi/amici* as a rule constitute the sum total of *hetairoi/amici*, or that those who may be associated with *hetairoi/amici* are not themselves *hetairoi/amici* merely because the authors have failed clearly to indicate that they too are part of them. The decisive question—this becomes clear from that testimony—of whether or not a person is to be included among the *hetairoi/amici* must be determined by independent evidence.³⁰

The awareness that Arrian and Curtius are addicted to these practices is of aid in establishing the position of the Bodyguards within the *hetairos* (= *amicus*) group. It can be argued, quite legitimately, that the passages which seem to imply that the Bodyguards are to be excluded from the *hetairoi* (= *amici*) are only instances of imprecise writing. And since there is evidence in Arrian and in Curtius³¹ that the Bodyguards are *hetairoi* (= *amici*), it follows that the Bodyguards are an integral part of that group. Further, one may conclude—and this is a reasonable inference—that any passage which excludes a Bodyguard from the *hetairoi* (= *philoi*=*amici*) reflects a practice which can be described as a false distinction.

The preceding discussion has brought to sharp focus certain peculiarities inherent in the evidence for *hetairoi* (= *philoi*=*amici*), has removed certain ambiguities which seemed to prevent the identification of Hephaestion as a *philos* (= *hetairos*) in 324 B.C. and has led to the conclusion that the Bodyguards, in the reign of Alexander the Great, were in fact *hetairoi*.³² The discussion is far more significant for the light it throws on Alexander's po-

30. Cf. Arrian, I 6.5f. I 25.1, 25.4f., 25.9 regarding Alexander the son of Aeropus. *Vid.*, also D. S., XVII 32.1. Berve, II (1926) p. 18. Stagakis, p. 65.f. Jacoby, *FGH*, 139. Aristobulos, F 27 (21) p. 777 (Arrian, IV 6.1) to Arrian IV 3.7. "Ἀνδρόμαχόν τε ἀποστέλλει καὶ Μενέδημον καὶ Κάρανον, ἱππέας μὲν ἔχοντας τῶν ἑταίρων". The *ἱππέας... ἑταίρων* are *hetairoi*: *Vid.* Arrian, I 16.4. Berve, I (1926) p. 104. Arrian, VII 14.3. Cf. Curtius, VI 7.17f. and VI 8.1. Curtius, VI 11.10 as it affects Alexander in the light of Jacoby, *FGH*, 81. Phylarchos, KΓ, F. 41 (41) p. 172. Curtius, VII 7.36f. Curtius, VIII 12.15 as elucidated by VIII 12.17. *Vid.* Berve, II (1926) P. 294 "Curt. VIII, 10, (*sic*) 17". Curtius, IX 6.4 as elucidated by IX 6.15f. especially IX 6.27.

31. Cf. Arrian, I 6.5f. VI 28.4 in light of VII 4.5, 26.2. Arrian, I 6.5 and VII 11.2. Curtius, IX 6.4 as elucidated by IX 6.15f., IX 6.27. *Custodes corporis*, in this context, are *somatophylaces*: Cf. Curtius, VIII 6.21. Berve, I (1926) p. 25, 27.

32. Abel, p. 133f. Spiecker, p. 10. Berve, I (1926) pp. 25ff. especially p. 31. F. Lammert, "Σωματοφύλακες," *RE*, III A, 1 (1927) col. 991. Granier, p. 7. Tarn, pp. 137ff. Kallérís, p. 137 and n. 4. Stagakis, pp. 72ff. *Vid.* also Plaumann, (1913) col. 1375f.

sition within the *hetairos* context. The examination of Arrian and Curtius shows that the apparent distinction between Alexander and *hetairoi* (= *amici*) may or may not be ground for excluding Alexander from the group. The question can only be decided by independent testimony which establishes that Alexander was or was not an *hetairos*. Evidence does exist which indicates that Alexander was an *hetairos*; it has already been considered. On the basis of that testimony, it can be argued that neither Arrian nor Curtius, in their accounts of the marriages at Susa—to restrict ourselves to those particular passages—force us to exclude Alexander from the *hetairoi* (= *amici*); on the contrary, we are to conclude that Alexander is to be regarded as an *hetairos* (= *amicus*) also in the context of these two particular passages; their testimony is not contradictory to the other evidence. The fact that Alexander belongs to the *hetairoi* (= *amici*)³³ has been concealed by what has been described elsewhere as a case of false distinction.

The argument can be carried one step further. Since an expression in Arrian and in Curtius which excludes Alexander from *hetairoi* (= *amici*) upon closer examination is revealed as a case of false distinction, it can be argued that all similar expressions in these two authors are of the same nature. But there is no reason for regarding this valid only for Arrian and Curtius. The inference is true for other Alexander historians who seem to exclude Alexander from the *hetairoi* (= *philoi*=*amici*).³⁴

An element of incompleteness becomes evident in the analysis: Whether or not there is negative testimony which requires us also to posit that Alexander must be excluded from the *hetairoi* has not been considered; further,

33. Cf. n. 22.

34. This conclusion seemingly is unwarranted in the light of testimony which opposes Alexander to all *hetairoi/philoi/amici*. The examination of such evidence reveals that the *hetairoi/philoi/amici* are those of Alexander. Consequently, this evidence is not contradictory to the statement that Alexander can be regarded as an *hetairos* (= *philos*=*amicus*). In fact, such evidence leaves unanswered the question of whether or not Alexander is an *hetairos*. That being the case, the evidence which indicates that Alexander is an *hetairos* can be employed to infer that Alexander, even in the context of the evidence under consideration, can be considered an *hetairos*. With that inference the evidence becomes examples of that which I have called a false distinction. Cf. Aelian, *VH*, XII 16 to Jacoby, *FGrH*, 81 K¹, F 41 (41) p. 172 and its implications. D. S., XVII 54. 3f. to XVII 80.1. D.S. XVII 114.1ff. in light of Justin, XII 12.11. Curtius, III 12.16 in view of Arrian, II 12.6. Justin, XII 12.11. Ps. Call., I 18.11f. (C. Müller, ed., *Reliqua Arriani et scriptorum de rebus Alexandri M. fragmenta collegit Pseudo-Callisthenis historiam fabulosam*, Paris, 1877). Curtius, VIII 12. 15 et VIII 12.17. Athenaeus, XII 539f-540a (G. Kaibel, ed., *Athenaei... Libri XV*, vol. III, Stuttgartiae, 1962) in light of Justin, XII 3.8f. Inferentially on the basis of the preceding testimony: Plut., *Alex.*, XXXIX 4f. Justin, XII 15.11. Curtius, VIII 2.7, X 5.31.

the validity of the statement that Alexander is an *hetairos* has not been tested. These are questions which have not been ignored. Elsewhere, in this paper, they have been considered, and as the result of that work, in anticipatory fashion, the preceding inferences are presented to the reader.

After the previous analysis, it would appear that the further examination of the text of Diodorus and that of the accounts of the marriages, at Susa, found in Plutarch become pointless. Evidence has been introduced which indicates that Alexander is an *hetairos*, and the analysis demonstrates that this conclusion is not to be rejected merely on the basis of the testimony which appears to exclude Alexander from the *hetairoi*. Something, however, is to be gained from the accounts of Diodorus and Plutarch.

The discussion which has been prompted by the examination of the account of Diodorus has provided us with a clue as to the direction in which we have to seek the explanation for the exclusion of Hephaestion from the *philoi*, in the Diodorus' passage. Hephaestion as a Bodyguard is an *hetairos* (= *philos*). If he has been excluded from the *philoi* this is not due to an oversight of Diodorus, rather it must be regarded as a case of false distinction. It has been established, inferentially, that Diodorus is addicted to that practice; his treatment of Hephaestion and other passages, clearly, substantiate that.³⁵

The exclusion of Hephaestion from the *philoi* (= *hetairoi*), in the account of Diodorus of the marriages at Susa, has been explained in terms of a false distinction. This realization has wider consequences. Diodorus is, in fact, saying that a bridegroom whom he excludes from the *philoi* (= *hetairoi*) is an *hetairos*, for he inserts no special proviso that this is not true for the bridegroom Alexander the Great. Indeed, we can conclude from this account that Alexander is a *philos* (= *hetairos*). It must be remarked that this inference rests exclusively upon testimony of Diodorus, and in this sense, this conclusion is complementary to the testimony of the letter and to that of Athenaeus.

The accounts of Plutarch, we may finally address ourselves, to them, despite the fact that at first sight they appear as confusing elaborations, substantiate that picture of Alexander qua *hetairos* which has been known to us from the testimony examined. Plutarch in a passage of the *Alexander* (LXX 2) states: "Τῶν δὲ ἑταίρων γάμον ἐν Σούσοις ἐπιτελῶν, καὶ λαμβάνων μὲν αὐτὸς γυναῖκα τὴν Δαρείου θυγατέρα Στάτειραν, διανέμων δὲ τὰς ἀρίστας τοῖς ἀρίστοις, κοινὸν δὲ τῶν ἤδη προγεγαμηκότων Μακεδόνων γάμον

35. Cf. XVII 83.7 concerning Bagodaras. XVII 30.1 and XVII 30.4 relevant to Chari-demus. XVII 55.1. 57.1, 60.5. XVII 54.3f. Parmenion is a *philos*=*hetairos*: Arrian, II 25.2. Vid. XVII 56.2, 57.1, 60.5f.

ἄλλον³⁶ ἐστιάσας...," "at Susa, while (Alexander) celebrated a marriage of *hetairoi*, and while he himself married the daughter of Darius Stateira, and assigned the most noble women to the most noble men, and while he celebrated another general (κοινὸν) marriage feast of those Macedonians who had already been married..."

Plutarch's account is subject to two obvious interpretations. Both require that we distinguish between the general marriage feast and the events related by the three initial phrases of Plutarch's text. Beyond that, the interpretations lead to different results. According to one, we must think that the Plutarchean account draws the distinction between three entities; the *hetairoi*, Alexander and those whom the author calls ἄριστοι. The other interpretation requires us to regard the statement "ἐταίρων γάμον... ἐπιτελῶν" as a general introductory statement followed by the particulars to elucidate it. According to this interpretation, the account of Plutarch *explicitly states* that Alexander and the ἄριστοι are *hetairoi*.

The choice between the two interpretations can only be made according to some rational criterion. Such a criterion is made available through the evaluation of the results of these two interpretations by that which has been established in the preceding analyses. In the light of the knowledge already secured, the first interpretation should be rejected. It introduces a tripartite classification of the participants in the events, at Susa, which finds no support in the extant accounts of these events. Further, it posits the *de facto* exclusion of Alexander from the *hetairoi* which has no factual basis. These reasons incline us to accept the second interpretation.

Before, however, the choice is made, another account of the marriages, in the *Eumenes* (I 3), needs to be examined: "Βαρσίνην... γνοὺς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος... τῶν ταύτης ἀδελφῶν Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν Ἀπάμαν, Εὐμένει δὲ Βαρσίνην ἐξέδωκεν, ὅτε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας Περσίδας διένειμε καὶ συνῴκισεν τοῖς ἑταίροις."

"Alexander, having been familiar with Barsine, gave in marriage Apama,³⁷ one of this woman's sisters, to Ptolemy, and Barsine,³⁸ another of her sisters, to Eumenes, at the time when, he assigned and gave in marriage also the other Persian women to the *hetairoi*."

A distinction is being made, in this account, between *hetairoi* and Eume-

36. ἄλλον Bekker, after Coraïs: καλὸν with the MSS". Perrin, *loc. cit.*, vol. VII, p. 418, n. 1. This is reasonable in view of Arrian, VII 4.4ff. and Athenaeus' version of Chares. Cf. Spiecker, p. 20. Burn, p. 238.

37. Cf. Berve, II (1926) p. 52. 97.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 84.155. Kaerst, "4) Eumenes," *RE*, VI, 1 (1907) col. 1083.

nes and Ptolemy which *seems* to reflect that distinction between those involved at the marriages at Susa, which resulted from one of the possible interpretations of the account in the *Alexander*. Alexander the Great is not mentioned as a bridegroom but this can not license us to argue that Alexander was not married, at Susa; the testimony is overwhelmingly emphatic about that.³⁹ In fact, the absence of Alexander from the group of bridegrooms can be construed as a false distinction.

It seems strange that Eumenes and Ptolemy are excluded from the *hetairoi*. Arrian in his account of the marriages, specifically, identifies both of them as *hetairoi*,⁴⁰ and even Plutarch knows both as *hetairoi*.⁴¹ There exists a disagreement between Arrian—to restrict our comments to him—and Plutarch's testimony, in the *Eumenes*, regarding Eumenes and Ptolemy qua *hetairoi*, in 324 B.C. The disagreement vanishes once it is discovered that the exclusion of the two from the *hetairoi*, in the *Eumenes*, has its basis on a misunderstanding of the evidence which shows the same peculiarities of documentation noticed in certain historians of Alexander and inferred for Plutarch; Plutarch is addicted to them.⁴² The exclusion of Ptolemy and Eumenes from the *hetairoi* ceases having any justification when it is recognized as being the result of a false distinction. Both are *hetairoi* in 324 B.C. With that established, the bridegrooms apart from Alexander emerge as *hetairoi*; but even in the case of Alexander, that statement that he too is an *hetairos* finds no obstacle. The choice between the interpretations of the passage, in the *Alexander*, can be made rationally. The second interpretation must be adopted. With that choice, another passage is discovered which explicitly states that Alexander is an *hetairos*.

The testimony of Plutarch is revealed as being in agreement with the testimony of the letter, in the papyrus, with the inferences drawn from the

39. Cf. also Plut., *Moralia: De Alex. Magni fort.* I, 329 DE (F. C. Babbitt, *Plutarch's Moralia*, vol. IV, The Loeb Class. Libr., 1962).

40. Arrian, VII 4.4ff. Concerning Ptolemy: Berve, II (1926) p. 329f. 668. Stagakis, p. 72. Regarding Eumenes: Berve, II (1926) p. 156. 317. Stagakis, p. 90 writes: "The role of Eumenes, at Babylon immediately after the death of Alexander, leaves no doubt that Eumenes had not been an *Hetairos*." I no longer believe that the argument is cogent enough to require us to exclude Eumenes from the *hetairoi*. Far more convincing evidence must be adduced.

41. Cf. Plut., *Alex.*, X 3 relative to Ptolemy. Also cf. *Alex.*, IV 1 "Πολλοὶ τῶν διαδόχων ... καὶ τῶν φίλων" καὶ must mean "or." Plut., *Eum.*, II 2, III 1 (Text B. Perrin, *Plutarch's Lives*, vol. VIII, The Loeb Class. Libr., 1919).

42. Cf. *Eum.*, III 1. *Alex.*, XLIX 6 and XLIX 7 in view of XXIX 4, XXX 5, XLVII 5f. XXXIX 4f. LXVII 1f. and LXVIII 1, X 3 regarding Nearchus. *Vid.* Berve, II (1926) p. 269f. Stagakis, p. 85.

accounts of Arrian, Curtius, Diodorus, and Chares, as found in Aelian, and renders full support to that interpretation of the version of Athenaeus which has been adopted on other grounds; after the explicit statement of Plutarch that Alexander and those who married along with Alexander, at Susa, are *hetairoi* any doubts about the correctness of the interpretation of "ἄλλων" as "of other" in the Athenaeus' version are unwarranted.

The search has produced evidence which establishes that Alexander the Great can be regarded as an *hetairos* (= *philos* = *amicus*). The task, however, is not finished. To conclude, at this point, will result in leaving a vital question without answer. The epithet *hetairos* does not express the status of a person within the Macedonian state of Alexander the Great;⁴³ the *hetairos* has an associate,⁴⁴ and as the testimony of the letter indicates this is true for Alexander qua *hetairos*. It is very pertinent to the study to discover who the associate or the associates of Alexander will be.

An appropriate and quite convenient body of evidence for us to examine is that related to the marriages at Susa. That evidence has indicated that other *hetairoi*, besides Alexander the Great, were involved in the marriages celebrated there. These *hetairoi* have associates. In fact, the testimony indicates that all of them are *hetairoi* of Alexander. If that were to be established as valid, a step also would be taken in the direction of identifying the associate of Alexander the Great.

Seven of the *hetairoi*, Hephaestion, Perdiccas, Ptolemy the son of Lagus, Craterus, Eumenes, Nearchus and Seleucus, beside Alexander, have been identified for us.⁴⁵ The list is precious for it gives us a means of checking the validity of the statement that other *hetairoi*, besides Alexander were married at Susa. One obstacle which rises against the right to regard all those labelled *hetairoi* as *hetairoi*—I am restricting my examination to the *hetairoi* other than Alexander—finds its justification in the observation that (a) Hephaestion, Perdiccas and Ptolemy are known to have been Bodyguards at the time of the marriages,⁴⁶ and (b) Arrian and Curtius seem to require that we exclude the Bodyguards from the *hetairoi*.⁴⁷ The obstacle is not serious; the problem of the relation of Bodyguards to *hetairoi* has been discussed, and it has been

43. Stagakis, p. 57.

44. Cf. Jacoby, *FGH*, 139. F. 27 (21) (Arrian, IV 6.1.). Jacoby, *op. cit.*, 139. F 54 (39) (Arrian, VII 18.1). Arrian, VII 14.9. *Vid.* Berve, I (1926) p. 30. Hampl, p. 70 and n. 1.

45. Arrian, VII 4.4ff. Plut., *Eum.*, I 3. D. S., XVII 107.6, XX 109.7 (Text used Fischer ed., vol. V. 1964).

46. Cf. Arrian, VI 28.4. There is no reason to think that they were not Bodyguards in 324. *Vid.* Berve, I (1926) p. 27.

47. Arrian, V 13. 1 and n. 29.

concluded that the Bodyguards are indeed *hetairoi*.⁴⁸ I see no reason why the validity of the statement that other *hetairoi* along with Alexander were married at Susa can not be accepted.⁴⁹

The examination of the *other hetairoi* shows that they are related quite specifically to Alexander; Perdikkas and Craterus are Alexander's *hetairoi*.⁵⁰ That is true also of Nearchus.⁵¹ These facts are important for a number of inferences can be drawn from them. To begin, since an *hetairos* of the number of those who are the specific objects of our examination is an *hetairos* of Alexander, the conclusion that all are *hetairoi* of Alexander is warranted. That information is of value in elucidating those accounts of the marriages at Susa, other than that of Chares in Athenaeus and that of Plutarch in the *Alexander*, which imply a distinction between Alexander and *hetairoi* (= *philoí* = *amici*). The distinction is not real, that argument has been advanced already. Now, evidence from another direction is available to support it; since the *hetairoi* are those of Alexander, the accounts, in question, establish nothing negative about Alexander qua *hetairos*. This being the case, the testimony which the letter, Athenaeus and Plutarch, in the *Alexander* provide can be extended to Alexander even in those accounts so that it can be inferentially established that Alexander the Great is an *hetairos*.

The examination of the *other hetairoi* reveals something more: A bridegroom of their number who is an *hetairos* regards another bridegroom *hetairos*, namely Alexander, as his associate. Then Alexander qua bridegroom *hetairos* has an associate, in this context, and that associate *ipso iure* must be one of the *hetairoi* of Alexander. But this—to bring the results of the inference to its ultimate logical consequences—is tantamount to saying that the *hetairos* relation in the reign of Alexander the Great is a reciprocal relationship; Alexander is the *hetairos* of his *hetairoi*.

48. Cf. n. 32.

49. Spiecker, p. 10 speaking about *hetairoi*: "Doch scheint die Zahl geschwankt zu haben, da Chares... von 92 Brautgemächern... spricht". Plaumann (1913) col. 1375 "bei der Hochzeit... erhalten etwa 80 δ. vornehme Perserinnen zu Frauen; Arrian. VII 4, 6: ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἑταίροις." He overlooks Arrian, VII 4.4. Berve, I (1926) p. 30. *Idem* (1938) p. 156. Kornemann (1935) p. 183. Thomes, p. 31 and n. 34, p. 42f.

50. Jacoby, *FGrH*, 81. Phylarchos, ΚΓ, F 41 (41) (Aelian, *VH*, IX 3). Perdikkas: Berve, II (1926) p. 313 "gehörte zu den Hetairoi Al.s (Plut. 15)." Stagakis, p. 86. Craterus: Berve, II (1926) p. 220 "zu dessen ἑταίροις gehörte (Curt. IX, 6, 6)." Stagakis, p. 83. Strictly speaking, the passages which Berve and Stagakis cite only prove that Perdikkas and Craterus are *hetairoi*.

51. Cf. Arrian, *Indica*, 20.6. D.S., XVII 112.3 in light of Plut., *Alex.*, X 3. Arrian, III 6.5f., VII 4.4ff. Arrian, Plutarch and Curtius raise the familiar obstacles; while Nearchus was occupied with the *periplous* of the Indian Ocean, these authors speak about *hetairoi*/

Testimony shows that Alexander is an *hetairos*, a fact which has been overlooked or even has been rejected by some modern scholars. But is it *really valid* to regard Alexander as an *hetairos*? That question must be considered rather carefully.

One obstacle against the claim that Alexander is a member of the *hetairos* group is rooted on a passage found in the excerpts of Polyaeus from the *Codex tacticorum Florentino* (6.3);⁵² “Ὅτι καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρος πυθόμενος μοχθηρὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὑπηκόους λογοποιουμένους συναγαγὼν τοὺς φίλους ἔφη,” “when Alexander heard that the subjects were fabricating fictitious things about him, having gathered the *philo*i, said.”

Some explanation is required, before the passage is analyzed. It speaks of *philo*i and this distracts the reader from immediately grasping its relevance to the topic of *hetairoi*. Since an *hetairos*, however, can be described also as *philos*, the passage is relevant to the study of *hetairoi*. Further, the excerptor of Polyaeus does assume—this becomes obvious through the reading of the whole passage—that a *philos* is a subject, and that is very relevant to the study. Should it be proven that the *hetairos* (= *philos*) is a subject, we have no right to call Alexander an *hetairos* (= *philos*).

The excerptor has taken liberties with the passage of Polyaeus (cf. IV 3.19) with the result that he has produced a false picture of the *hetairoi*; Polyaeus, in the original passage, subsumes the *philo*i under Macedonians and Greeks whom the excerptor has described as ὑπηκόους “subjects.” A subject can be an *hetairos* (= *philos*), but a Greek *hetairos* (= *philos*) need not be the subject of his associate. Moreover, the Macedonian *hetairos* relation is not regulated by a principle which requires that the *hetairos* be the subject of the associate. The examination of the Corinthian Demaratus makes that clear.⁵³ Demaratus is identified as a πατὴρ φίλος “hereditary friend” of Alexander (Plut., *Alex.*, XXXVII 4) which, as we can infer from Arrian (I 15.6), is equivalent to saying that Demaratus is a πατὴρ ἑταῖρος of Alexander.⁵⁴ The adjective πατὴρ suggests an association of Demaratus as *hetairos* (= *philos*) to Philip the father of Alexander. That is substantiated.

amici and give the impression that they are speaking about the sum total of *hetairoi/amici* from whom Nearchus must be excluded. Cf. Arrian, VI 28.1 and VI 28.5 Plut., *Alex.*, LXVII 1 and LXVIII 1. Curtius, IX 10.26 and X 1.10. *Vid.* also D. S., XVII 106.1ff. The difficulty is overcome when it is recognized that it is due to peculiarities of documentation.

52. I. Melber, *Polyaeni Strategematon Libri Octo* (Lipsiae, 1887). Also Polyaeus, IV 3.19. Cf. also D.S., XVII 80.4. Curtius, VII 2.36. Justin, XII 5.5ff.

53. Arrian, I 15.6. Plut., *Alex.*, IX 6, XXXVII 4, *Moralla: De Alex. Magni fort.* I 329 D.

54. It has been recognized that Demaratus was an *hetairos*. Cf. Abel, p. 135. Spiecker, p. 11. Plaumann (1913) col. 1377. Berve, II (1926) p. 133.253. Kallérís, p. 176, n. 3. Thomes,

Demaratus is described as a ξένος "guest-friend" and *philos* of Philip.⁵⁵ Plutarch offers the additional information about Demaratus that he is "ξένος ... τῆς οἰκίας," "a guest-friend of the house (or family)"⁵⁶ that is of the male members of the Macedonian royal family; that is obvious from the relation of Demaratus to Philip. Therefore, Demaratus must have been a ξένος of Alexander even in the reign of Philip II. But since the relationship of Demaratus as ξένος to a member of the Macedonian royal family, more fully designated, is that of ξένος and *philos* (= *hetairos*) Demaratus, this we must infer, was an *hetairos* of Alexander in the reign of Philip II. This further implies, that an *hetairos* relation can exist between an *hetairos* and a person other than the king of the Macedonians.⁵⁷

Finally, the analysis can be concluded. It has demonstrated that the testimony of the excerptor is not damaging to the argument that Alexander the Great is an *hetairos*. It has also demonstrated that an *hetairos* relation can exist in Macedonia with the associate of the *hetairos* being a person other than the king. This is an area into which modern research should move for much remains to be clarified.

The testimony examined shows that, in the Macedonia of Alexander the Great, the *hetairos* relation is a reciprocal relationship. To insist that Alexander the Great is not an *hetairos* and to establish all sorts of hypotheses, either of an economic or political nature on that position, is possible only when the totality of the evidence is overlooked. The Macedonian *hetairos* relationship, in the reign of Alexander, this can be added, is in its guiding principle akin to the relationship which the study of the Homeric *Iliad* reveals.⁵⁸

University of Wisconsin
Milwaukee

GEORGE S. STAGAKIS

p. 40 and n. 70. He overlooks, however, the fact that Demaratus is a πατρίδος ἐταῖρος (= φίλος). Stagakis, p. 111f.

55. Plut., *Moralia: De Alex. Magni fort.* I, 329 D.Alex., XXXVII 4. Stagakis, p. 111f.

56. Plut., *Alex.*, IX 6. Berve, II (1926) p. 133.

57. Hampl makes no allowances for this. Schachermeyr (1949) p. 122 speaks of Demaratus in relation to Alexander as "sein väterlich lieber Freund Demaratos." He has not considered the totality of the evidence relative to Demaratus for he accepts the Hampl thesis (cf. n. 6) and yet on p. 501 n. 58 he writes "Zu den Gästen zählten alle, denen man kein Leben und keine makedonische Baronie... anbieten konnte oder wollte."

58. Stagakis, "Therapontes and Hetairoi, in the *Iliad*, as Symbols of the Political Structure of the Homeric State," *Historia*, XV, 4 (1966) pp. 408ff.

THE DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS BETWEEN ALEXANDER III AND DARIUS III *

The diplomatic contacts between Darius and Alexander the Great, who at the head of the strongest powers of their time were fighting according to an historian of Alexander "in spem totius orbis occupandi" have not been granted proper attention by modern historians, as it would be expected.

The problems which one has to face in this case are many and different. First, it is necessary to define the place where the delegations were sent, the time, and the conditions under which an interstate dialogue was carried out mainly by correspondence; it is also necessary to define the order of either part's diplomatic missions, and the problems in the texts of some writers, their authenticity, their relations, etc.

An effort was consequently made to define the nucleus of the exchanged views from a historical standpoint and especially within the frame of the two centuries of the Graeco-Persian drama; Great difficulties were encountered to view the elements, offered by the dialogue between Alexander the Great and Darius, in the light of international (or rather of interstate) law, as it was formed in the ancient times.

We mainly took under consideration five writers (Arrian, Diodorus, Curtius, Iustinus, Plutarch) who present letters of unequal number and length. Basic significance was assigned not to secondary subjects treated in the letters but to the nucleus itself of both views. The letters offered by the above mentioned writers have been placed in tables side by side in the order of their transmission, so that one may examine and compare the included elements more easily. A single look at these tables makes clear that each writer renders freely and elaborates a central nucleus of the exchanged views.

The diplomatic dialogue is carried out "ab opulentissimis Europae Asiaeque regibus" under which many state formations of the "γνωριζομένης οἰκουμένης" of the time are enlisted. The interstate dialogue of these kings conducted during the expedition is examined. When did the dialogue begin and when was it finished?

*More details in my book: *Αἱ μεταξὺ Ἀλεξάνδρου Γ' καὶ Δαρείου Γ' διπλωματικαὶ ἐπιστολαί*. Athens 1964, pp. 119.

The expedition started without an official declaration of war. But it could be said that it aimed at the liberation of the cities of Asia Minor. One must not be surprised by this. This enterprise was usually undertaken by each ruling power in Greece in order to justify somehow the title of sovereign state. Asia Minor up to river Halys constituted a field of endless dispute especially on the coast. By the peace of Antalkidas (386 B.C.) the cities of Asia Minor had indeed been ceded to the Persian king, but the power officially recognized as the ruler of the Greek world had not sworn them, neither had it participated in the long dialogue between the Greek cities and Persia. Consequently Alexander was not bound by that peace as king of Macedonia but rather as ruler of the Greeks. Perhaps he would have been bound by the conclusion of friendship and alliance between Philip II and Artaxerxes III (see Arr. *An.* II, 14, 2) which, we suppose, was equivalent to the peace of Antalkidas in the regard to the "ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ" cities.

After the battle of Issos (333 B.C.) which took place in the furthest end of the area of conflict between Greeks and Persians, Darius addressed the victor Alexander in a letter and maintained that his strife was unjust. The following requires particular emphasis: Darius did not see Alexander in his dual function as king of Macedonia and ruler of Greece, but only in the former. Darius thought he was conversing with the king of Macedonia, and independent and politically self-existent state, and made no hint about the Greeks, kinsmen of the Macedonians, in the letter. The affairs of the Greek cities had been arranged by the peace of Antalkidas mentioned above, as it can be presumed by some evidence. Therefore cities conceded to Alexander and afterwards violently detached by the Persians, were obliged (as Lesbos) "καθελεῖν μὲν τὰς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον σφίσι γενομένας στήλας συμμάχους δὲ εἶναι Δαρείου κατὰ τὴν εἰρήνην τὴν ἐπ' Ἀνταλκίδου γενομένην" (Arr. II, *An.* 1, 4.). The same must be said about Tenedos.

So, the diplomatic dialogue began after the battle in Issos. After it Alexander went beyond the usual borders of conflict between Greeks and Persians. During the battle Darius himself fought as Alexander's opponent. So, a period of antagonism on high level began which did not aim at the conquest of part of the territory but at the conquest of the whole continent. The dialogue already commenced continued during the whole expedition up to the final defeat of Darius in Gaugamela, between those two battles of world-wide significance and in an interval of about two years (from Maemacterion, that is November 333 up to Pyanepsion, more accurately October 1, 331). So long as the fate of the expedition was still at stake, in spite of Alexander's great victory, was there some room for negotiations.

Some writers relate that three diplomatic missions had been sent by Darius and three by Alexander respectively. Curtius only gives the content of all three pairs while Plutarch presents only one pair. Arrian, a trustworthy author in general, seems to blend the three pairs into two, unless we suppose there is some gap in his text.

In his first letter Darius addresses Alexander as "superbe" and commands him to free his family. According to Curtius, Alexander was very irritated, because he was not addressed as king. Yet in Arrian, in the middle of the letter, it is true, one reads "αὐτὸς δὲ βασιλεὺς παρὰ βασιλείῳς... αἰτεῖν" (*An.* II, 143). We believe that the name "king" does not necessarily mean independent and absolute ruler. In the Persian state also existed the "ὑποχοί" kings under the Great king according to Aeschylus (*Pers.* 24). For Darius the need to free his own people was immediate and imperative. He persists in his request promising great amounts of money. After that he exposes the reasons why he thinks Alexander is in the wrong.

First he refers to the reign of Alexander's father Philip and mentions some of his violations in spite of the friendship and alliance he had concluded with the Persians.

This approach of the two states formed a considerable interstate relation between the two powers and was achieved during the reign of Philip II (359-336 B.C.) and that of Artaxerxes III (359-338 B.C.) which almost coincide. The injustice of Philip at the expense of Persia, must have been committed (according to calculations) between 338 and 336 B.C. The offence probably consisted in sending an advanced guard of the Macedonian army under Attalus and Parmenion to Asia Minor in 336 B.C. Thus Darius criticizes Alexander, because he "διέβη" to Asia. Worth noticing is Darius' proposal: "φιλίαν... ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ξύμμαχος εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ" (*Arr. Anab.* II, 14,3). Darius obviously suggests the restoration of the "φιλίαν καὶ ξύμμαχίαν" once existing (*ibid.* 14, 2).

In order to define the sequence of the letters and the stages which the dialogue underwent, we took under consideration Darius' territorial and monetary concessions as well as the possible future relations between the two kings. We are much helped in distinguishing the stages by Curtius' text. Has the integrity of his testimony any solid foundation at all, or is this an elaboration of the text handed down to him? Indeed one doubts about some secondary elements in the text of Curtius. One is inclined to think that his rhetoric and romantic decoration is useless, but the train of thought requires attention. One wonders for instance whether, according to Curtius, Darius' demand in his first letter to Alexander to return home, offered as a presupposition for the conclu-

sion of friendship and alliance, is true or not. It could be maintained that this is the false letter of Darius (and not the genuine one) written by Alexander himself to irritate his own companions against Darius. To support this we should rely on Diodorus (XVII, 39, 2) according to whom Alexander "συναγαγὼν τοὺς φίλους καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀληθινὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀποκρυψάμενος, ἑτέραν δὲ γράψας ῥέπουσαν πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτῷ συμφέρον προσήνεγκε τοῖς συνεδροῖς". In that case we admit that two pairs of letters are genuine. Other assumptions are equally possible in this controversial subject.

Alexander's immediate reply, we believe, was brought to Darius by a simple letter carrier sent by him; and it aimed at shattering Darius' moral. King Alexander begins the letter by enumerating Persian injustices already committed in the 5th century B.C.; while Darius confined himself in the space 338-333 B.C. and drew instances liable to accusation, Alexander does not confine himself to that narrow period but looks back into the past; therefrom he collects appropriate instances and proves that he himself is in the right and the Persians in the wrong. This dilation in Alexander's attitude towards the problem was both spacial and temporal. From the spacial point of view Alexander presents Macedonia and "τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα" as an entity which once underwent the attack of the Persian empire aiming at annexation: from the temporal point of view he connects the present conflict with the "Μηδικὰ" that is with the attack and repulsion of the beginning of the 5th century B.C., a hundred and fifty years before, and finds that his present war is just. We must notice that both seek to justify their positions. Alexander for instance intensely emphasizes that the Persians had carried out "inopia bella" (Curt. IV, 1 12; see also Arr. *Anab.* II, 14, 4-8).

Alexander does not want a coexistence. Immediately after the battle in Issos he declares that he is "τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης κύριος". All that Darius granted to him, especially in the next stages (the land west of the Halys and then the land west of the Euphrates, his daughter in marriage and other tempting offers) are estimated by Alexander as secondary and insignificant compared to his own claims over the whole. Alexander referring to Darius' monetary grantings says that if Darius recognizes him as the master of Asia and comes to him as a suppliant, he, Alexander, shall liberate his captives and, what is more, "sine pretio" (Curt. IV, 1, 13). Darius can also ask for anything else he wants. Thus, as every petitioner, he would obviously be enlisted under Alexander's control. Alexander would probably not deprive Darius of his royal title, for the coexistence of many kings was not incompatible with their subjection to a superior "βασιλέα βασιλέων" in the Persian empire. Yet, all of them

were "ὑποχῶν" to the Great king. Therefore, because Darius was defeated and Alexander became master of Asia after the battle in Issos as he had already declared, Darius himself ought to become his "ὑποχῶν" placed perhaps in the same position in which Porus was placed later.

The following letters, like the first ones, come from several collections of letters, and have been differently used by various authors. They present offers in improved terms but Alexander basically pursues one end: to be recognized as "τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης κύριος" and of the land beyond Asia. This claim is repeated in all of his letters which are almost, in a way, equivalent.

The basic theme around which the dialogue revolves appears right at the beginning: that is who would be the Great king and who the dependent one. In the next letters which were sent in proper time (the second one, for example, was sent while Alexander was still tiring himself out in the siege of Tyros), Darius proposes more alluring terms sufficient to attract a skilled and wise general like Parmenion, but Alexander will not deviate from his basic aims.

The views exposed in the dialogue, in particular those of Alexander, placed within the frame of the interstate law of antiquity, belong to that of relations which enhance the universal sovereignty and deny the coexistence on equal terms. If this coexistence was accepted, according to Alexander, it would be like the existence of "two suns." Although Darius ostensibly proceeds to considerable concessions, he keeps for himself the superior title. Besides, all his territorial concessions were made "de facto," that is after Alexander had conquered the ceded ground. On the contrary, according to Alexander, his great victory in Issos alone overturned Darius, until then master of Asia. So after Darius' personal defeat Alexander regards Asia and its people as his own property; every offer of Darius is taken for an offer from an alien property and Alexander does not accept it. He only wants to be recognized as master of Asia by its former ruler. Darius does not give up his throne but believes that if the army's impetus was restrained by tempting offerings or other means, the recovery of the ceded grounds would be easy.

By the predominance of one master, according to the model of an illuminating sun, the interstate relations are extinguished; but they certainly continue to exist among the nations subjected to this system, who possess independence and freedom in their actions.

The course of the study works itself out to an end while Alexander's aim to dominate the whole of Asia proceeds towards its fulfillment. After the battle in Gaugamela, Alexander is undeniably master of Asia and there are neither opponents nor a diplomatic dialogue to attend. According to Alexander,

Darius ought to occupy a position of "ὑποχός" in a planned interstate system, a position which the Greeks would have occupied before one and a half century if the Persians' invasion had succeeded. Alexander as representative and ruler of the once distressed Greek world reversed the terms:

ruling Persia		ruling Greece
	into	
subject Greece		subject Persia

Darius is accepted at the new political formation not as "par" but as "secundus." From a more general point of view, Alexander's pursued and completed claim to reverse the terms above mentioned, means the victory of Europe over "πολυάνδρου" Asia. Approximately in the middle of the historical life essentially known to us, the predominance of Europe achieved by Alexander persisted until the twentieth century: before Alexander's radical cut the East ruled solidly.

University of Athens

EMM. MIKROJANNAKIS

ΣΧΕΣΕΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑΣ ΜΕ ΤΗΝ ΘΡΑΚΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΙΔΙΩΣ ΤΗΝ ΣΑΜΟΘΡΑΚΗΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΤΙΚΗΝ ΕΠΟΧΗΝ

Ὁ Πλούταρχος εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀναφέρει: λέγεται δὲ Φίλιππος ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ τῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι συμμνηθεὶς, αὐτὸς τε μαιράκιον ὦν ἔτι κακείνης παιδὸς ὀρφανῆς γονέων, ἐρασθῆναι καὶ τὸν γάμον οὕτως ἀρμόσαι, πείσας τὸν (πατρὶ) ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς Ἀρύββαν.

Πρόκειται περὶ τῆς χαρακτηριστικώτερας μνείας ἀρχαίου συγγραφέως, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν τονίζεται καθαρὰ καὶ ἐρμηνεύεται ἀναμφισβητήτως ἡ ἐκ τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν, τῶν τελευταίων ἰδίᾳ ἐτῶν, ἀποδειχθεῖσα στενὴ σχέσηις τοῦ βασιλικοῦ οἴκου τῆς Μακεδονίας πρὸς τὸ Ἱερὸν τῶν Μεγάλων Θεῶν εἰς τὴν Σαμοθράκην. Ἦτο φυσικὸν ἡ Μακεδονία, περιοχὴ μὲ πολιτισμὸν ἑλληνικόν, παλαιότερον τῆς Θράκης (ἡ ὁποία, ὥς εἶναι γνωστὸν ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν, ἀλλὰ κυρίως ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαιολογικῶν ἐρευνῶν, μόλις ἀπὸ τὸν 7ον αἰ. π.Χ. ἤρχισε νὰ δέχεται ἀποικίας) νὰ ἐπηρέασε ποικιλοτρόπως τὴν γειτονικὴν τῆς περιοχὴν. Ἡ ἀνασκαφικὴ ἐρευνα, ἡ ὁποία μόνη θὰ ἦτο δυνατόν νὰ δώσῃ λεπτομερειακὰ στοιχεῖα διὰ τὰς σημειωθείσας ἐπιδράσεις εἰς τὸν θρακικὸν χῶρον, ἔχει καθυστερήσει πολὺ, ἂν καί, ἐλάχιστα μὲν, ἀλλὰ σαφῆ δεδομένα ὑπάρχουν τὴν στιγμὴν ταύτην. Ἐὰν ἐξαιρεθοῦν αἱ περιγραφαὶ τῶν περιηγητῶν κυρίως, ὥς καὶ ἐλαχίστων ξένων ἐρευνητῶν, τὰ κατὰ καιροὺς δημοσιεύματα, μία μόνη προσπάθεια ὑπῆρξε σημαντικὴ: τὸ ὁδοιπορικὸν τοῦ Γεωργίου Μπακαλάκη. Χωρὶς τὴν ἀφοσίωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ Καθ. κ. Γ. Μπακαλάκη διὰ τὴν περιοχὴν τῆς Θράκης, τὴν ὁποίαν περιηγήθη ἀπ' ἄκρου εἰς ἄκρον, ἀναζητῶν ἵχνη τῆς ἀρχαιότητος, καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ὀλίγα, ἀλλ' ἐξαιρετῶς ἀντιπροσωπευτικὰ εὐρήματα, θὰ ἦσαν ἄγνωστα. Τὰ βιβλία του *Προανασκαφικὲς ἐρευνεὲς στὴ Θράκῃ* (1958), ὥς καὶ τὸ *Ἀρχαιολογικὲς ἐρευνεὲς στὴ Θράκῃ* (1959 - 1960) εἶναι μοναδικὰ, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασικὰ βοηθήματα διὰ τὸν μελετητὴν τῆς περιοχῆς ταύτης, ἀπὸ ἀρχαιολογικῆς καὶ τοπογραφικῆς πλευρᾶς. Εἰς αὐτὰ ὡς προστεθῇ καὶ τὸ ἀρτι κυκλοφορήσαν *Ἀνασκαφὴ Στρώμης* (1967), τοῦ ἰδίου.

Ἀντιθέτως ἡ Σαμοθράκη, ἀναπόσπαστον μέλος τῆς Θράκης πάντοτε, εἶχε καλυτέραν τύχην. Μετὰ τὸν Δ' αἰ. μ.Χ., ὅτε ἤρχισεν καὶ ἡ παρακμὴ τῆς, ἐλάχιστα ἀναφέρεται. Τὸ χαρμόσυνον μήνυμα ἐφθασε μόνον κατὰ τὸν παρελ-

θόντα αιώνα, όταν ηκούσθη, ότι «μιά μαρμαρωμένη γυναίκα βρέθηκε στη Σαμοθράκη»! Ήτο ἡ Νίκη τῆς Σαμοθράκης (Πίν. VIα).

Γαλλικαὶ καὶ αὐστριακαὶ ἀποστολαὶ ἀρχίζουν τὴν ἐξερευνησιν τῆς περιοχῆς ἀμέσως. Μέγα τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον καὶ σπουδαιότατα ὑπῆρξαν τὰ ἀποτελέσματα ἐκ τῆς ἐξερευνήσεως τοῦ χώρου. Πράγματι, ὅμως, νέα ἐποχὴ ἀρχίζει διὰ τὸ Ἱερὸν τῶν Μεγάλων Θεῶν καὶ τὰ μνημεῖά του (Πίν. VIβ) ἀπὸ τὸ ἔτος 1937 καὶ ἔπειτα, χάρις εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν ἀφοσίωσιν τοῦ ἀειμνήστου Karl Lehmann καὶ τῆς συζύγου του, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συνεργατῶν καὶ συνεχιστῶν τοῦ ἔργου του.

Διὰ τῶν ἐπὶ ἑτη μακρὰ συστηματικῶν ἀμερικανικῶν ἀνασκαφῶν, ἀπεκαλύφθη, κατὰ τὸ μεγαλύτερον μέρος, σειρὰ ὁλόκληρος μνημείων τοῦ σπουδαιοτάτου αὐτοῦ Ἱεροῦ. Ἡ διεξοδικὴ μελέτη καὶ ἐρευνα τούτων δεικνύει στενὴν σχέσιν μεταξὺ Μακεδονίας καὶ Σαμοθράκης, ἰδιαιτέρως δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐποχὴν τὴν μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Μεγ. Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὅποτε ὄχι μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων τῆς Μακεδονίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Διαδόχων καὶ τῶν Ἐπιγόνων τοῦ Μεγ. Ἀλεξάνδρου ἱδρύνονται εἰς τὴν Σαμοθράκην διάφορα μνημεῖα πρὸς τιμὴν τῶν Μεγάλων Θεῶν. Ὁ χώρος ὅπου ὁ βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος, μυσούμενος εἰς τὰ Μυστήρια τῶν Μεγάλων Θεῶν, ἐγνωρίσθη μὲ τὴν ἡπειρωτοπούλαν πριγκίπισσαν Ὀλυμπιάδα, ἐγινε σύμβολον εἰς τὴν συνείδησιν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τῶν Διαδόχων, οἱ ὅποιοι παντοιοτρόπως ἐτίμησαν τὸ Ἱερὸν τῆς Σαμοθράκης. Εἶναι χαρακτηριστικὸν ὅτι μένει μετὰ τὴν πρώτην φάσιν ἀκμῆς εἰς τὴν ἀρχαϊκὴν καὶ τὴν πρώιμον κλασσικὴν περίοδον, ἡ φήμη τοῦ Ἱεροῦ τῶν Μεγάλων Θεῶν, περιορίζεται κατὰ τὸ β' ἡμισυ τοῦ Ε' αἰ., διὰ νὰ ἀνανεωθῇ καὶ πάλιν κατὰ τὴν ἐποχὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου τοῦ Β' καὶ νὰ γνωρίσῃ εἰς διάστημα δύο περίπου αἰώνων τὴν λαμπροτέραν περίοδον, ὅτε καὶ ἱδρύθησαν τὰ μεγαλοπρεπέστερα μνημεῖα, ἅτινα καὶ ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου σχεδὸν ἀπεκαλύφθησαν διὰ τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν τῆς Ἀμερικανικῆς Ἀποστολῆς. Ὁ Δ' αἰ. π.Χ. εἶναι ἐξ ἄλλου ἡ ἐποχὴ κατὰ τὴν ὁποίαν εἰς ὁλόκληρον τὴν Ἑλλάδα, μετὰ τὸν φοβερὸν κλονισμόν τῆς πίστεως τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἐπιστήμους Θεοὺς (ὅπως ἀποδεικνύει περίφημα ὁ Nilsson)¹ ἀποκαλύπτονται, ὅλοεν καὶ περισσότερον, διάφοροι μυστηριακαὶ λατρεῖαι, αἱ ὁποῖαι ἐλκύουν ἐντόνως τὴν προσοχὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ αἱ ὁποῖαι ὑπέσχοντο, μὲ τὸν ἰδικόν της τρόπον ἐκάστη, εἰς τοὺς μυσουμένους μίαν ζωὴν εὐτυχισμένην, ἡθικὴν τελείωσιν καὶ αἰώνιαν ζωὴν εἰς τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον.

Πολλὰ ἔχουν γραφῇ διὰ τὰ Μυστήρια τῆς Σαμοθράκης, ἴσως ὅμως θὰ ἐξακολουθήσουν ἐπὶ πολὺ εἰσέτι νὰ παραμένουν μυστήρια. Ὅ,τι ἀφορᾷ τοὺς Καβεῖρους, ἔγραψεν περὶ τὰ μέσα τοῦ 18ου αἰ. ὁ Γάλλος σοφὸς Freret²,

1. M. Nilsson, *Greek Folk Religion*, (1960), σ. 92.

2. N. Freret, *Memoires de L'Académie des Inscriptions*, I Serie, T. XXIII, σ. 43 κ.ε.

εἶναι ἐκ τῶν σπουδαιότερων καὶ τῶν πολυπλοκωτέρων προβλημάτων τῆς ἐλληνικῆς μυθολογίας. Ὅσαι παραδόσεις ἀναφέρονται εἰς αὐτοὺς εἶναι τόσον συγκεχυμένοι καὶ τόσον ἀντίθετοι αἱ μὲν πρὸς τὰς δέ, ὥστε ἡ ἀνάλυσίς των ἀποβαίνει δυσκολωτάτη. Καὶ οἱ ἴδιοι οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἀντέφασκον, δίδοντες διάφορον ἕκαστος συγγραφεὺς ἐρμηνεῖαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ νεώτεροι, συσσωρεύοντες με πολυμάθειαν μᾶλλον ἢ κριτικὸν πνεῦμα τὰς διαφόρους μαρτυρίας των, περιέπλεξαν τὸ ζήτημα ἀντὶ νὰ τὸ διαφωτίσουν. Ὅπωςδὴποτε τὰ Καβείρια Μυστήρια ἦσαν τὰ ἀρχαιότερα καὶ σπουδαιότερα τῆς ἐλληνικῆς ἀρχαιότητος.

*Ἄθω δενδρώδεα κάμπαν, Παλλήνην τ' ἐδρεῖαν ἠδὲ ζαθέην Σαμοθρήκην, ἔνθα καὶ δογία φοικτὰ θεῶν ἀρρητα βροτοῖσιν*³.

Καὶ ὁ Γκαίτε εἰς τὸν Φάουστ ἔγραψεν: «Die Kabiren . . . sind Götter, wundersam eigen, die sich immerfort selbst erzeugen und niemals wissen, was sie sind»⁴.

Ὁ διάσημος ἐλληνιστὴς καὶ ἀρχαιολόγος Guiniaux, ὅστις ἐμελέτησεν ὅ,τι σχετικὸν ὑπάρχει μετὰ τὸ ζήτημα τῶν Καβειρίων Μυστηρίων, τελειώνει τὰς κριτικὰς του παρατηρήσεις ὡς ἑξῆς: «τὸ πρόβλημα τῶν Καβειρίων μυστηρίων δὲν ἐλύθη ἀκόμη καὶ ἴσως δὲν θὰ λυθῇ ποτέ».

Πάντως οἱ μνυόμενοι εἰς τὰ Μυστήρια τῶν Καβειρίων λέγεται ὅτι ἐγίνοντο εὐσεβεστέροι, δικαιοτέροι καὶ κατὰ πάντα καλύτεροι. Οἱ Κάβειροι ἐβοήθουν τοὺς μνυμένους εἰς τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις των (Ίάσων, Διόσκουροι, Ἡρακλῆς) καὶ ἦσαν προστάται τῶν θαλασσοπορούντων.

Ἡ γενικὴ τάσις τῆς ἐλληνιστικῆς ἐποχῆς πρὸς τὰς μυστηριακὰς λατρείας ἦτο φυσικὸν νὰ ἐπηρέασθαι καὶ τοὺς Διαδόχους τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἀλεξάνδρου, οἱ ὅποιοι συνεδύσαν τὸ σαμοθρακικὸν Ἱερὸν μετὰ τὴν παράδοσιν, ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐγνωρίσθησαν οἱ γονεῖς τοῦ Μ. Ἀλεξάνδρου, οὐδόλως δὲ θὰ ἦτο ὑπερβολικὸν νὰ ὑποστηριχθῇ ὅτι χάρις εἰς τὰς πλουσίας χορηγίας καὶ δωρεάς, μέγα πλεθθος ἐπισήμων κτηρίων ἀνηγέρθη εἰς τὸ σαμοθρακικὸν Ἱερὸν, ὃ χῶρος τοῦ ὁποίου ἀπέκτησε τοιαύτην λαμπρότητα, ἡ ὁποία δὲν ἄφησεν ἀνεπηρέαστον τὸν ὑπόλοιπον ἐλληνικὸν κόσμον. Οὕτω οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν βασιλέων τῆς ἐλληνιστικῆς ἐποχῆς, ἀπὸ τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ τὴν Θράκην ἕως τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν Μικρὰν Ἀσίαν, εὗρον τὴν εὐκαιρίαν νὰ ιδρύσουν διάφορα μνημεῖα εἰς τὴν Σαμοθράκην. Τὸ Ἱερὸν τῆς, μετὰ τὰ παγκοσμίου φήμης διὰ τὴν ἐποχὴν ἐκείνην Μυστήριά του, ἡγαπήθη καὶ ἐτιμήθη τόσον πολὺ ἀπὸ τοὺς βασιλεῖς αὐτοὺς, ὥστε τὸ ἐνεθυμοῦντο πάντοτε μὲν εἰς τὰς ὥρας τῶν εὐτυχῶν γεγονότων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐθεώρουν δὲ Ἱερὸν καὶ ἀπαραβίαστον καταφύγιον καὶ ἄσυλον εἰς δυσκόλους στιγμάς. Εἶναι πραγματικῶς μοιραία ἡ σύμπτωσις ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ

3. Ὁρφ. *Ἀργοναυτικά*, 468. Ἡρόδοτ. II, 51.

4. Goethe, *Faust II*, 8075 - 8077.

χώρου τούτου ἐξεκίνησεν, τρόπον τινά, ὁ βασιλικὸς οἶκος τοῦ Φιλίππου, ὁ ὁποῖος ἐλάμπρυνε τὴν Μακεδονικὴν δυναστείαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν ἴδιον χῶρον κατέφυγεν ὁ νικημένος ἀπὸ τοὺς Ρωμαίους βασιλεὺς Περσεύς (168 π.Χ.)⁵, ματαίως, διὰ τὰ σωθῆ, ἡ δὲ σύλληψίς του ἐνταῦθα ἀποτελεῖ ἐν ἐκ τῶν δραματικωτέρων γεγονότων τῆς παγκοσμίου ἱστορίας.

Κατὰ χρονολογικὴν σειρὰν ἰδρύονται εἰς τὴν Σαμοθράκην τὸ «Ἱερὸν», ὁ γνωστὸς ὡς Ναὸς τῶν Καβείρων, (Πίν. VIIα), ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου Ἀρριδαίου, ὁ περίβολος τοῦ Βωμοῦ (Πίν. VIIβ), πιθανὸν ἔργον τοῦ ἰδίου βασιλέως, τὸ Ἀρσινόειον (Πίν. VIIα), τὸ μεγαλύτερον κυκλικὸν οἰκοδόμημα τῆς ἐποχῆς ἐκείνης, προσφορὰ τῆς βασιλίσσης Ἀρσινόης εἰς τοὺς Μεγάλους Θεοὺς (289 - 281 π.Χ.), τὰ Μεγάλα Προπύλαια (Πίν. VIIβ), δῶρον τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου β' (280 - 265 π.Χ.) Θεοῖς Μεγάλοις, τὸ Θέατρον (Πίν. IXα), 230-200 π.Χ., ἡ Στοά - Ξενῶν, 200 π.Χ. περίπου (Πίν. IXβ), ὡς καὶ ἄλλα ἀποκαλυπτόμενα εἰσέτι εἰς τὸν ἀνατολικὸν λόφον τοῦ χώρου μνημειακὰ κτήρια, διὰ τὰ κλείσωμεν τὸν κύκλον, μὲ τὴν περίφημον Νίκην, τὴν Νίκην τῆς Σαμοθράκης, ἔργον ποιηθὲν καὶ εἰς τοὺς Μεγάλους Θεοὺς προσφερθὲν, εἰς ἀνάμνησιν μεγίστης σημασίας ἐπιτυχίας Μακεδόνοιο τινὸς βασιλέως, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους.

Ἐξ ὧν αὐτῶν τῶν κτηρίων θὰ περιορισθῶμεν εἰς εἰδικὴν μνημεῖον τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου Ἀρριδαίου ἰδρυθέντος κτηρίου, καθ' ὅσον τοῦτο σχετίζεται περισσότερον πρὸς τὸ θέμα τῆς σημερινῆς ἀνακοινώσεως.

Περιορισμένη ὑπῆρξεν ἡ ἀνασκαφικὴ ἐρευνα, ὡς ἐλέχθη ἤδη, εἰς τὴν περιοχὴν τῆς ἡπειρωτικῆς Θράκης, ἐλάχιστα δὲ ὡς ἐκ τούτου, γενικὰ ἔστω συμπεράσματα δὲν εἶναι δυνατόν νὰ βοηθήσουν εἰς τὴν γνῶσιν τῆς οἰασθῆποτε ἐπιδράσεως τῆς Μακεδονίας εἰς τὸν χῶρον αὐτόν, κατὰ τὴν περίοδον ταύτην. Ὅπως δὲ ἔστω, ὁ «μακεδονικὸς» τάφος τῆς Σταυρουπόλεως⁶ (Πίν. X), παρὰ τὸν Νέστον ποταμόν, τὸν ὁποῖον ἀνέσκαψεν ὁ Ἐπίτιμος Ἐφορος Ἀρχαιοτήτων κ. Χαρ. Μακαρόνας, ὡς καὶ ὁ τάφος τοῦ Ἐλαφοχωρίου, παρὰ τὸ Διδυμότειχον, περὶ τοῦ ὁποῖου ἔγραψαν ὁ κ. Εὐθυμίου καὶ ὁ κ. Μπακαλάκης, εἶναι δύο ἐξαιρετὰ δείγματα τῆς ἐπιδράσεως τῆς Μακεδονίας εἰς τὴν γειτονικὴν, ἄλλοτε φίλην καὶ σύμμαχον καὶ ἄλλοτε ἀντίπαλον Θράκην, διὰ τῆς ἰδρύσεως ταφικῶν μνημείων, τοῦ τύπου τῶν λεγομένων «μακεδονικῶν» τάφων. Ὑπάρχουν ὅμως πλῆθος ἀκόμη τύμβων διεσπαρμένων εἰς τὸν θρακικὸν χῶρον ἀπὸ τοῦ Νέστου μέχρι τοῦ Ἑβρου, οἱ ὁποῖοι περιμένουν πάντοτε τὴν ἀρχαιολογικὴν σκαπάνην, ἐκτὸς τῶν προϊστορικῶν, ἀσφαλῶς δὲ οὗτοι περικλείουν καὶ μνημεῖα καὶ εὐρήματα ἐν γένει τῆς περιόδου, περὶ τῆς ὁποίας γίνεται λόγος ἐνταῦθα. Ἀλλ' ὡς ἐλέχθη ἤδη, ἡ Σαμοθράκη, κυρίως σήμερον,

5. Πλούταρχος, *Αἰμίλιος Παῦλος* 26.1 - 5.

6. X. Μακαρόνας, *ΠΑΕ* 1953, σελ. 133 - 140. (Μακεδονικὸς τάφος Σταυρουπόλεως).

δίδει ἓν ἅπτον δείγμα τῆς ἐπιδράσεως καὶ τῆς ἀκτινοβολίας ἐν γένει τὴν ὁποίαν εἶχεν ἡ Μακεδονία ἐπ' αὐτῆς, ὥς καὶ εἰς τὸν ὑπόλοιπον ἑλληνικὸν κόσμον ἀργότερον (παράδειγμα αἱ οἰκίαι τῆς Δήλου κλπ.).

Δὲν θὰ εἰσέλθωμεν εἰς λεπτομερείας ἐπὶ τῆς καθόλου δομῆς καὶ ἐμφανίσεως τῶν οἰκοδομῶν καὶ ἐν προκειμένῳ τοῦ κτηρίου τοῦ Φιλίππου Ἀρριδαίου. Μία ὀγκώδης τρίτομος ἐργασία, πολυετὴς μόχθος καὶ καρπὸς ἐν-θέου ὄντως ζήλου τῆς συζύγου καὶ ἀξίας συνεργάτιδος τοῦ ἀειμνήστου Κ. Lehmann (εὐρίσκεται τὴν στιγμὴν ταύτην εἰς τὰ τυπογραφικὰ πιεστήρια), δίδει τὴν ὡραιότεραν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἱεροῦ τούτου κτηρίου (εἶχα τὴν εὐτυχίαν νὰ ἰδῶ τὰ δοκίμια), ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πλέον ἐγκυρον καὶ σαφῆ, ὅσον εἶναι δυνατόν νὰ γίνῃ, ἀπάντησιν καὶ ἐρμηνείαν εἰς τὸ μέγαλον ἐρώτημα, Καβεῖρια Μυστήρια - Λατρεία τῶν Μεγάλων Θεῶν, δι' εἰδικοῦ κεφαλαίου, συνταχθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου ἐρευνητοῦ καὶ λάτρου τῆς Σαμοθράκης Karl Lehmann. Ὅπως συμπεραίνει ὁ Lehmann, εἰς τὴν μεγάλην αἴθουσαν τοῦ Ἱεροῦ τῶν Καβερίων ἐγίνετο ἡ τελευταία καὶ ἀνωτέρα εἰς τὴν σειρὰν τελετὴ τῆς μυστήσεως, διὰ τὴν ἀπόκτησιν τοῦ βαθμοῦ τοῦ Ἐπόπτου. Ἡ ἐσωτερικὴ ζωγραφικὴ διακόσμησις τῶν τοίχων τῆς αἰθούσης ταύτης, εἰς τὴν τρίτην φάσιν τοῦ κτηρίου (τελευταῖον τέταρτον τοῦ Δ' αἰ.), ἀποτελεῖ τὸ καλότερον παράδειγμα τριμεροῦς ἐσωτερικῆς διακοσμήσεως. Εἶχε δηλ. ὁρισμένas σειρὰς δόμων κάτω (ἄδρως εἰργασμένων) μὲ μελανὸν χρῶμα, μίαν μεσαίαν σειρὰν, ἡ ὁποία ἦτο καὶ ἡ μεγαλυτέρα, μὲ ἐρυθροὺς δόμους, ἐνθα ἕκαστος λίθος εἶχε ἐν τετράπλευρον πλαίσιον καὶ περιεβάλλετο ὑπὸ ἐτέρου ἐξέχοντος πλαισίου, τὸ ὁποῖον εἶναι καθαρὰ ἀπομίμησις τῆς ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς τῆς ἐξωτερικῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ κτηρίου. Αἱ δύο αὗται ζῶναι ἐπιστέφονται ὑπὸ μιᾶς τρίτης, ἡ ὁποία παριστάνει κομψὴν κιονοστοιχίαν μὲ τὸ ἐπιστύλιόν της. Τὸ εἶδος τοῦτο τῆς ζωγραφικῆς διακοσμήσεως (δι' ἀρχιτεκτονικῶν σχεδίων) συναντᾶται τὸν Δ' αἰ. π.χ. (348 π.χ.) εἰς ἰδιωτικὰς οἰκίας τῆς Ὀλύνθου, ὥς καὶ εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ἑλληνιστικῆς περιόδου εἰς τὸν πριγκιπικὸν τάφον τῆς Πύδνας (Πίν. XI).

Κοινὰ στοιχεῖα ὥς πρὸς τὴν ἐσωτερικὴν διακόσμησιν εὐρίσκονται καὶ εἰς μεταγενεστέρas οἰκίας τῆς Δήλου (Πίν. XI)', ἐνθα ὁμως ἡ διακόσμησις αὐτὴ γνωρίζει μίαν ποικιλίαν καὶ λαμβάνει καταπληκτικὴν ἐξέλιξιν, χωρὶς βεβαίως νὰ χάνεται τὸ παραδοσιακὸν στοιχεῖον τῆς τριμεροῦς ἐσωτερικῆς διακοσμήσεως, ὅπως ἀκριβῶς συναντᾶται εἴτε εἰς τὴν ἰδιωτικὴν εἴτε εἰς τὴν ταφικὴν ἀρχιτεκτονικὴν τῆς Μακεδονίας. Δὲν εἶναι γνωστὴ ἡ ἐσωτερικὴ διακόσμησις ναῶν εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν, εἶναι ὁμως σαφές ὅτι ἡ ἰδιότυπος ζωγραφικὴ διακόσμησις τοῦ Ἱεροῦ τῆς Σαμοθράκης (ἐνὸς κτηρίου τοῦ ὁποίου

7. Joseph Chamonard, *Exploration Archéologique de Délos*, VIII, Pl. I, Fig. 83 (Maison du Dionysos).

προορισμός ήτο, ως ανεφέρθη ανωτέρω, ή συγκέντρωσις πολλῶν μυστῶν, διὰ τὸ ὑψηλότερον καὶ τελευταῖον στάδιον τῆς μυήσεως), ἀν ἐνθυμίζῃ τὴν ζωγραφικὴν διακόσμησιν τῶν ιδιωτικῶν οἰκιῶν τῆς Ὀλύμπου, αὐτὸ ὀφείλεται εἰς τὴν διαφορετικὴν λειτουργικὴν χρῆσιν τῆς αἰθούσης ἀπὸ τὸν σηκὸν ἐνὸς ἀρχαίου ναοῦ. Ἄν ἐξ ἄλλου ληφθῇ ὑπ' ὄψιν ὁ σεβασμὸς καὶ ἡ προσοχὴ τὴν ὁποῖαν ἔδωσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς Μακεδονίας, ἀπὸ τὴν ἐποχὴν τοῦ Μ. Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἔπειτα, ὡς καὶ ὁ εἰδικὸς σύνδεσμος, τὸν ὁποῖον ἡσθάνοντο πρὸς τὰ Ἱερὰ τῆς Σαμοθράκης (πιθανόν, κατὰ τὴν κ. Lehmann, ὁ ἑτεροθαλὴς ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Μ. Ἀλεξάνδρου νὰ εἶναι ὁ δωρητὴς τοῦ Ἱεροῦ τούτου), τότε δυνάμεθα νὰ συμπεράνωμεν, λαμβάνοντες ὑπ' ὄψιν τὰ παραδείγματα τῆς Ὀλύμπου καὶ τῆς Πύδνας, ὅτι ἡ Μακεδονία θὰ πρέπει νὰ εἶναι ὁ χῶρος ὁπόθεν ἐξεπορεύθη ἡ τεχνοτροπία αὕτη, ἡ ὁποία μετεδόθη καὶ εἰς τὴν Σαμοθράκην καὶ πέραν ταύτης.

Ἡ κ. Lehmann, ἡ πλέον ἀρμοδία, περὶ τὰ θέματα τῆς Σαμοθράκης καὶ ἰδιαιτέρως τὰ ἀρχιτεκτονικά, εἰς σχετικὴν πρὸς τὸ ὡς ἄνω θέμα μελέτην⁸, διατυπώνει μετ' ἐπιφυλάξεως τὴν γνώμην ταύτην. Ἡ γραπτὴ ὁμῶς παράδοσις, τὰ ἱστορικὰ δεδομένα, καθὼς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα στοιχεῖα ἔχουν δοθῇ μέχρι σήμερον ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν καὶ μελετητῶν εἶναι, νομίζω, ἀρκετὰ διὰ νὰ στηρίζουν τὴν ἀποψιν ὅτι, εἰς τὸ πεδῖον τῆς διακοσμητικῆς ζωγραφικῆς ἐσωτερικῶν ἀρχιτεκτονικῶν χώρων, ὅπως φαίνεται χαρακτηριστικὰ εἰς τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τῆς ἐσωτερικῆς ζωγραφικῆς διακοσμήσεως τοῦ Ἱεροῦ, βασιζομένην εἰς τὰ στοιχεῖα τὰ ὅποια ἔδωσαν αἱ ἀνασκαφαί, ἐπαναλαμβάνω, ὅτι ἀπ' αὐτῇ τῇ γῇ ὅπου πατοῦμε, ἀπὸ τῆ Μακεδονίας, ἔρχεται ἡ ἀκτινοβολία.

Γενικὴ Διεύθυνσις Ἀρχαιοτήτων
καὶ Ἀναστηλώσεως

A. K. BABBITZAS

8. Phyllis Williams Lehmann, *Balkan Studies* 5 (1964) 2, σελ. 277 - 286.

THE WESTERN FRONTIER OF THE MACEDONIAN MONARCHY

The purpose of this paper is not to describe the western frontier of the Macedonian monarchy with its salient border points and frontier lines. Rather, this survey will discuss the problem of Macedonian relations with that group of people who generally abutted against western Macedonia, that is the Illyrians. In this brief study it is impossible to examine the Illyrian problem in its entirety. Therefore, it is my intention to stress two main points: First, that the western frontier was a very important problem to Macedonia, perhaps equally as important as her relations with the Greek states about which we are naturally better informed. Second, the seriousness of the Illyrian threat caused a remarkable development of policy on the part of the Macedonian monarchs. The development of such policies and changes in attitudes will be examined in detail.¹

What do we mean by Illyrians? The term is somewhat ambiguous; for the area they inhabited varied significantly in antiquity. I am specifically referring to Illyria or Illyris as it is more properly called in its narrower sense, not the greatly expanded notion of Illyricum which was current during the period of the Roman Empire. Illyris may be said to comprise the area which abutted against western Macedonia from Mt. Scardus to Lake Lychnitis and extended eastwards to the Ionian Sea at the Acroceraunian promontory. This was southern Illyris more precisely; for Illyris also extended northwards from Lake Labeates between the crest of the Dinaric Alps and the Adriatic Sea as far as Istria. The existence of this northerly portion was recognized even as early as Hecataeus.²

It has been said that one of the main functions of Macedonia was to act as a great shield stretching across the northern reaches of the Classical Greek world. This shield served to protect this world from barbarian assault and invasion. Macedonia, then, continually absorbed the incursions of the bar-

1. Major portions of the subject matter of this paper have already been covered by me in my "Antigonus III and Rome," *CP*, LXII,2 (April, 1967) 94-103. I have attempted here to summarize many arguments used in that paper and have also added considerable new material.

2. *FGH*, 1 (Hecataeus) F. 90-101.

barian Illyrians. That Macedonia was subject to such pressure is perhaps best shown by the fact that there was a southerly drift of the various Illyrian tribes along the Adriatic littoral. These migrations continued until they were halted by the fixed boundaries of the civilized Macedonians and Epirotes.³ Still in a war and raiding society, desirous of booty and it would seem even more anxious to secure food, the Illyrians became predatory raiders by land against these neighbors.⁴

The history of Macedonian-Illyrian relations is a long one filled with the reports of constant aggression. In brief, it is the story of a settled society trying to maintain its frontier against barbarian peoples whose structure was still tribal. From the days of Perdiccas II of Macedonia (424 B.C.) to those of Philip V the Macedonians and Epirotes experienced two hundred years of turbulence and constant threat on the Illyrian frontier. Our sources record historical incidents for this period alone, but strongly suggest that this situation existed long before the reign of Perdiccas.⁵ The continual series of incidents also leads to one conclusion. Neither the Macedonians nor the Epirotes were able to enforce a permanent peace on this frontier. Faced with an ever changing complex of tribes, kings, and dynasts it was virtually impossible for the Macedonian and Epirote rulers to come to any lasting agreement or settle any problem by an effective treaty. Illyrian leaders seemed to retain the allegiance of their people only so long as they were successful in war, that is, raiding. The aftermath of a defeat or an enforced peace usually marked the downfall of any one leader. The best result which the civilized peoples could hope for following this was a period of quiet until another leader regrouped the Illyrians for a renewal of the traditional raiding. Whatever power a tribe, or coalition of tribes, possessed was dependent upon the dominant personality who led it. This chieftain's prime concern was to keep the many dynasts under his leadership dependent upon him by military success; for if he failed in this sphere, support would shift to any other dynast who could lead the Illyrians to wealth and booty. The constant alternation of support from one dynast to another, whenever one of these chiefs, died,

3. Strab. 7.5.5-6; 7.5.10-11; *FGH*, 115 (Theopompos) F. 40; Holleaux, *CAH*, VII, 826-7; Tomaschek, *RE*, 2. s.v. "Ardiaioi," (1896), col. 615; Zippel, *Die Römische Herrschaft in Illyrien*, (Leipzig, 1877) 34-46.

4. For a fuller treatment of this subject see Dell, "Origin and Nature of Illyrian Piracy", *Historia*, 16.3 (July, 1967) 344-58. Cf. N.G.L. Hammond, "Illyris, Rome and Macedon in 229-205 B.C.," *JRS*, LVIII (1968) 4, n. 14.

5. Polyaeus, *Strat.*, 4.1.; Justin 7.2.5-13. It is clear that some historical reality underlies these stories, but the precise reality is surely difficult to determine.

or failed, demonstrated very clearly that a true state or states never existed in Illyria. This, of course, made obtaining a long-standing commitment from the Illyrians nearly impossible and meant also that the civilized peoples were forced to maintain themselves in a constant state of military preparedness.

The general impact of this situation on Macedonia is perhaps most clearly revealed by noting the differences in the period before the reign of Philip II with those thereafter. In the early period Macedonia was generally unable to maintain the fixed borderline of later years and to prevent Illyrian incursions, particularly into upper Macedonia. Under Philip new policies for dealing with the Illyrians appear along with a heavily fortified and clearly marked frontier. That maintenance of a secure frontier against such raiding was a prime concern of Macedonian monarchs is perhaps best shown by a brief sketch of the Illyrian wars of the various kings.

There is no evidence in any classical work which suggests that a history of Illyris existed in antiquity.⁶ Those writers who discussed Illyrian affairs only did so when the Illyrians appeared in connection with more civilized peoples in whom there was interest or when some striking incident occurred. Consequently, references to Illyris are only too often vague and circumstantial. Nevertheless, it is interesting that even in the shadowy period before Amyntas I a large part of what we know concerning the Macedonian kings is connected with the Illyrians. The legendary Argaios, for example, is credited with fighting the Illyrians even though this could hardly have been more than a raid, as Argead Macedonia proper surely could not have extended then much beyond the Bermian range.⁷

Perhaps the best indication of the situation in the fifth century is Thucydides' description of Perdiccas II's war with Arrhabaeus of Lynchus which saw the Spartan Brasidas involved in the conflict.⁸ Perdiccas had hired the Illyrians to aid him against Arrhabaeus, but at a critical moment in the battle, they went over to Arrhabaeus. The panic in the Macedonian ranks that followed clearly demonstrates that they had had long experience with the Illyrians and considered them to be a formidable enemy. Thucydides' description then reflects a situation where hostilities must have existed for a lengthy period even though we have little information about it.

It is in the early years of the fourth century during a period of internal

6. The only possible mention of such a history is Alexander Polyhistor's *De Illyrico Tractu*. However, nothing really is known about it. Cf. *FGH*, 273, F. 17 with Jacoby's commentary.

7. See n. 5 above.

8. *Thuc.* 4.124-128.

breakdown in Macedonia when we begin to get reports of constant pressure from the West upon the Argead monarchs. Illyrian assault combined with the opposition of the Chalcidic League seems to have forced Amyntas III to quit the country (393) and only to be restored with Thessalian help.⁹ He may also have been forced to relinquish his authority again in 383 due to Illyrian incursions, but this is not certain.¹⁰

About this time Amyntas agreed to pay tribute (φóρος) to the Illyrians and to send them his youngest son by his wife Eurydice as a hostage.¹¹ This hostage, of course, was the infant Philip, who remained in Illyris until ransomed by his brother Alexander II upon his accession to the throne, (370).¹²

In this period of Macedonian weakness the Illyrians exhibited their traditional methods of invasion for booty and tribute, but not for outright conquest. They do not seem to have considered conquering Macedonia when they had the opportunity, but rather were happy with tribute and hostages. The Illyrians were still in a stage of massive raiding for profit of one kind or another.

After the events of 383 the situation on the Illyrian frontier seems to have quieted until the death of Amyntas (370). Justin tells us of a war with the Illyrians during the brief reign of Alexander II. This war was only ended by the now usual money payments and exchange of hostages.¹³ However, the problem was hardly settled; for we soon hear that Perdiccas III was killed along with 4,000 Macedonians in a great battle on the Illyrian frontier (359).¹⁴ In addition, the Illyrians had produced a national or at least a multi-tribal leader (to judge from the large number of troops in the field) with the name of Bardylis. Under his leadership upper Macedonia was again "slave to the Illyrians" and apparently Bardylis was preparing to mount a first class invasion of Macedonia proper.¹⁵

Philip II inherited this enormous problem from Perdiccas and determined to regain upper Macedonia once and for all by military victory. After conciliating his other enemies for the moment, he disastrously defeated Bardylis and killed 7,000 of the 10,000 Illyrians present in a battle somewhere in western Macedonia (358).¹⁶ Two years later Philip's general Parmenion

9. Justin 7.4.6; Diod 14.92.3; Isoc., *Archid.*, 46.

10. Diod. 15.19.2.

11. Diod 16.2.2.

12. Justin 7.5.1.

13. *Ibid.*

14. Diod. 16.2.4; Liban., *de vit. Dem.*, 9.

15. Diod. 16.1.3, 2.6; Dio Chrys. 2.9.

16. Diod. 16.4.3-7; Justin 7.6.7; Front. *Str.*, 2.32; Polyaeus, *Str.*, 4.2.17.

defeated a new Illyrian leader Grabus in still another battle.¹⁷ Further, we know that Philip campaigned against the Illyrians when he was free to do so between 355 and 351 and again between 346 and 342.¹⁸ Without any doubt Philip spent major portions of his active career dealing with the Illyrians. What his plans were regarding the Illyrian problem will be left to a later portion of this paper.

Alexander III was also forced to fight an Illyrian war, this one against a Cleitus, son of Bardylis, at Pelion on the Eordaicus River (Devol).¹⁹ After defeating the barbarian dynast, Alexander was immediately called away to Thebes before the frontier problem could be resolved. This surely suggests that even after the strenuous campaigns of Philip the border was still dangerous. We also have passing notices that this situation continued under Antipater.²⁰

It is with Cassander that we again have a view of the turbulent nature of the frontier, especially with regard to Glaucias, chieftain of the Taulantini. The tribe of the Taulantini which lived in the hinterland of Epidamnus began to attack that Greek coastal city and Apollonia as well. Cassander as energetic as ever was at first successful in defending them and installing garrisons, but by 312 had lost these cities to the Illyrians.²¹ With the exception of Demetrius I's temporary involvement in Corcyra (291) this was the last time Macedonia is known to have shown any direct interest in maritime Illyria or the Adriatic until the reign of Philip V; for while Macedonia undoubtedly fought frontier wars with the Illyrians, it was the Epirotes under Pyrrhus and Alexander who attempted directly to dominate the southern Illyrian tribes.

We hear that Ptolemy Ceraunus fought an Illyrian dynast Monunius in 280, but with the beginnings of the great Gallic incursion in the succeeding year we hear no more about Illyria until 231.²² In that year Demetrius II of Macedonia hired Agron, the chief Illyrian dynast, to come to the relief of the Acarnanian city Medeon which was being besieged by his enemies, the Aetolians.²³ Demetrius perished shortly thereafter following a defeat by the

17. Plut., *Alex.*, 3.4-5; Justin 12.16.6.

18. Dem. *Ol.*, 1.13 and 23, *Phil.*, 1.48; Justin 8.3.7-8; Isoc., *Phil.*, 21, *Epist.*, 2.2-3, 11, Diod. 16.69.7; Trogus, *Prol.*, 8, etc.

19. Diod 17.18.1; Arr., *Anab.*, 1.5-6.

20. Diod 17.113.2, 18.11.1.

21. Diod. 19.67.6-7, 19.70.7., 19.78.1. 19.89.1-2.

22. Trogus, *Prol.*, 24.

23. Polyb. 2.2.4-5.

Dardanians.²⁴ In the meantime Agron and the Illyrians began the series of raids in the Adriatic and Ionian seas which was to culminate in direct Roman intervention.

Demetrius and the Antigonid house, however, cannot be considered permanent allies of Agron, Teuta and succeeding dynasts, despite the prevalent view, simply because the Illyrians discovered the weaknesses of the Greek states to the south and later returned to those regions for piratical purposes.²⁵ There is no evidence for a Macedonian-Illyrian "alliance," nothing at all to associate the Illyrians with Macedonia until a contingent of 1,600 appears at Sellasia, probably in the role of mercenaries. Indeed, immediately after Sellasia Antigonos III was forced to return to Macedonia to defend his frontier against a massive Illyrian assault.²⁶ This would indicate that the frontier situation had returned to its usual critical basis.

At the beginning of his reign Philip V regarded this frontier as such an important problem that he took the unprecedented step of putting himself in the hands of the Illyrian dynast Scerdilaidas in order to work out an accord.²⁷ Nevertheless, the efforts of this prince only a few years later to acquire possessions in the area of Mt. Scardus and Lake Lychnitis brought an attack by Philip V which was to end in the capture of Lissus.²⁸ From this point on the Romans began to dominate the political problems of the region. However, military operations bring out one point: the frontier was so strongly held that the Romans were never successful in any invasion attempt against Macedonia from the west, that is along the Illyrian frontier. Finally the alliance between Perseus and the Illyrian Genthius, effected by a promised money payment, saw the two peoples ultimately defeated by Roman arms while in alliance (168).

This survey of the various Illyrian wars of the Macedonian monarchs can, I think, be said to show that the Illyrians were a perpetual problem; one that was already there when our first reports on Macedonia appear and one that continued to the end of the monarchy. The majority of her kings were forced to take the field against the Illyrians; none of them achieved a "final" solution to the problem. This does not mean that there was no policy developed to deal with them. We shall now turn from a survey of the Illyrian wars

24. Polyb. 2.44.2; Justin 28.3.9-10; Trogus, *Prol.*, 28.

25. For this view of Demetrius' and Antigonos' policy see Dell, "Antigonos III".

26. Polyb. 2.70.1; Cf. Hammond, *JRS*, LVIII, 9-10, n. 34, 10, n. 37.

27. Polyb. 4.29.2-7.

28. Polyb. 5, 108: 8.13-24; F.W. Walbank *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, vol. II, (Oxford, 1967) 90-93; N.G.L. Hammond, *Epirus*, (Oxford, 1967) 606-613.

to the second problem: the Macedonian reaction to the constant frontier threat.

In the early period (i.e., to the reign of Philip II) Macedonian policy is on the defensive in regard to the Illyrians. Her monarchs did not have considerable control over the tribal districts of upper Macedonia and, therefore, this area was in effect a buffer zone between the Illyrians and Argead Macedonia proper. As in the cases of Amyntas III and Alexander II the usual policy seems to have been to control the Illyrians whenever possible by money payments and the giving of hostages.

It is in the reign of Perdiccas III, however, that the situation begins to change. We hear that Perdiccas told his men before battle with the Illyrians that the Illyrians were not going to take prisoners for ransom, as was customary, but kill them all.²⁹ This may have been a ruse to get his men to fight harder, but it also could have been the truth; for 4,000 Macedonians were killed in the ensuing battle. In addition, Antipater, not a prolific writer, saw enough of significance in Perdiccas' Illyrian wars to write a history of them.³⁰ This would suggest that a change was taking place.

The change was probably the rise of Bardylis whose victory in this battle convinced Philip II, Perdiccas' successor, that the Illyrian threat was very real and that something had to be done to prevent the recurrence of their attacks. Philip was concerned, as we have noted, with the Illyrians for most of his reign, but his policy regarding them seems to go through a series of phases. The first phase was surely the need for a military victory to remove the obvious threat and regain the loyalty of upper Macedonia which must have been severely shaken by Bardylis' victory. Philip achieved this in 358 in such a complete manner that he could trust a prince of upper Macedonia, Parmenion, to deal with the succeeding Illyrian dynast Grabus two years later. This is all the more surprising or perhaps all the more necessary since the Illyrians under Grabus had been making alliances with important outside powers including the Chalcidic League and Athens.³¹ This surely demonstrated to others that Philip had unified Macedonia.

Philip then passed over to the offensive in dealing with the Illyrians. By the end of his career he had created the western border of Macedonia. He had first attempted to create a defensible border in the years between 355-51. We hear that Philip in those years moved villages and tribes to put the Illyr-

29. Polyænus, *Strat.*, 4.10.1.

30. Suid., Ἀντίπατρος.

31. D.M. Robinson, *TAPA*, 69 (1938) 44-47; Tod, 158; Diod. 16.22.3; Tod, 157 with commentary.

ians on one side of the frontier and the Makednic peoples on the other.³² He constructed fortified points and cleared the area.

The Illyrian campaigns of 346-342 mark his final military activities and the appearance of a new policy. Philip extended his conquests beyond his frontier to make most of the Illyrian tribes subject to him or to put them in his sphere of influence. This is probably what Isocrates meant when he noted that Philip was master of all the Illyrians except those who dwelled along the Adriatic.³³ This is not to say that he incorporated these areas in the Macedonian state, but rather that he reduced them to some form of dependence upon him. Macedonia now seemed to be safe in the west. Her frontier in that area ran roughly from Mt. Scardus to the area of Lake Lychnitis.

In 342 Philip also invaded Epirus. Though there were many reasons for his Epirote campaign, one definite benefit from it was to give Macedonia extended protection from the Illyrians in the southwest. Macedonia and Epirus, two civilized states and now firmly allied, securely bounded southern Illyria on the east and the south. In addition, many of the tribes of southern Illyris were in a state of dependency upon Philip.

In this period of Macedonian strength such a policy was possible. Indeed, Alexander and Antipater merely seem to have continued Philip's plan. Cassander's efforts against Glaucias (314-312) for the control of the coastal area, however, ultimately failed. This demonstrates the declining military strength of Macedonia and ushers in a new era in policy with regard to the Illyrians. With the appearance of Glaucias, king of the Taulantini, we might expect a resurgence once more of aggressive Illyrian power behind this dynasty. This, however, simply did not happen and after Glaucias' death (sometime after 302) two new factors quieted whatever power the Illyrians might have had.

First, the Illyrians in the north must have been seriously disturbed by the Gallic incursions of the early third century. We have no direct evidence of what was happening, but it is clear that peoples were being jostled about.³⁴ The soon to be notorious Ardiaioi, for example, were driven from their homes on the upper reaches of the Naro River by the Celts about this time. They moved to the coast and then gradually southwards, ultimately to settle in the area around Scodra.³⁵ This undoubtedly accounts for the general lull in activity on the frontiers.

32. Dem., *Ol.*, 1.13 and 23, *Philipp.*, 1.48; Justin 8.3.7-8; Steph. Byz.: Σαρνοῦς; Poly-aenus, *Strat.*, 4.2.12; cf. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*³ III, 1, 528 n.2.

33. Isoc., *Philipp.*, 21.

34. See n. 3 above.

35. *Ibid.*

The second factor which held up Illyrian incursions at least until the era of Agron (ca. 231) was the dominance over southern Illyris of Pyrrhus and his son Alexander. Thus, Macedonia was saved the effort of dominating southern Illyris; Epirus did it for her; Macedonia simply maintained her own frontiers. Though Pyrrhus did gain control of southern Illyria (285-282), it is quite obvious that the Illyrians did not change their ways. Dynasts still appeared who were more or less independent of Pyrrhus and after his death (272) the Molossian king Alexander II had to fight at least one more Illyrian war.

Though Macedonia was not directly involved in Illyrian affairs after 272, she was interested in the continued existence of Epirus as a power on the Adriatic and Ionian coasts. Despite the fact that Pyrrhus had been his enemy, Antigonus Gonatas made no attempt to control or absorb Epirus. Indeed, at Pyrrhus' death Gonatas returned Helenus and his troops to Epirus and allowed Alexander II to rule.³⁶ Again, after Alexander's abortive invasion of Macedonia during the Chremonidean War, Antigonus merely caused Alexander to be exiled and acquiesced in his return to Epirus very shortly.³⁷ These facts lead to one conclusion: though she never regained her former power, Epirus was fulfilling a useful function which Antigonus did not feel Macedonia should assume. This function was surely the preservation of her part of the Illyrian frontier. Epirus kept southern Illyria quiet but was itself too weak to be a problem to Macedonia. Antigonus had found that he did not have to control Epirus to maintain the frontier system that Philip II had created. This saved Macedonia a needless burden at no cost to herself. The Antigoniid system had one flaw, however; it was dependent on the health of Epirus.

After the death of Antigonus Gonatas his son and successor, Demetrius II, continued the policy of support for the Molossian monarchy in Epirus. He apparently considered the continued existence of this state to be of such importance that he married the Molossian princess Phthia even though he knew that such a direct intervention in this area would violate still another of Gonatas' basic policies, the maintenance of good relations with the Aetolian League. To Demetrius it was more important to support the declining Molossian house and Epirus than to continue his father's policy of neutrality towards Aetolia. In fact, he was willing to risk hostilities with Aetolia and then to undertake the very difficult Demetrian War for this purpose.

36. Cf. W.W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (Oxford, 1913) 287 and 319; Pierre Lévêque, *Pyrrhos*, (Paris, 1957) 630 with notes 2-5.

37. See Dell, "Antigonos III" n. 23.

It was of prime importance to him that Epirus continue in her strategic position, and it is only with the collapse of the Molossian monarchy in the years following the death of Alexander II (ca. 234/3) that the Illyrians once more appear in our sources.³⁸ The Illyrians, now united under the Ardiaean dynast Agron, first appear as the hirelings of Demetrius II to relieve the Acarnanian city Medeon from Aetolian attack. This occurs at the precise moment when Demetrius and the Macedonians were themselves too occupied to aid Acarnania directly. Demetrius was simply continuing his policy of maintaining his onetime allies in Acarnania. The introduction of the Illyrians, however, rapidly created a situation which Demetrius could neither foresee nor desire. This was the meteoric appearance of an aggressive Illyrian maritime power based on the Ardiaean monarchy, which only the Roman Republic was to have the resources to control.

With the accession of Antigonos III Doson an entirely new situation emerges in regard to Macedonian relations with Illyris. All the old policies had to be abandoned. Macedonia in 229 seemed to be about to lose her possessions outside of the state proper and appeared to be weaker than ever before. Philip II's policy of strong intervention was impossible. Molossian authority in Epirus too had vanished, so that Antigonos I Gonatas' policy of using her to guarantee the frontiers was defunct also. Finally, the Romans had quieted the Illyrians and formed a loose "protectorate" in southern Illyris. Doson surely did not have the resources to deal with this situation militarily. Further, the Illyrians seemed quieted and despite the announced "protectorate" the Romans had gone home.

To a Macedonia beset by enemies the Roman action must have been welcome indeed. The Illyrians were again quieted at no cost to herself. Indeed, Doson used the security that the "protectorate" had created in his flank to promote Macedonian recovery. He was now free to carry on the traditional foreign policy of Macedonia in Greece and the Aegean. Whether Antigonos liked the Roman presence in Illyris or not (we simply do not know), he did accept it and utilized the benefits it brought. In fact, the king was so little concerned with the Roman action that, as we know now, he felt he could sail across the Aegean on an expedition to Caria.³⁹

As we have noted previously, Antigonos' reign ended dramatically with

38. For the date of the fall; P. R. Franke, *Die Antiken Münzen von Epirus*, I, (Wiesbaden, 1961) 276-284; S. I. Oost, *Roman Policy in Epirus and Acarnania* (Dallas, 1954) n. 31 to chapt. 1 (p.102).

39. Note an inscr. of Labranda, *Bull. Épigr.*, 1950, No. 182 and comment by L. Robert *apud* M. Holleaux, *Ét. d'épigr. et d'hist. gr.* IV (Paris, 1952). 162, n. 1.

a massive Illyrian assault on his northwestern frontier. Antigonus could not have effectively controlled any significant portion of Illyris or such an invasion would not have taken place. In addition, those Illyrians involved in this invasion could not have come from the relatively small area of the Roman "protectorate". No source makes such a connection, and the Macedonians did not, as far as we know, ever consider the Romans to be responsible or even implicated. The attackers must have been a power totally different from that of Demetrius of Pharos, for instance.⁴⁰ As of the end of the reign of Antigonus III and the first years of Philip V, a renewed Illyrian problem had very obviously come into being on the Macedonian northwest frontier.

The reaction of Philip V to this reflects earlier Macedonian policy. As a young, new king in a weakened state he put himself into the hands of Scerdilaidas in hopes of working out an agreement and had some success.⁴¹ Then, as Macedonia regained power after the Social War, he returned to the policy of Philip II, whom he surely tried to resemble. When Scerdilaidas attempted to move into the Mt. Scardus-Lake Lychnitis area, he seized the occasion to invade Illyria with considerable success.⁴² Whether this policy could have worked ultimately, however, is unknown; for Philip now became so embroiled with the Romans and the Aetolians that no solution to the frontier problem could be worked out.

It is interesting to note, though, that the Illyrians seem to have been very impressed by Macedonian operations. Philip's invasion of Illyris and his defense of his own western frontier against the Romans in the Second Macedonian War surely helped to sway opinion. Genthius' decision to ally with Perseus at the opening of the Third Macedonian War was probably not totally based on the promise of money. He must have thought that the Macedonians had a chance of winning against the Romans. The successful frontier defense in the previous war may have been the means of convincing him. Numismatic evidence has also appeared which may show the presence of a Macedonian faction in Scodra.⁴³ All these factors surely figured in Genthius' decision.

The course of this investigation has led me to the following conclusions. The western frontier of the Macedonian monarchy presented a very important problem. Nearly every important monarch had to concern himself with it, some for considerable portions of their reigns. In the course of long contact Macedonian policy for dealing with the Illyrians also varied consider-

40. See n. 27 above.

41. See n. 28 above.

42. J. M. F. May, "Macedonia and Illyria," *JRS*, 1946, 48-57.

ably. The early policy of a weak Macedonia was to make money payments, give hostages and generally to placate the barbarians in so far as that was possible. In 359 in response to a vastly greater threat created by the unifying of large portions of Illyris under the chieftain Bardylis Philip II first seriously defeated the Illyrians. Then, he created the historical western frontier line of Macedonia and finally reduced many of the Illyrian tribes beyond his border to a state of dependency upon him.

This policy was continued as long as Macedonia was powerful, but Antigonos Gonatas, ruling a much weaker state, fostered the Molossian monarchy in Epirus in controlling southern Illyris, as it helped quiet the border at no cost to himself. Demetrius II continued this policy, but with the appearance of the Roman "protectorate" in Illyria Antigonos Doson accepted this method of control and occupied himself with restoring Macedonian interests to the east and south. At the end of his reign and into the beginning of that of Philip V the Illyrians again became a problem. As Philip's strength increased, he tried to reduce the Illyrians as had Philip II, but his involvement with Rome prevented any conclusion to that policy. Illyria, of course, became an ally of Macedonia in the final struggle of the monarchy against Rome.

There is no evidence to suggest that any Macedonian monarch seriously considered outright subjection and annexation of Illyris and only for a short period did Macedonia have the resources even to attempt such a thing. Yet, the monarchy preserved her frontiers in the west far more efficiently against invasion than the Roman Republic was able to once Macedonia became a province. It was not until the general frontier conquests and reorganization by Augustus that security was restored. We can only draw the conclusion that from Philip II on the Macedonian monarchy in strength or weakness had remarkable success in preserving this extremely unsettled frontier. This surely is a considerable tribute both to the rulers of Macedonia and to her people.

University of Virginia

HARRY J. DELL

CASSANDREIA DURING THE MACEDONIAN PERIOD: AN EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

It is a historical fact that Cassandreia was founded by Cassander in 316 B.C. on the isthmus of the peninsula of Pallene and on the site of Potidaea. The city incorporated not only the territory of Potidaea, but also an unspecified area in the peninsula as well as to the north of the isthmus in the direction of Olynthus. How extensive the synoecism was we cannot tell. According to Diodorus,¹ the inhabitants were made up of Potidaeans, Olynthians who survived the calamity of their city in 348 B.C., and many others both from the peninsula as well as neighbors outside of it.

Unfortunately, the literary sources that have survived are very scanty and provide us only with a limited number of isolated facts scattered throughout the period of Cassandreia's existence, from its founding to the 6th century A.D., when the city finally became the victim of invasion by the Huns, who, according to Procopius, left scarcely a trace of it remaining.²

Within these isolated facts, there are indications that Cassandreia became one of the most prosperous and powerful cities during the Hellenistic period and played a relatively prominent role during the Roman and early Byzantine times. Its greatest period of activity, however, falls within the Macedonian era, from its founding in 316 B.C. to the battle of Pynda in 168 B.C. This period of activity can best be illustrated by the epigraphical record, and it is the purpose of this paper to present a survey of the inscriptions found in the area of Cassandreia and other parts of Greece and extract general or specific information relative to Cassandreia and its citizens.

Of the inscriptions discovered on the site or the immediate surroundings, the most important ones are the two well-known decrees, one referring to the renewal of a grant of land and privileges for Perdikkas, the son of Koinos, and dated during the kingship of Cassander (306/5-298/7 B.C.), the other referring to the honors granted to Androbolos, the son of Menis, from the city of Naupactus in Aetolia, apparently dealing with the customary privileges of *proxenia* and dated during the time of Lysimachus (286-281 B.C.). Both

1. XIX, 52, 2.

2. *De Bello Persico*, II, 4; *De Aedificiis*, IV, 3.

inscriptions have been published³ and have generally been cited as evidence for the ruler-cult in Hellenistic times and for the eponymous archons being also priests of these cults;⁴ in addition, the Androbolos inscription has been cited as evidence for the division of cities into tribes and demes as the mention of "Hippolyteus" indicates.⁵

My immediate interest, however, in connection with the Perdikkas inscription lies in that part of the preamble which reads: 'Εφ' ἱερέως Κυδία· Βασίλεως Μακεδόνων Κάσσανδρος δίδωσι Περδίκκῃ Κοίνου τὸν ἀγρὸν κ.τ.λ. (In the priesthood of Kydias, Cassander, king of the Macedonians, grants to Perdikkas, the son of Koinos, etc.). The reference to Kydias has been interpreted to mean a priest of a temple of Cassander in connection with the ruler-cult.⁶ It is natural, of course, to expect the Cassandreians to have established a cult for the founder of their city, but the evidence for it cannot be deduced from this inscription. Had the preamble read, 'Εφ' ἱερέως τοῦ Κάσσανδρου Κυδία (At the time of Kydias, priest of Cassander, etc.), then the conclusion would have been inevitable, as the inscription honoring Androbolos indicates. It reads: 'Εφ' ἱερέως τοῦ Λυσιμάχου Τιμησίου (At the time of Timesias, priest of Lysimachus). Besides, there is enough evidence to indicate that Antipater had been against the ruler-cult. Cassander may have followed his father's policy in this respect and remained satisfied with whatever honors were given him as a founder.⁷

What is of greater significance regarding both decrees is the indication that Cassandreia must have enjoyed a good measure of autonomy under the protection of the Macedonian monarchy and could have relations with other states without reference to it. This autonomy may further be attested, as it will be pointed out later, from decrees of other states honoring Cassandreians with the privileges of *proxenia*. It appears, then, that the ruler-cult was in harmony with autonomy, and evidence from other cities known to be wholly autonomous is available.⁸

The person who made the motion to honor Androbolos deserves special

3. Cf. Demitsas, 'H Μακεδονία (Athens, 1896), 763 and 764; Ditt., *Syll.*³, 332 and 380.

4. See commentaries in references cited in note 3, above; cf. also Paul Perdrizet, *B.C.H.*, XVIII, 1894, p. 417 and note 2; Pierre Jouguet, *Macedonian Imperialism and the Hellenization of the East* (New York, 1928), pp. 292-293; and others.

5. Ditt., *Syll.*³, 380, note 3.

6. *Sacerdotium Cassandri regis*, according to Ditt., *Syll.*³, 332, note 1.

7. Suidas, *Lexicon*, v. Ἀντίπατρος. Antipater had refused to accept Alexander's divinity. Cf. also Jouguet, *op. cit.*, p. 292 and note 3; *C.A.H.*, VII, p. 14 and note 2.

8. Cf. P. M. Fraser, *Samothrace*, II, Part 1, *The Inscriptions on Stone*, p. 5 and notes 11 and 12.

comment. His name is given as Πάντανος Συμμάχου Ἱππολύτου (Pantanos, the son of Symmachos, of the deme of Hippolytos), but has not otherwise been identified by the editors of the inscription.⁹ An inscription found in the Ceramicus in Athens (*I.G.*, II², 9337) and dated before 317/16 B.C. may suggest an identification for Pantanos and even of his home town before he settled at Cassandreia, depending of course on his age when this decree was adopted. The inscription is on a grave stele and reads as follows: Συμμαχία Συμμάχου Μενδίου θυγάτηρ Θεοφίλη Συμμάχου θυγάτηρ (Symmachia, the daughter of Symmachos of Mende; Theophile, the daughter of Symmachos).¹⁰ The inscription refers to the daughters of Symmachos of Mende in Pallene. The patronymic of Pantanos is the same. Citizens of Mende must have formed part of the population of Cassandreia, so Pantanos could very well be the son of Symmachos of Mende. If this identification has any merit, since Pantanos is described as "Hippolyteus," it is inviting to suggest that the settlers from Mende were assigned to this deme.

Along with these decrees, I would like to include here a copy of a decree of Cassandreia discovered on the island of Cos along with copies of similar decrees from cities of Macedonia and elsewhere.¹¹ The occasion for these copies was the visit in 242/1 B.C., in the reign of Antigonus Gonatas, of theoroi (envoys) from Cos proclaiming the celebration of the Asclepieia and the holy truce and requesting the granting of *asylum* to the Sanctuary of the God.¹²

Of particular interest are certain items not present in the other two Cassandreian decrees mentioned. The present decree is enacted by the Boule (line 8); the motion was made by the *strategoi* and *nomophylakes* (line 2); the right of asylum is granted according to the wishes of the king (lines 9-10);

9. Demitsas, *op. cit.*, 764; Ditt., *op. cit.*, 380.

10. The inscription is also found in Demitsas, *op. cit.*, 792. The spelling Μενδίου, instead of Μενδαίου, should not be disturbing, in spite of the doubt expressed by Demitsas as to whether the inscription referred to a Mendaeon. Omissions of this type are not uncommon.

11. The inscriptions containing these decrees were found by A. Herzog and L. Laurenzi. Cf. *Historia*, 1931, pp. 620f.; C. Anti, *Atti Inst. Veneto*, 1932, pp. 1180ff.; M. Segre, *Historia*, 1933, pp. 661f.; P. Roussel, *R.E.G.*, XLVII, 1934, p. 240; P. Collart, *Philippes*, p. 181 and note 1; *S.E.G.*, XII, 1955, 373 (for the complete decrees of Cassandreia, Amphipolis and Philippi), 374 (for the decree of Pella), and 368-372 and 375-344 (for decrees of other cities).

12. Cassandreia and the other cities whose decrees are recorded accepted the proclamation and granted the request. The usual honors and expenses for hospitality for the theoroi are provided. The names of the architheoros (Aristolochos Zmendronos) and of the theoros (Makareus Aratou), who visited Cassandreia and other cities in the Macedonian region, are preserved. In some other cases a second theoros is also given.

the city of Cos is praised for its good will not only toward the city of Cassandreia, but also toward Antigonos and all the rest of the Macedonians (lines 6-7, 12-14); and, finally, the reference to the *archegeteion* to which the theoroi are invited (line 15).

Time does not allow to take up all of these items individually or at length, but a few pertinent comments must be made. At the outset, assuming that the Coan decrees are true copies of decrees passed by the cities, we are impressed by the absence of the eponymous priest from the Cassandreian copy and by the presence of strategoi and nomophylakes. This may be interpreted as a departure from the usual formula and may suggest some sort of constitutional change at Cassandreia.¹³ We need not speculate here as to the date and type of change,¹⁴ but what is certain from our inscription is that these boards could participate in the meetings of the Boule (Council) with the privilege of proposing decrees.

It appears that these inscriptions represent the report of the envoys upon their return to Cos and are most likely faithful copies of the decrees passed by the governing bodies in the various cities. The date of the inscriptions is established by the reference in the decree of Amphipolis to the 41st year of the reign of Antigonos. Cf. *S.E.G.*, XII, 1955, 373, 1. 19.

13. It is worth noting that on the decree of Amphipolis, which follows Cassandreia's on the same stele, and on that of Pella the name of the eponymous priest is given.

14. If a change actually took place, the occasion for it may be sought in the overthrow of the tyranny of Apollodoros in 276 B.C. by Antigonos. The democratic form of government of the city was apparently re-established and its autonomy re-affirmed, but the authority of the chief magistrate and priest was reduced or replaced by boards of *strategoi* and *nomophylakes*, the functions of which cannot be precisely determined. Whatever the constitutional change at Cassandreia, its status of autonomy was maintained; this was consistent with Antigonos' general policy toward the cities, based on cooperation and peaceful coexistence.

Unfortunately, the Coan inscription does not give the names of these officials at Cassandreia, so their number cannot be determined. Whether their number represented tribal divisions, we have no way of knowing.

The strategoi as officials are found in various cities. Outside of Athens, where they play a leading role, they are particularly prominent in the kingdom of Pergamum. Cf. *C.A.H.*, VIII, p. 601; for an inscription of Tralles, dated in the 2nd or 1st century B.C., see *S.E.G.*, XI, 1954, 471 and *I.G.*, V 1, 12.

The nomophylakes, also, appear as a board in different states in Greece. As their title suggests, they were primarily entrusted with the supervision of existing laws and their observance. For their high position in the kingdom of Pergamum, see *C.A.H.*, VIII, p. 601. Closer to Chalcidice, they appear on inscriptions from Thasos (dated in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.; *B.C.H.*, LII, 1928, 5) and Demetrias (dated ca. 100 B.C.; Ditt., *Syll.*⁴, 1157), where they are mentioned along with an eponymous priest and strategoi. I have seen no evidence of their existence in the Macedonian region proper, so their appearance on the Cassandreian decree, along with the strategoi with whom they share the privilege of proposing decrees, assumes greater importance.

The reference to the wishes of the king in granting the right of asylum to the sanctuary at Cos gives some indication of Cassandra's loyalty.¹⁵ An element of loyalty is revealed also in the statement praising the city of Cos for its good will toward king Antigonos, the city of Cassandra, and all the rest of the Macedonians. This statement seems to express the duality of feeling among the Cassandreians. Here we can detect a sense of pride in their city as well as an admission that they are part of the Macedonian state.¹⁶ Apparently, this method of identifying themselves as Cassandreians was consistent with their status of autonomy within the Macedonian dominion. The epigraphical record during this period is quite instructive on this point, and scholars have already observed that a Cassandreian abroad never called himself a "Macedonian;" I should also add that he was never referred to by others as "Macedonian."¹⁷

Finally, the reference to the *archegeteion* implies a structure that could be dated as far back as the reign of Cassander and dedicated to him as a founder. We could expect this to be a type of public building and to have served a number of functions, besides being the headquarters of the strategoi and nomophylakes¹⁸ as the decree seems to imply.

15. It is possible also to derive from the statement the impression that the Cassandreians had already been informed of the wishes of the king through some official communication or probably by the king's strategos (governor) in nearby Antigoneia. Antigoneia, founded by Antigonos himself, was located to the northwest of Cassandra.

16. It should be noted in this connection that the Coan decree of Philippi is phrased in a similar fashion, while the decrees of Amphipolis and Beroea refer simply to "king Antigonos and the Macedonians."

17. Cf. W. W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (Oxford, 1913), p. 186 and note 62, for the result of his admittedly incomplete search in reference to the use of the ethnic "Macedon" versus the city ethnic or both by the inhabitants of other cities in the Macedonian region, including Thessalonica and Cassandra. He refers to eighteen cases for Cassandra, during the Macedonian period, where the city ethnic alone is indicated (in the forms *Κασσανδρείας* or the plural, *Κασσανδρείαις*, or *Κασσα νδρείαις* or *ἐκ Κασσανδρείας*) but in no case is there any reference to "Macedon" as ethnic. My personal search for the same period revealed nineteen additional cases. See note 52, under *Pagassae*, for possible exception for this period. Another possible exception, but from the Roman period, depends on the correctness of Pelekides' restoration (*Ἀπὸ τὴν Πολιτείαν καὶ τὴν Κοινότητα τῆς Ἀρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης* [Thessalonica, 1934], p. 3, note 4) of an inscription from Thebes (*I. G.*, VII, 2482): [Μ]ακεδόν [ἀπὸ] [Κα]σσαν[δρείας], instead of [Θε]σσαλ[ονίκης]. The inscription is a dedication to the Egyptian divinities Sarapis, Isis, and Anubis.

18. From the derivation of the word *archegeteion* we could infer that it was a structure dedicated to the founder of the city, that is, to Cassander *archegetes*. We may assume that a festival, *archegesia*, was instituted as part of the cult of the founder. Such festivals in honor of founders are known from many parts of the Greek world. But whatever the function

There are five additional inscriptions, found locally and belonging to this period, that deserve a brief comment. Two of them, one in the Thessalonica Museum¹⁹ and the other at Nea Potidaea,²⁰ are only of prosopographical interest. A third inscription, dedicated to Hero Heropythos, most likely a true hero, is well known,²¹ as is also the inscription referring to a Cassandreian victor in the hoplite contests at the Olympia at Dium and in other

of the archegeteion in connection with the founder of the city, the reference to it in our inscription reminds one of such public buildings as the Prytaneion at Philippi (mentioned in its decree from Cos) or that of Athens, where the presidents (prytaneis) of the Boule met, the civil laws were kept and foreigners or various envoys were introduced or entertained. One could be reminded also of the *archelon* in reference to the office of the Ephors at Sparta (Paus., III, 11, 2; Plut., *Cleom.*, 8; *Ages.*, 16; cf. also C.O. Müller, *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* [trans. by H. Tufnell and G. C. Lewis, Oxford, 1830], II, p. 130 and note k).

19. Marble stele (Inv. no. 1234) inscribed Φιλόκλεια Λυσικράτου. Flower designs and letter forms suggest a date close to the end of the 4th century B.C. The inscription has been mentioned by Robinson in *T.A.P.A.*, LXIX, 1938, p. 64, note 45.

20. Grave stele of limestone located in one of the southernmost houses of Nea Potidaea and inscribed Βιὼ Εὐγετινοῦ | Ὀνησίμου γυνή. I saw the inscription in 1938 and made a squeeze of it, but I have seen no record of it since. It could be dated with some degree of certainty toward the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. Of interest is the name Βιὼ. I have found one parallel on a stele from Pagasae, Βιὼ Ζήνωνος (Arvanitopoulos, *Θεσσαλικά Μνημεῖα* I [Athens, 1909], no. 22).

21. The inscription, with the words ΗΡΩΗ ΗΡΟΠΥΘΩΗ, is on the molding of a marble relief found in the metochi Dochiariou. It has been published by Demitsas, *op. cit.*, 766; Duchesne and Bayet, *Mission au Mont Athos* (*Arch. Miss. Scient.*, III, iii) 270, no. 115; *S.E.G.*, II, 1924, 414. It has been republished, with measurements and a photograph, by Robinson in *T.A.P.A.*, LXIX, 1938, pp. 66f. and Pl. XVI, 20. Cf. also my monograph, *Potidaea, Its History and Remains* (Athens, Ga., 1963), p. 5 and notes 18 and 19.

The date of the monument cannot be determined with certainty, but it could be placed in the first half of the 3rd century B.C. Though Foucart (*Rev. Phil.*, XLII, 1918, pp. 60-62), uninformed of its origin, wrongly attributed it to Ephesus, yet his theory that it is a dedication to a true hero Heropythos, who may be the person mentioned in Arrian's *Anabasis* (I, 17, 11), is not without some merit. For a discussion of the name Hero Heropythos, see M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.*, XLII, 1922, pp. 181-83; for funeral banquet scenes on grave stelae, Gardner, *J.H.S.*, V, 1884, pp. 105-42; and for the cult of heroes in general, A. D. Nock, *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XXVII, 1944, pp. 141f.

The name Heropythos is not a common one. I know of no parallels in Macedonia. The use of the word hero in front of it on our inscription (instead of after it, which is common in the case of heroized dead) and the contents of the banquet scene seem to suggest a recognized hero, and this points to Heropythos of Ephesus. In such a case, the explanation for a monument of this type at Cassandreia may be found in the presence of Queen Arsinoe at Ephesus and her reputed escape from there to Cassandreia following the defeat and death of her husband Lysimachus in 281 B.C. For hero worship at Cassandreia, see p. 3, in reference to Hippolytus, and p. 4 and note 24 in reference to Heracles.

contests elsewhere.²² Unfortunately, the name of the victor has not been preserved; but we have here one of the two extant records of Cassandean victories in athletic contests. The other record is found on an inscription from Arcadia of about 304/3 B.C. referring to a certain Boubalos of Cassandraia who won in the horse-races at Lycaea.²³ The fifth inscription is a dedication to Heracles,²⁴ an additional evidence for hero worship at Cassandraia.

One could also claim for Cassandraia some inscriptions and other elements of antiquity found as far as the ruins of Olynthus and particularly in the area of Hagios Mamas. Most of the inscriptions belong to the Greco-Roman period; the few that could be claimed for the Macedonian period present problems of dating and are in themselves of no major significance to detain us here.²⁵ For this reason I have reserved them for another type of presentation.

The role of Cassandraia during the Macedonian period can best be

22. The victor won in the hoplite contests at the Olympia at Dium, in the stadium contests at Nemea and in the stadium double course, as well as in the hoplite contest on the same day, in the Royal Games. As for the date, most probably it belongs to the end of the 3rd century or beginning of the 2nd century B.C. For a date ca. 100 B.C., cf. *S.E.G.*, XIV, 1957, 478, which, on the basis of letter forms, appears to be too late. For a date in the 2nd century B.C., cf. Robinson, *T.A.P.A.*, LXIX, 1938, p. 65. Unfortunately, the inscription and other elements of antiquity in the small collection at Nea Potidaea, seen by the author in 1938, were plundered or misplaced during the German occupation in World War II. Cf. my monograph on *Potidaea*, p. 7. My visit to Nea Potidaea during the week before the Symposium on "Ancient Macedonia" confirmed the disappearance of practically the entire collection.

23. *I.G.*, V, 550, fr. VI, 1. 29: κέλητι τελέωι Βούβαλος ἐκ Κασσανδρείας.

24. The inscription was part of the collection at Nea Potidaea when I saw it in 1938 and made a squeeze of it, which I still have, but now must be counted among the objects that have disappeared since. See comments in note 18, above. The inscription was on a marble slab (14 by 16 by 40 cm.) found in 1934 by E. Kalfas. It consisted of two lines; four letters of the name (-NIOΣ) can easily be made out, followed by a vacant space and the patronymic ΑΓΑΘΙΝΟΥ. Below, in the center, the word ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ. The date of our inscription can be placed in the 3rd century B.C. For an incidental reference to the inscription, see Robinson, *T.A.P.A.*, LXIX, 1938, p. 64, note 45, who assigns to it a fourth century date and, influenced by accidental strokes, gives ... σαρως as part of the name, which a careful reading of the squeeze cannot support.

25. The settlement of Olynthians at Cassandraia suggests that their former territories were incorporated to some extent into the new city. Therefore, epigraphical or other material at Hagios Mamas, if dated before 348 B.C., could be ascribed to Olynthus or even Potidaea, as the natives there often claim, while material that can be assigned to a period after 316 B.C. could be claimed as Cassandrian in origin. As to the attribution of material between 348 B.C. and 316 B.C., we are at a loss, since the conditions of life in the area are totally obscure. Dating, of course, such material is not an easy matter, and here lies the basic problem which cannot be solved satisfactorily on the basis of existing epigraphical evidence.

illustrated from inscriptions found in other parts of the mainland and the islands. These inscriptions do indicate the wide dispersion of the Cassandreians and shed significant light on their activities and relations with other states. The Cassandreians recorded on these inscriptions appear as recipients of honors of proxenia, thearodokia, and isopoliteia; as arbitrators in interstate disputes; as participants in dramatic contests; as mercenary soldiers; and as worshippers of Egyptian divinities. In addition, there are few funerary monuments with names of Cassandreians.

There are nine proxenia decrees referring to Cassandreians.²⁶ Four of these decrees are from Delphi, one of which confers also the honor of thearodokia; one from the city of Oropos of the Boeotian League; one from the Aetolian League, which granted, along with proxenia, the right of citizenship (isopoliteia); one from Delos; and, finally, one from the city of Carthaea of the island of Ceos. To these decrees, a decree of Epidaurus should be added, which confers the honor of thearodokos on a Cassandreian.²⁷

The ultimate significance, however, of these decrees lies not so much in the honors granted to individual Cassandreians for some kind of services each one of them must have rendered to another state, but in the fact that they reveal to us otherwise unknown personalities who must have played a

26. In seven of these decrees the name, the patronymic, and the ethnic are entirely preserved; one has part of the patronymic and the ethnic; and one has only the ethnic "Kassandreus."

Delphi decrees: *FD*, III i, 117 (*B.C.H.*, XXI, 1897, no. 114) name and patronymic missing, [Κ]ασσανδρεῖ, dated 294/3 B.C.; *FD*, III iii, 207 (*B.C.H.*, LII, 1928, pp. 189-192), Σοφοκλεῖ Ἀριστοβούλου Φωκεῖ ἐν Κασ[σ]ανδρείαι οἰκοῦντι (was honored also as thearodokos), dated 252/1 ? B.C.; *B.C.H.*, XLIX, 1925, p. 88, no. 17, Ξενοδήμῳ Ξενοδήμου Κασσανδρεῖ dated ca. 238/7 B.C., *Ditt.*, *Syll.*³, 585, Ξένων Ξένωνος Κασσανδρεῖς, dated 187/6 B.C., and as thearodokos on a list of ca. 175 B.C. (*B.C.H.*, XLV, 1921, p. 18), while Ἡρακλέων Ξένωνος, apparently his brother, served in a similar capacity in the nearby Antigonaea (*loc. cit.*).

Oropos decree: *I.G.*, VII, 247, Ἡράκλειτον Εὐάνδρου Κασσανδρεῖα, dated after 316 B.C.

Decree of the Aetolian League: *I.G.*, IX 1^a, 1, Ἐπιγόνῳ Διοτίμου Κασσανδρεῖα, dated ca. 260 B.C. and granting also *isopoliteia* (for a date of 268/5 B.C., see *Ditt.*, *Syll.*³, 424).

Decree of Carthaea: *I.G.*, XII 5^a, 1062, Φιλίσκῳ Φιλίσκου Κασσανδρεῖα, dated on the basis of letter forms in the 2nd or 3rd part of the 3rd century B.C.

Decree of Delos: *I.G.*, XI 4, 663, -ασμου Κασσα[νδρεῖα], dated about the middle of the 3rd century B.C. For the decree, see also *B.C.H.*, XXX, 1906, p. 671, no. 7.

27. *I.G.*, IV 1^a, 94/95, 11. 41-42: Ἐν Κασσανδρείαι Τιμοσθένης Κρίτνωνος. The decree covers the years from ca. 365 to 311 B.C. It is of interest to point out that the list, arranged geographically and conforming to historical circumstances, indicates that the Cassandreian thearodokos replaced the Olynthian as well as the Potidaean. This is a strong evidence against a post-348 B.C. Olynthus.

prominent role in the political and economic life of their own native city. The recipients of such honors were not ordinary persons, but of some public standing and influence.²⁸ At the same time, it should be noted, that, in view of the rarity of proxenia decrees relating to cities of Macedonia, the presence of Cassandreians on such decrees is a further testimony to the importance of the city and to its decree of independence within the framework of the Macedonian state.

The most significant for us of the Delphic grants of proxenia and thearodokia is the one referring to a certain Sophocles the son of Aristoboulos, a Phocian residing at Cassandreia.²⁹ The inscription is variously dated between 263 and 252/1 B.C.³⁰ Its significance lies not so much in the fact that a resident-alien, instead of a citizen, received the honors but in the possibility it offers regarding the identification of the original home town of the famous Cassandreian historian, Aristoboulos, the son of Aristoboulos.

Since the home town of the historian of Alexander the Great could not have been Cassandreia and the ethnic "Kassandreus" was assumed with his residence there after the city was founded in 316 B.C., scholars have been looking for clues in the sources. Tarn claims to have found the answer in a statement of Strabo, the source of which he attributes to Aristoboulos, regarding the size of a number of Indian towns between the Hypanis and Hydaspes rivers. The statement refers to these towns as "none smaller than Mero-pid Cos" Tarn sees in the use of Cos, as a basis for comparison, the answer to the question of the home town of the historian and, in the use of "Mero-pid" to describe Cos, the "touch of local pride."³¹

The weakness of Tarn's claim becomes apparent once we reflect that

28. In the absence of any permanent diplomatic service abroad, the proxenoi performed that function for the state that granted them the honor of proxenia.

For the institution of proxenia in general, see P. Monceaux, *Les Proxénies grecques* (Paris, 1885). For the privileges, functions and importance of proxenoi, cf. C. Phillipson, *International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome*, I (Macmillan, 1911), pp. 151-156; S. Perlman, "A Note on the Political Implications of Proxenia in the Fourth Century B.C.," *Cl.Q.*, N.S., VIII, 1958, pp. 185-191. On proxenia decrees in general, see G. Daux, "Inscriptions de Delphes," *B.C.H.*, LXVIII, 1944, pp. 94-128, particularly p. 103 and note 3.

29. See note 26, above.

30. R. Flacelière (*Les Attolien à Delphes* [Paris, 1937], pp. 220-21, 449-60) dates it in the year 252/1 B.C.; Daux (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III iii, p. 165, no. 207 note and *Chronologie Delphique* [Paris, 1942], pp. 31-32) places it between 263 and 260 B.C.

31. W.W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, II, *Sources and Studies* (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 32-33, note 3.

the source in Strabo's account is not established;³² but even if the historian Aristoboulos is the source, the selection of Cos, a well known city, must be taken in relation to its appropriateness as a comparison rather than as an indication of the home town of the author.

Pearson, with more reason, is tempted to identify the historian with the father of Sophocles of our inscription and remarks that any time within these chronological limits would be appropriate for a son of the historian, born probably some time after 323 B.C.; he recognizes, however, that there is no proof that the historian is the father of Sophocles.³³

On the assumption that the historian was originally from Phocis, Pearson looks for a reason to explain the anonymity of his native town.³⁴ He states that a Phocian serving with Alexander would be reluctant to reveal his origin, in view of the calamity that befell his native Phocis in 346 B.C. due to Philip's action, but conditions, he remarks, changed after 278 B.C., when the Phocians recovered their seat on the Amphictyonic Council.³⁵

I am in agreement with Pearson's suggestion as far as the use of this inscription for the identification of the home town of the historian Aristoboulos. In fact, he anticipated my views in this respect, though in a different way, as it will be pointed out later. My feeling has been all along that Tarn's identification rested on flimsy evidence and that the present inscription strengthened a possibility that I have been considering for some time. I find, however, Pearson's identification of Sophocles as the son of the historian, born after his return from Asia, difficult to accept, though this cannot be taken as a deciding factor, since members of the same family could acquire different citizenships. More difficult to accept, especially if it applies to Aristoboulos, is his explanation that a person of Phocian origin "would not be likely to advertise his origin."³⁶ Whether Aristoboulos wanted to advertise his origin or

32. Lionel Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great* (Philological Monographs, XX, published by the Amer. Philol. Ass., [Oxford, 1960]), p. 106 and note 86. Tarn's argument that the use of the word Hypanis, instead of the more usual Hyphasis, is typical of Aristoboulos is regarded by Pearson (p. 106, note 86) as not valid. As for the comparison with Cos, Pearson remarks that it could have been made by Onesicritus, a native of Astypalaea, a neighbor of Cos.

33. Pearson, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

34. *Op. cit.*, pp. 151-152.

35. Under these conditions, Pearson (p. 152) finally remarks, "the son of such a man living in Cassandreia would have no need to be ashamed of his Phocian origin any longer" and that "he would be a likely person to receive honours from Delphi." For references to the changed conditions, see *ibid.*, p. 152, note 15.

36. The anonymity of the home town of Aristoboulos may be ascribed to his repu-

not, Alexander and his companions were certainly not ignorant of it.

The entire problem, however, could be approached from a different angle. Instead of Phocis as the original home town of Aristoboulos, why not one of the many cities which contributed to the synoecism of Cassandra? Why not Potidaea, Olynthus, others? What could be more natural to expect? Besides, we cannot be certain as to what extent or how soon persons from areas such as Phocis, outside the immediate surroundings of Cassandra, could have obtained citizenship there.

Although other cities involved in the settlement of Cassandra may have a claim on Aristoboulos, yet existing epigraphical evidence suggests Olynthian origin. The name Aristoboulos, the son of Kallikrates, as an eponymous priest, has been found in a number of inscriptions from Olynthus. These inscriptions are dated in the 2nd quarter of the 4th century and, naturally, before 348 B.C.³⁷

There is no record of the historian's date of birth, but tradition has it that he died at the age of ninety and that he began to write at the age of eighty-four.³⁸ According to the best estimates, his work was published between 295 and 285 B.C.³⁹ This would place the date of his birth somewhere between 375

tation and, to a greater extent, to the accident of transmission of contemporary sources, and not to any reluctance on the part of the historian to identify himself with it. Aristoboulos at the start of the expedition in 334 B.C. appears to have been a mature man, with established reputation in his profession, which included engineering, architecture and geography. His ethnic need not have been attached to his name in contemporary references or, if attached, these references have not survived. What has survived refers to his work after he settled at Cassandra and acquired his new ethnic. Even then, his new ethnic would have remained unknown, if it were not for the survival of a very limited number of passages (about four, to my knowledge) in Plutarch (*Demosth.* 26, 6), Athenaeus (*Deipnosophistae*, 43 D and 251 A) and Pseudo-Lucian (*Macrobii*, 22), though he is most frequently quoted by Arrian, Strabo and others.

For the professional experience of Aristoboulos and his relation with Alexander the Great, see, among others, Agnes Savill, *Alexander the Great and His Time* (2nd ed., London, 1956), pp. 183-4, 196.

37. *T.A.P.A.*, LXV, 1934, p. 128, 'Αριστόβουλος Κα[λ]λ.ικράτης Cf. also LXII, 1931, p. 50 (M. Gude, *A History of Olynthus*, p. 40), with only the name preserved; D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, II (Baltimore, 1930), p. 101 and *T.A.P.A.*, LXIX, 1938, p. 48 and note 20, with only the patronymic preserved. For a Kallikrates at Potidaea, see my monograph (note 21, above), p. 123, note 45.

38. Pseudo-Lucian, *Macrobii*, 22. Cf. also Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 42 and Pearson, *op. cit.*, p. 152 and note 17.

39. Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43, suggests 294-288 B.C., "when Cassandra was under the more sympathetic Antigonid rule." Pearson, *op. cit.*, p. 152, proposes 295 B.C. as the earlier date with 285 or later as more likely.

and 385 B.C. and most probably closer to the former date, depending on how old one would expect him to have been when he joined Alexander's expedition in 334 B.C. The relationship between the date of birth of Aristoboulos and that of the Olynthus inscriptions strengthens the possibility that the Olynthian Aristoboulos, the son of Kallikrates, could be the father of the historian and that the latter was Olynthian by birth and not a Phocian or from some other distant place. Of course, we must not stress the Olynthian origin too far, but the observation is worth reporting; and the presence of the name in the general area of Cassandreia merits serious consideration.⁴⁰

But what about Sophocles the Phocian of the Delphic proxenia decree and his residence at Cassandreia? It is quite possible that Sophocles had more than ordinary reasons to be at Cassandreia. His background might have been in that area, and some of his relatives, including the historian Aristoboulos, as his own patronymic suggests, were residing in the place. With such a background and relations, he must have had enough connections and influences, which were appreciated by Delphi to the extent of granting him the proxenia as well as the thearodokia, even though he was not a local citizen. The fact of his being described as a citizen of Phocis may be explained by the dispersion of the population following Philip's activity in the area. Many of them are reported to have gone to Athens;⁴¹ others must have settled in other places, including Phocis. Aristoboulos the historian, a young man at the time, probably between 25 and 35 years of age, followed his professional interests in Athens or elsewhere. Then, for many the opportunity to return to their former surroundings finally came with the founding of Cassandreia in 316 B.C. A new ethnic was attached to their name. Some, perhaps later arrivals, who had already attained the citizenship of another state, settled in the new city without renouncing their former allegiance. One of them was Sophocles, the son of a certain Aristoboulos, a Phocian and not unlikely a relative of the historian of Cassandreia.

40. The founding of Cassandreia is tantamount to the restoration of Potidaea, instead of Olynthus. This invites the temptation to suggest a Potidaean origin for Aristoboulos. It has been suggested that Aristoboulos returned from Asia with Antipater in 321 B.C. and subsequently placed himself in the service of Cassander; also, as architect, he was responsible for the plans of Cassandreia (cf. Pearson, *op. cit.*, p. 151 and note 12). It is quite possible, then, that Cassander's decision to select the site of Potidaea for his capital city was not entirely due to any advantages for control of the sea, which Thessalonica could provide, nor to other strategic considerations, which the site of Olynthus could just as well—if not better—satisfy, but to Aristoboulos' desire to see his home town restored.

41. Cf. Gude, *op. cit.*, pp. 37f. Sooner or later, some of the refugees were granted relief from the resident-alien tax or acquired citizenship status, others must have continued to live as metics.

One of the practices in interstate relations that became increasingly common during the Macedonian period was the practice of arbitration of disputes between cities, especially in connection with boundaries.⁴² An inscription found at Delphi and dated between 270-260 B.C. provides us with the names of five Cassandreian judges who rendered two decisions in different boundary disputes between cities of Achaea-Phthiotis in Thessaly.⁴³ The details of the inscription need not concern us here. It is enough to recognize the role Cassandreia must have played in the area of interstate relations and to have the names of five additional persons who must have been of some standing in their native city.⁴⁴

42. The choice of another city as arbitrator was naturally influenced by many factors. Considerations of prestige and influence, as well as mutual respect for the prospective arbitrating city, undoubtedly entered the picture. The arbitrating state was requested to appoint a board of judges to conduct an inquiry locally and to render its decision. Witnesses were invited from other states.

For interstate arbitration in general, see M. Tod, *International Arbitration among the Greeks* (London, 1913); Anton H. Raeder, *L'arbitrage international chez les Hellènes* (New York, 1912); Coleman Phillipson, *International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome*, II (Macmillan, 1911).

43. Marcel Laurent, "Inscriptions de Delphes. I. Arbitrages délimitant les territoires des quelques villes de l'Achaïe Phthiotie," *B.C.H.*, XXV, 1901, pp. 337-344; *I.G.*, IX 2, Addenda p. XI, 205 II; Tod, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26; Raeder, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-76, where (p. 75) the number of judges is erroneously given as four, instead of five; and, for a more recent publication of the inscription and additional bibliography, *S.E.G.*, XVII, 1960, 238. Lines 3-6 in the *S.E.G.* read as follows:

[τύχη]: τάδε ἐκρίναν οἱ δικάσται ἐκ Κασσάν-
[δρείας] Πραξιτέλης Κλέωνος, Θεόδωρος Ἀριστο-
..... Ζαλίας Σατύρου, Ἀρχέστρατος Παρμενί-
[κου, Τίμανθος Πολυζήλου, ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας κ.τ.λ.

In line 4, Laurent and others have Πραξιτέλης for Πραξιτέλης. In line 5, a more likely restoration could be Ἀριστο[δήμου], which has a Cassandreian parallel (see note 52, below, under *Pagasaë*). The first letter of Ζαλίας is uncertain. I have found no parallel for the name. Θ for Ζ appears more acceptable, as the derivative Θαλίαρχος (*S.E.G.*, XVII, 1960, 823, line 13) could suggest. Φαλίς, from Φαλίαρχος, is equally possible.

It is of some interest to notice that some of the names or patronyms in our inscription, such as Kleon, Theodoros, Aristodemos (if the restoration suggested above is correct), Timanthes, and Satyros have Olynthian parallels. Kleon appears in *T.A.P.A.*, LXIX, 1938, p. 55; Theodoros in *T.A.P.A.*, LXII, 1931, p. 43 and Gude, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 44 and 50; Aristodemos in *T.A.P.A.*, LXIX, 1938, p. 53; Timanthes in *T.A.P.A.*, LIX, 1928, p. 226 and Gude, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Satyros in John B. O'Connor, *Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece* (Chicago, 1908), no. 429, the famous comic actor who won at the Lenaea festivals in Athens ca. 375 B.C. For an Aristodemos on a sepulchral inscription from the site of Mende, cf. Demitsas, *op. cit.*, 772.

44. Often the proceedings of arbitration were followed by honorary decrees granting

Cassandreians also must have played a prominent role in dramatic and musical festivities. A strong indication of this may be derived from epigraphic and literary references to Cassandreians performing in such festivals, at Athens, Delphi, and Delos, in the capacity of comic poets, tragic or comic actors, and flute players. The names of six Cassandreians are preserved, one of them being the well known comic poet Poseidippus, classified by the ancients among the six important poets of new Comedy.⁴⁵ To this list, one might

such honors as proxenia and a golden crown to the judges individually and a vote of thanks to the city which sent them. There is sufficient epigraphical evidence to indicate that this procedure was common enough. Cf. *S.E.G.*, XI, 1954, 468 for a decree of Eretria of the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. honoring Lacedaemonian judges; 469 for a decree of a similar nature from Demetrias in Thessaly, dated in the 2nd century B.C. Such a decree for Cassandreia and its judges awaits to be found.

45. See Anonymous writer on Comedy in John Maxwell Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy*, III A (Leiden, 1961), p. 229. According to Stephanus Byzantius, Poseidippus wrote 30 plays; his first was one performed three years after the death of Menander, that is about 289 B.C. (Edmonds, *loc. cit.*, erroneously translates two instead of three years). According to Suidas, he wrote 40 plays. Of his plays, 18 titles are preserved. His last "datable" play is placed at 264 B.C., and from an Athenian inscription of about 270 B.C. we derive the information that he won four victories at the Lenaea. Cf. Edmonds, p. 231, note b, and, for ancient references to Poseidippus, p. 229.

Other references to Cassandreian Dionysiac artists: *B.C.H.*, XLVII, 1923, p. 2, at Delphic Soteria, under tragic actors: Ἐργίνος Σιμύλου Κασσανδρεύς. Date of the inscription, 270 B.C. Erginos heads the list of tragic actors. Cf. also H. Collitz, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, V, I Heft (Göttingen, 1886), no. 2565, 1. 48, O'Connor, *op. cit.*, *Prosopographia*, no. 176. Erginos also appears in another inscription of Delphi dated ca. 230 B.C., under [παίδω]ν ἡγεμόν· [Ἐργί]νος Σιμύλου Κασσανδρεύς. His function is not clear, but it is taken as possible that he acted as *auletes* or *didaskalos*. The change of specialty is not uncommon. Cf. *B.C.H.*, XLVII, 1923, p. 2, 1. 13; *S.E.G.*, I, 187A 13.

Collitz, *op. cit.*, no. 2565, 1. 52, performed with Erginos at Delphic Soteria as a tragic actor: Μοιραγένης Ἀναξίλα Κασσανδρεύς. Cf. also O'Connor, *op. cit.*, no. 344.

B.C.H., VII, 1883, pp. 114, 123, at Delos, under comic actors: Πολύκριτος Κασσανδρεύς. Date of inscription, 261 B.C. Cf. also Ed. Capps, *T.A.P.A.* XXXI, 1900, p. 115. There are at least two instances where his name is definite, but the ethnic is not given; there are also instances where the name could be restored. *I.G.*, II², 2325, 1. 314, under comic actors, Πολύκριτος, dated ca. 257/6 (?); O'Connor, *op. cit.*, no. 408 (*I.G.*, II, 977 a[d], w, p. 141), where Polykritos is represented as victor at the Lenaea ca. 230 B.C.; here, he performed as tragic actor, but the ethnic is not given. In spite of the chronological factor, it seems that he is identical with the comic actor of the Delian inscription of 261 B.C., above.

Ditt., *Syll.*⁴, 424, 11. 42-43, at Delphic Soteria, first on the list of tragic actors: [Ο]ικιάδης Νικάνδρου Κασσανδρεύς. Date of the inscription, 268 B.C. His name was at first restored as Νικιάδης (Collitz, *op. cit.*, 2563, 1. 32.), but Capps (*op. cit.*, p. 125) established the correct reading by referring to Οικιάδης who performed as tragic actor at Delos in 268 B.C., though the name appears here without the patronymic or the ethnic. The reading has been accepted. Cf. *I.G.*, XI 2, 110, 1. 32. O'Connor, *op. cit.*, no. 384, dates the Soteria at

add the cithar-player Menylla whose name appears on an inscription from Samothrace.⁴⁶ Of special interest is the possibility of identifying the Cassandreian tragic actor Nikostratos with a comic poet of the same name whose ethnic is unknown, but who performed in Athens about the same period.⁴⁷ Questions of this sort, however, require elaboration that the time available will not allow. Suffice to say that the absence of a Nikostratos with another ethnic from such inscriptions and the coincidence of name and date in such performances can scarcely be accidental.

The Macedonian period witnessed the expansion of the cult of the Egyptian divinities into the Aegean area.⁴⁸ The best indication that we have regarding the interest of the Cassandreians in the worship of the Egyptian divinities, especially of Sarapis, Isis and Anubis, comes to us from inscriptions of Delos. Here we find two Cassandreians as members of associations

Delphi in 272 B.C. For Nikandros as an Olynthian name, cf. Gude, *op. cit.*, p. 93, and *T.A.P.A.*, LXII, 1931, p. 43.

46. *S.E.G.*, II, 504, 11. 5-8 (*I.G.*, XII 8, 178): on a list of initiates from Samothrace: Μένυλλα Ἰπποστράτου Κασσανδρεῖτις κιθαρίστρια ἀκόλουθος Εἰρήνη. The inscription is dated, on the basis of letter forms, in the 2nd century B.C. According to P. M. Frazer (*Samothrace*, II, Part 1, p. 78), the *akolouthoi* were "presumably slaves, or persons of very humble origin," hence the omission of the patronymic.

47. The tragic actor Nikostratos appears on a choregic inscription of Delos of 282 B.C. as Νικόστρατος Κασσανδρεῖς (Ditt., *Syll.*⁴, 389, 11. 18-20; *I.G.*, XI 2, 106; O'Connor, *op. cit.*, no. 370; Capps, *op. cit.*, p. 114, dates it 284 B.C.). The comic poet Nikostratos is reported to have won the 2nd prize at Delos in 280 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI 2, 107; Capps, *op. cit.*, p. 114, dates the inscription in 282 B.C.) and a similar prize at the Dionysia in Athens as early as 312/11 B.C. (*I.G.* II², 2323a). On both of these and other occasions as a comic poet the ethnic is omitted, a practice not uncommon, especially in the case of comic poets. It is extremely probable that both the actor and the comic poet are one and the same person, for the double coincidence of name and date in such performances can scarcely be taken as accidental (cf. Capps, *A.J.A.*, IV, 1900, p. 82). Comic poets are known to have played at times the part of actors. For occasional changes in specialty, cf. O'Connor, *op. cit.*, pp. 39ff; Capps, *op. cit.*, pp. 80f., 88f.; and *T.A.P.A.*, XXXI, 1900, pp. 116ff.

If this identification of the Cassandreian actor with the comic poet of the same name has any merit, then another identification becomes equally possible, that of Nikostratos, apparently a poet, who was honored by the Athenians (*I.G.*, II², 551 = II 5, 245e) with a crown and the privileges of *isopoliteia* for his services to the choregi at the Dionysiac contests. The inscription is placed after 318/17 B.C. but before 309/8 B.C. This is within the period of Demetrius of Phalerum, appointee of Cassander as governor of Athens. This is not the place to discuss the inscription but with Cassander's influence in Athens at this time, the possibility of restoring the ethnic "Kassandreus" in the missing parts of the inscription, and the agreement in name, occupation and chronology make such an identification extremely possible, if not certain.

48. The existence of such a cult at Cassandreia can be taken for granted in view of its

connected with such worship, one of whom, Dionysios Nouneniou, is reported as *archithiasites* and as the recipient of honors for his piety to the gods and his services to the association.⁴⁹ There is sufficient evidence to indicate that the Egyptian divinities were worshipped in the cities represented by the persons recorded in Delian inscriptions,⁵⁰ and Cassandreia has a good claim for that worship.

The Macedonian period is also known for the extensive use of mercenaries. There are two inscriptions extant on which the names of Cassandreians appear, one from Athens, dated around 300 B.C. and containing the names of five Cassandreians, the other from Lilaia, dated about 208 B.C. and recording the name of one Cassandreian with the garrison of Attalus I of Pergamum.⁵¹

As a final item in our epigraphical commentary, I would like to mention

position as a political and commercial center of some importance and the anticipated presence of Egyptian influences there, particularly during the time of Arsinoë II, who as Queen of Macedonia resided for a time at Cassandreia, after the death of her husband Lysimachus. The long tradition regarding the worship of a hellenized Ammon at nearby Aphytis must also be taken into consideration.

For the worship of the Egyptian deities in Macedonia, see W. Baer, *De Maced. Sacris*, pp. 158ff; Avezou-Picard, *B.C.H.*, XXXII, 1913, pp. 94, 95; Tod, *B.S.A.*, XIII, 1918-19, pp. 87, 95f.; Pelekides, *op. cit.*, pp. 2f.; Macaronas, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1936, p. 9, note 2.

For the worship of Ammon at Aphytis, see Paus., III, 18, 3; Plut., *Lys.*, 20; Steph. Byz., v. Ἀφύτις (refers to the oracle of Zeus-Ammon); and for Zeus-Ammon on the coins, Head, *H.N.*, p. 210, dated 424-358 B.C., with one dated shortly before 168 B.C.

49. For the Egyptian cults at Delos, see P. Roussel, *Les Cultes Égyptiens à Délos de III^e au I^{er} siècle av. J. -C.* (Nancy, 1916); for Macedonian influences there, W. Deonna, *La Vie Privée des Déliens* (École Française d'Athènes, Fasc. VII, Paris, 1948), p. 161 and notes 5 and 8.

For the effect of Egyptian religious institutions upon the Greeks, see T.A. Brady, *The Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks*, 330-30 B.C. (Columbia, Mo., 1935).

Dionysios Noumeniou is reported as *archithiasites* of the association and he is honored in two separate decrees by the *anatistae*; for the decrees, see *I.G.*, XI 4, 1228-1229 and Roussel, *op. cit.*, pp. 101f., 253. The decrees are dated to the beginning of the 2nd century B.C., but before 166 B.C. For the 2nd Cassandreian, Θεόξενος Αλοχρίωνος Κασσανδρεός, see Roussel, *op. cit.*, p. 216; Brady, *op. cit.*, p. 65; *I.G.*, XI 4, 1309.

50. Roussel, *op. cit.*, pp. 281f.

51. For the inscription from Athens, see *I.G.*, II.², 1956, II. 112-116 (II, 963, col. II, 11. 46ff.): Κασσανδρεῖς | Διόδωρος | Θράσων | Ἀριστοκλῆς | Πλειστίας | Διοφάνης. Cf. also M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* (Paris, 1949), I, p. 305 and note 1; II, *Prosopographia*, p. 1170, under Κασσανδρεῖς; G. T. Griffith, *The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World* (Cambridge, 1935), pp. 240f.

For the inscription from Lilaia, see Launey, *op. cit.*, I, p. 314 and II, p. 1170, under Κασσανδρεῖς: Ἀσκληπιάδης Δημητρίου [Κα]σσανδρεός.

the sepulchral inscriptions. There are sixteen of them, including three that are apparently late Hellenistic, but before Cassandra became a Roman colony. The ethnic appears in the forms of "Kassandreus" and, for the feminine, "Kassandris" or "Kassandritis." For prosopographical purposes, these inscriptions provide 17 names, 13 partonymic, and 3 names of husbands. Regarding places represented we have: Ithaca (1), Eretria (1) Volos (1), Rhodes (2), Pagasae (3), and Athens (8).⁵²

52. Ithaca:

Στρατονίκα Κασσανδρίς | Μητρόφαντος | Παρμενίανος | Κασσανδρεύς. *I.G.*, IX 1 626 = *C.I.G.*, II, 1925h; Collitz, *op. cit.*, 1673b.

Eretria:

[Πο]λέμων | [Υ]περτάτου | Κασσανδρεύς. *I.G.*, XII 9, 828; dated in the 3rd century B.C.

Volos:

Ζώκυρος | Μνησιγένους | Κασσανδρεύς. *I.G.*, IX 2, 1180. For Olynthian Ζώκυρος, cf. Gude, *op. cit.*, p. 44 and *T.A.P.A.*, LXII, 1931, p. 50.

Rhodes:

Κράτων | [Κα]σσανδρεύς | χαιρε. *I.G.*, XII 1, 430. Cf. with another inscription from the vicinity of Rhodes: Εὐφρόνιος | Κ(σ)ασσανδ(ρ)εὺς | Χρηστὴ χαιρε. *I.G.*, XII 1, 429.

Pagasae:

Ἀριστόδημος | Ἀρτέμωνος | Κασσανδρεύς. Arvanitopoulos, *Θεσσαλικά Μνημεία*, I, Athens, 1909, no. 167, dated ca. 250 B.C. It should be of some interest to mention here another stele, no. 11, dated ca. 275-250 B.C. (closer to the former date) and inscribed: Σωσικράτεια | Ἀρτέμωνος | Μακέτα. Arvanitopoulos suggests the possibility that Sosikrateia could be the sister of Aristodemos. But the use of "Maketa," that is Macedonian, instead of "Kassandris" or "Kassandritis," has no easy explanation. If Sosikrateia is actually a Cassandreian, the use of "Maketa" would constitute an exception to the general practice of the Cassandreians in using their city's ethnic.

Ἐκαταῖος | Εὐρεπίδου | Κασσανδρεύς. Arvanitopoulos, *op. cit.*, no. 71, dated before 217 B.C.

Ἡδύλη | Χατριγένου γυνή | Κασσανδρεῖτις. Arvanitopoulos, *op. cit.*, no. 18, dated 275-250 B.C.

Athens:

Ἀπολλώνιος | Ἀριστοφάνου Κα(σ)ανδρεύς | Χρηστὴ χαιρε. *I.G.*, II², 8996 (III 2, 2515); date: late Hellenistic period.

Ἀρχιον | Διονυσίου | Κασσανδρέως | θυγάτηρ | Νικαγόρου | Κασσανδρέως | γυνή. *I.G.*, II², 8997, dated about the 3rd century B.C. The name Ἀρχιον is rare, but see Ἀρχιον Σικωνία on a gravestone in Athens, *I.G.*, II 3, 3327 and Charles H. Skalet, *Ancient Sicyon* (Baltimore, 1928) in *Prosopographia* no. 72.

Διονυσόδωρος | Ἀπολλωνίου | Κασσανδρεύς. *I.G.*, II², 8998 (II 3, 3055); Demitsas, *op. cit.*, 768. Dated in the 2nd century B.C.

Θάλλος | Ἀπολλωνίου | Κασσανδρεύς. *I.G.*, II², 9000 (II 3, 3057). From Piraeus, dated after the end of the 4th century B.C.

[Ζ]ωῆλος | [Κ]ασσανδρεύς. *I.G.*, II², 8999 (II 3, 3056). Dated toward the end of the 4th century B.C.

One inscription from Pagasae and four from Athens deserve some consideration. The inscription from Pagasae is on a painted stele (like many others from the place) and refers to Aristodemos, the son of Artemon, a Cassandreian, and is dated ca. 250 B.C.⁵³ What is of interest is the patronymic Artemon. There is a strong possibility that the father of Aristodemos was the famous Artemon, the Cassandreian, who is credited by Athenaeus with three books, by Harpocration with a book *On Painters*, and he seems to be the person referred to by Pliny as a painter.⁵⁴ His period of activity is placed around 300 B.C. Four factors in particular are in support of such an identification. It is a well-known fact that Pagasae attracted many painters as the number and variety of painted stelae discovered there would suggest;⁵⁵ Artemon's interest in the art and in the history of painting is evident from his book; there is a record of an Artemon, without the ethnic, among the painters at Pagasae;⁵⁶ and, finally, the chronology of the author Artemon and Aristodemos of our inscription. As it happens in identifications of this type, complete certainty is not possible, but the observation is worth reporting. In this case, we have not only the relationship of two Cassandreians living abroad involved but also the background experience of a Cassandreian author on painters who could have been a resident of Pagasae and practicing there as a painter.

Four inscriptions from Athens appear to belong to related persons. The identification is based on the inscription that refers to Sosibios Dionysiou

Φι[λ-] | Διονυσίου[υ-θυγάτηρ] | Κλειτομ[άρχου-γυνή]. *I.G.*, II, 2715. On the basis of letter forms it could be dated in the 3rd century B.C. For the formula, it can be compared with the Ἀρχιον inscription above, and the following restoration could result:

Φι[λαινῶ] or Φι[λαίνα Κασσανδρείτις]
 Διονυσίου[υ Κασσανδρέως θυγάτηρ]
 Κλειτομ[άρχου Κασσανδρέως γυνή]

I prefer the restoration Φιλαίνα for which there is an Olynthian parallel. Cf. Gude, *op. cit.*, p. 50; *T.A.P.A.*, LIX, 1928, p. 226.

Φιλαινῶ | Κλειτομάρχου | Κασσανδρείτις. *I.G.*, II³, 9002 (II, Add. 3058b); dated in the beginning of the 2nd century B.C.

Σωσίβιος | Διονυσίου | Κασσανδρέως. *I.G.*, II³, 9001 (II, 3058); dated in the 3rd century B.C.

53. Cf. Arvanitopoulos, *op. cit.*, no. 167; also, note 52, above, under *Pagasae*.

54. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, XII, 515e; XIV, 636e; XV, 694a; Harpocration, v. Πολύγνωτος, for the book *On Painters*; Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXV, 11, 40, 32.

55. For the three great schools of painting—the Sicyonian, the Attic, and the Ionian—active at Pagasae, see Arvanitopoulos, *op. cit.*, particularly the comments under no. 26, pp. 182-183.

56. Arvanitopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 31 (list of ancient writers on painting), p. 56 (among important painters at Pagasae).

Kassandreus (*I.G.*, II ², 9001).⁵⁷ It is dated in the 3rd century B.C. This Sosibios may be identified with his namesake who appears in *I.G.*, II ², 791 as *isoteles* and as having contributed fifty drachmas for himself and fifty for his son Dionysios, and this for the safety of the city.⁵⁸ The inscription records the *epidoseis*, or voluntary contributions, of citizens and foreigners living in Athens and is dated 232/1 B.C.

Unfortunately, the patronymic of Sosibios *isoteles* is not given, but it could be implied from the name of his son Dionysios. The result, then, would mean that Sosibios Dionysiou Kassandreus and Sosibios *isoteles* are one and the same. Again, here the chronological factor and the similarity of names can hardly be taken as accidental. But whether Sosibios or his father Dionysios is the original recipient of these privileges cannot be determined. The identification, however, of Sosibios Dionysiou Kassandreus with the Sosibios *isoteles* may further explain the presence of other Cassandreians in Athens. I am referring to the persons recorded in the other three Athenian inscriptions: Archion Dionysiou Kassandreos thygater, Nikagorou Kassandreos gyne, dated ca. the 3rd century;⁵⁹ a second inscription of approximately the same period, though fragmentary, could be restored with almost complete certainty as Philaina (or Philaino) Kassandritis, Dionysiou Kassandreos thygater, Kleitomachou Kassandreos gyne,⁶⁰ and a third inscription, complete, with the name Philaino Kleitomachou Kassandritis and dated in the beginning of the 2nd century B.C.⁶¹ It appears that the Philaino in the last inscription is the daughter of Kleitomachos and Philaina. With the patronymic Dionysios for both Archion and Philaina, we can reasonably assume that the two are sisters. Other relationships need not be speculated upon. The important fact is that we probably have here three or four generations of Cassandreians who settled in Athens and enjoyed the privileges of *isopoliteia*.

In conclusion, the epigraphical record of Cassandra, coming as it does not from any formal excavations of the site, is impressive enough in its content and variety. It does supplement in a significant way the scanty literary

57. See note 52, under *Athens*, above.

58. The inscription preserves the decree inviting citizens and foreigners living in Athens to make voluntary contributions (*epidosets*) for the safety of the city. The decree provides for public honors to the contributors and for their names to be posted in the agora; in addition, it prescribes the maximum of the donation at 200 drachmas and the minimum at 50. It is interesting to note that Sosibios' donation is the only minimum, yet the amount he gave for his son Dionysios must be taken into consideration.

59. See note 52, under *Athens*, above.

60. See *loc. cit.*

61. See *loc. cit.*

record and reflects in some measure Diodorus' remark⁶² to the effect that thanks to the amount of land, and fertile land too, granted to the city and thanks to Cassander's great ambition for its progress, Cassandreia soon made such strides that it became the greatest city in Macedonia.

At the same time, however, there is so much more that we would like to know regarding the historical developments of such a prominent city. A systematic excavation of the site is, naturally, the best hope; and this I strongly recommend.

JOHN A. ALEXANDER

Georgia State University
Atlanta, Georgia

62. XIX, 52, 3

PHILIPP V., PERSEUS UND DIE DELPHISCHE AMPHIKTYONIE

Wir wissen aus Polybios, dass in den späten Jahren seiner Regierung der König Philipp V. von Makedonien bei den Griechen nicht sehr beliebt war und sich auch nicht die Mühe gab, ihre Sympathien zurückzugewinnen. Wir wissen auch, dass sein Sohn Perseus, der ihm 179 auf den Thron folgte, einen ganz anderen Weg einschlug, indem er sich bemühte, mit den griechischen Staaten gute Beziehungen zu pflegen.

Eine Inschrift, die 1913 in Delphi gefunden und 1914 im Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique veröffentlicht wurde¹, scheint das Zeugnis des Polybios zu bestätigen. Aus dieser Inschrift, die einen Ehrenbeschluss der delphischen Amphiktyonie für Nikostratos von Larissa enthält, erfahren wir, dass im pythischen Jahre 186 die Thessaler und die Athener die Wiederherstellung der Amphiktyonie in ihrer alten Form veranlasst haben. Es ist uns leider keine Liste der damaligen Mitglieder erhalten und daher wissen wir nicht, was unter dem Ausdruck der Z.10f. εἰς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατὰ τὰ πάτρια gemeint war. Da sich aber die Vereinigung selbst als die Amphiktyonie der autonomen ἔθνη und der demokratisch regierten πόλεις bezeichnet (Z.2 ff.), da andererseits die Thessaler und die Athener alle Ursache hatten, den König Philipp zu hassen, hat man angenommen, dass die neu errichtete Amphiktyonie ihm sehr feindlich gesinnt war und seine Missetaten in der Weise vergalt, dass sie ihm seine zwei Sitze entzog². Sein Sohn Perseus dagegen, von dem wir aus einer anderen Urkunde wissen, dass er im J.178 durch zwei Hieromnemonen vertreten war³, wäre für seine wohlwollende Gesinnung belohnt und wieder aufgenommen worden⁴.

1. G. Blum, *BCH* 38, 1914, S. 25 ff. = *Syll*³. 613.

2. Vgl. *Syll*³. 613, Anm.2; P.Roussel, *BCH* 56, 1932, S.28; G. Daux, *Delphes au II^e et au I^{er} siècle*, Paris 1936, S.282 f., F.W. Walbank, *Philip V of Macedon*, Cambridge 1940 S.225 f.; E.Bikerman, *REG* 66,1953, S. 484; P. Meloni, *Perseo e la fine della monarchia macedone*, Roma 1953, S.95; E. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique* II, Nancy 1967, S. 206 f.

3. *Syll*³. 636.

4. Vgl. P. Roussel, *a.a.O.*, S.31; G.Daux, *Delphes*, S. 304 ff.; F.W. Walbank, *Philip V*, S.225; E. Bikerman, *a.a.O.*, S. 495; P. Meloni, *Perseo* S. 94 ff., E. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique* II, S. 217 ff.

Diese Interpretation der Formulierung ἔδοξε τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτονόμων ἔθνων καὶ δημοκρατούμενων πόλεων ist nicht so befriedigend, wie man es zuerst annehmen würde. Der eigentliche Grund, warum die Amphiktyonie reorganisiert werden musste, ist, dass seit fast hundert Jahren diese Vereinigung unter der Herrschaft der Aetoler gestanden hatte⁵, die ursprünglich nicht zu den Amphiktyonen gezählt hatten. Dieses Volk hatte nach 280 allmählich die Mehrzahl der Mitglieder der Amphiktyonie in seinen Bund aufgenommen, was zur Folge hatte, dass die aufgenommenen Mitglieder nicht mehr im eigenen Namen, sondern als Aetoler vertreten und ihre Hieromnemonen von den Aetolern bestellt wurden. Auf diese Weise hatten die Aetoler über diese Vereinigung einen entscheidenden Einfluss gewonnen. Diesen Einfluss hatten sie noch dadurch verstärkt, dass sie mehreren Staaten einen Sitz gaben, auf den diese Staaten keinen Anspruch hatten⁶. Schon im J.220, am Anfang des Bundesgenossenkrieges, hatten die Hellenen die Absicht gehabt, der Amphiktyonie ihre Selbständigkeit zurückzugeben⁷. Aber damals konnten die Aetoler nicht niedergeworfen werden und die Hellenen mussten auf eine freie Amphiktyonie vorläufig verzichten. Die ätolische Herrschaft über Delphi dauerte, wie man weiss, bis 189, als der römische Sieg über die Aetoler die Macht dieses Volkes endgültig brach.

Daher hatte die neu errichtete Amphiktyonie sehr gute Gründe, den Aetolern feindlich gesinnt zu sein. Dem König Philipp dagegen konnte sie eigentlich nichts vorwerfen (ich meine hier die Amphiktyonie als Gesamtheit und nicht ihre einzelnen Mitglieder): 1.weil Philipp im Gegensatz zu den Aetolern ein vollberechtigtes Mitglied der Amphiktyonie war 2. weil sich der König wie die Mehrzahl der anderen rechtmässigen Mitglieder während der ätolischen Herrschaft der Teilnahme an den Sitzungen enthalten hatte; 3.weil er 220 für die Befreiung der Amphiktyonie mitgekämpft hatte⁸.

5. Über die ätolische Herrschaft in Delphi ist grundlegend R. Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens à Delphes*, Paris 1937.

6. Es waren die Chioten (vgl. R. Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens à Delphes*, S. 228 ff.), die Kephallenier (vgl. Flacelière, S. 284 f.), die Athamanen (vgl. Flacelière, S. 296) und die Magneten vom Mäander (vgl. Flacelière, S. 323 ff.).

7. Pol. 4, 25,8. Auf diese Stelle hat mich freundlicherweise Ch. Habicht aufmerksam gemacht.

8. Im übrigen darf der Hass der Thessaler gegen Philipp V. nicht übertrieben werden: man hat in Larissa eine Inschrift gefunden, die einen Beschluss dieser Stadt über die ἐπισκοπή des Gymnasion enthält (SEG XIII, n.390 und 393; vgl. J. et L.Robert, *Bull.ép.* 1951, n. 125. Zur Finanzierung des Gymnasions sind reiche Leute um eine Spende gebeten

Eine genaue Interpretation der Formel ἐδοξε τῷ κοινῷ κτλ. wird tatsächlich zeigen, dass sie nicht gegen Philipp, sondern nur gegen die Aetoler gerichtet war. Aber bevor ich dies näher begründe, möchte ich eine andere Stelle dieser Inschrift besprechen, wo ebenfalls von Freiheit und Demokratie die Rede ist und die man ebenfalls als eine Spitze gegen Philipp verstanden hat.⁹ Es sind die Z.17 ff: ἐπετέλεσεν πάντα τὰ κοινῆς συμφέροντα τοῖς τε Ἀμφικτυοσιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσιν τοῖς αἰρουμένοις τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν. Diese Stelle kann aber nicht gegen Philipp gerichtet sein: denn Philipp ist ein König. Ein König kann die Freiheit und die Demokratie gewähren oder nicht gewähren. Aber es ist einem König unmöglich, Freiheit und Demokratie zu wählen. Die Hellenen, die Freiheit und Demokratie nicht wählen, müssen wir deshalb in Griechenland selbst suchen.

Um zu verstehen, wer damit gemeint ist, müssen wir verdeutlichen, was hier Freiheit und Demokratie bedeuten. Diese Formel hat man zweifellos mit Recht auf die berühmte Freiheitserklärung des Flamininus im J.196 bezogen¹⁰: an dieser Stelle sind die Freiheit und die Demokratie gemeint, die Rom den Hellenen 196 gegeben hat. M.a.W.: es ist die römische Ordnung in Griechenland, es ist die Ordnung, die Rom im Namen der Freiheit und Demokratie dort hergestellt hat. Die Hellenen, die Freiheit und Demokratie wählen, sind also die Hellenen, die die römische Ordnung anerkennen und diese Stelle ist gegen die Hellenen gerichtet, die die römische Ordnung nicht anerkennen und mit der römischen Freiheit und Demokratie nicht zufrieden sind. Das sind in erster Linie die Aetoler, die schon 196 protestiert hatten, weil sie weniger bekommen hatten, als sie erwartet hatten, und sich wenig später mit Antiochos gegen Rom verbündet hatten¹¹.

Kehren wir jetzt zur Z.2 ff. zurück. Eine direkte Spitze gegen Philipp hat man im Ausdruck δημοκρατουμένων πόλεων gesehen¹², damit habe die Amphiktyonie darauf hingewiesen, dass die Makedonen im Gegensatz zu den anderen Griechen kein demokratischer Staat waren. Das kann aber nicht sein: Makedonien war keine πόλις sondern ein ἔθνος und zu dieser

worden. In der Liste der Stifter, die dem Beschluss folgt, wird der König Philipp an erster Stelle genannt. Da Perseus, Sohn des Königs und Nikostratos von Larissa ebenfalls genannt sind, muss dieses Gymnasion nach 196 gebaut worden sein. Dies zeigt, dass nach dem 2. makedonischen Kriege die Beziehungen zwischen den Thessalern und dem König nicht so schlecht waren, wie man glaubt.

9. Vgl. G. Daux, *Delphes*, S. 283; *Syll.*³ 613 Anm. 2.

10. Vgl. P. Roussel, *a.a.O.*, S. 28.

11. Vgl. E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, Oxford 1958, S. 85 f.

12. Vgl. G. Daux, *Delphes*, S. 283 mit Anm. 4.

Zeit war man in der Unterscheidung zwischen πόλις und ἔθνος sehr genau.¹³ Den anderen Ausdruck αὐτονομῶν ἔθνων hat man so verstanden, dass er nicht gegen Makedonien selbst gerichtet war (Makedonien war ja autonom), sondern dass die Amphiktyonie damit die Stämme ausschliessen wollte, die von den Aetolern und vom makedonischen König abhängig waren¹⁴. Das würde aber heissen, dass ungefähr zehn Sitze unbesetzt blieben (eine Verteilung dieser Sitze an andere Staaten ist wegen der Formel εἰς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατὰ τὰ πάτρια undenkbar) und sich die neu errichtete Amphiktyonie aus etwa 14 Hieromnemonen statt 24 zusammensetzte, was durch die Formel εἰς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ebenfalls ausgeschlossen wird¹⁵.

Sprachlich und inhaltlich ist die bisherige Interpretation dieser Stelle unbefriedigend. Was soll sie dann heissen? Ich möchte auf den Ausgangspunkt meiner Darstellung zurückgehen: die Reorganisation der Amphiktyonie ist dadurch veranlasst worden, dass die Macht der Aetoler, die fast hundert Jahre über diese Vereinigung geherrscht hatten, von den Römern endgültig gebrochen worden war. Daher scheint es mir ganz sicher, dass mit der Formulierung ἔδοξε τῷ κοινῷ κτλ. die Amphiktyonie ihre Befreiung von der ätolischen Herrschaft verkündet. Sie gibt bekannt, dass im Gegensatz zur Vergangenheit die Mitglieder der Amphiktyonie wieder selbständig sind. Und tatsächlich wird man in der amphiktyonischen Liste des J. 178 (Syll.³ 636) alle alten Mitglieder wieder in ihrem eigenen Namen vertreten finden, so dass auf dem Papier die Aetoler überhaupt nicht mehr vorhanden sind¹⁶.

Dieser Schluss wird vielleicht überraschen. Um ihn näher zu begründen, möchte ich jetzt versuchen zu klären, was die Inschrift in ihrer Gesamtheit bedeutet. Sie enthält, wie ich schon sagte, ein Ehrendekret der Amphiktyonie für Nikostratos von Larissa. Wie er sich verdient gemacht hat, wird im Beschluss ausführlich dargelegt: er ist von den Thessalern beauf-

13. Im Übrigen waren die Makedonen selbst nie Mitglieder der Amphiktyonie gewesen. Ein Hinweis darauf, dass sie nicht demokratisch regiert waren und aus diesem Grund nicht zur Amphiktyonie gehören konnten, hatte daher keinen Sinn.

14. Vgl. G. Daux, *a.a.O.*, F.W. Walbank, *Philip V*, S.225.

15. Es ist auch zu bedenken, dass diese Stämme deshalb abhängig waren, weil es die Römer so gewollt hatten, indem sie dem König Philipp die Doloper und die Magneten zurückgegeben und den Aetolern im Vertrag von 189 einige Stämme überlassen hatten. Diese Stämme von der Amphiktyonie auszuschliessen, wäre in Wirklichkeit nicht so sehr ein Affront gegen Philipp und die Aetoler gewesen, als ein Affront gegen Rom, denn es hätte bedeutet, dass die Amphiktyonie mit der Entscheidung Roms über das Schicksal dieser Stämme nicht einverstanden war. Und das hätte der Senat in Rom sicher nicht gerne gehört.

16. In Wirklichkeit verfügen die Aetoler immer noch über die Stimmen der rechtmässigen Mitglieder, die in ihrem Bund geblieben sind. Vgl. unten Anm. 22.

tragt worden, die Wiederherstellung der Amphiktyonie zu veranlassen (Z.5 ff.). Dann ist er von der neu errichteten Amphiktyonie nach Rom gesandt worden mit dem Auftrag, dem Senat darzulegen, was die Amphiktyonen und die anderen Hellenen, die Freiheit und Demokratie wählten, beschlossen hatten (Z.13 ff.). Nach seiner Rückkehr ist er in Delphi aufgetreten und hat den Delphiern erklärt, was er in Rom getan hatte, und sie aufgefordert, der Entscheidung der Hellenen entsprechend zu handeln und sich so zu verhalten, wie es die Amphiktyonen wünschten (Z.22 ff.). Es gab also einen Streit zwischen Delphi und der Amphiktyonie und Nikostratos hat die Delphier aufgefordert, in diesem Streit nachzugeben. Dabei hat er sich auf zwei Argumente gestützt: einerseits hat er den Beschluss der Hellenen herangezogen; andererseits hat er sich auf das berufen, was er in Rom getan hatte. Daraus ergibt sich Folgendes: der Beschluss, den Nikostratos erwähnt, ist eine Entscheidung der Hellenen über den Streit zwischen Delphi und der Amphiktyonie und diese Entscheidung ist gegen Delphi gefallen. Die Gesandtschaft des Nikostratos in Rom geht ebenfalls um diesen Streit, und der Senat hat sich ebenfalls für die Amphiktyonie ausgesprochen, weil sonst Nikostratos den Delphiern davon nichts mitgeteilt hätte.

Leider sagt die Inschrift nicht, worin der Streit bestand. Dies lassen aber andere Inschriften aus Delphi mit Sicherheit erschliessen. Wir wissen nämlich aus mehreren Urkunden, dass nach der ätolischen Niederlage die Delphier von den Römern die Aufsicht über das Apollon-Heiligtum, die *ἱερὰ χώρα* und den heiligen Hafen erhalten hatten¹⁷. Dabei hatte M'.Acilius in seinem Brief an die Delphier ihnen versprochen, sie zu unterstützen, falls die Thessaler oder andere Griechen gegen die Entscheidung Roms Einspruch erheben sollten¹⁸.

Die Thessaler selbst hatten auf die Verwaltung des Apollon-Tempels in Delphi keinen Anspruch. Sie konnten nur als rechtmässige Mitglieder der Amphiktyonie geltend machen, dass die Aufsicht über den Tempel und das heilige Gebiet ursprünglich Angelegenheit der Amphiktyonie gewesen war und dass die Übergabe dieser Rechte an die Delphier ein Verstoss gegen die Tradition darstellte. Nun sind es eben die Thessaler, die 186 die

17. Diese Urkunden sind von P.Roussel, *BCH* 56, 1932, S. 1 ff. ausführlich behandelt worden. Vgl. auch G.Daux, *Delphes*, S. 259 ff.

18. *Syll.*³ 609 (besser bei P. Roussel, *a.a. O.*, S. 3.), Z.7 ff.: *περὶ δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερόν, εἴαν τε Θεσσαλοὶ, εἴαν τε ἄλλοι τινες πρεσβεύωσι, κειράσσομαι ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατὰ τὰ ἐμ[α]ν- τοῦ φροντίσαι ἵνα ὑμῖν κατὰμονα ᾦ τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπάρχοντα πάτερ[ια, σωζομένης?] τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ αὐτονομίας.*

Wiederherstellung der Amphiktyonie veranlasst haben, und Nikostratos war selbst ein Thessaler. Damit steht ausser Zweifel, dass der Streit zwischen Delphi und der Amphiktyonie, von dem in unserer Inschrift die Rede ist, mit den Befürchtungen der Delphier zusammenhängt: die neu errichtete Amphiktyonie wollte ihre Rechte über das Heiligtum und die *τερά χώρα* zurückerhalten. Dies war für sie eine entscheidende Frage, weil die Hauptaufgabe der Amphiktyonie, ihre Existenzberechtigung, gerade in der Aufsicht über das Apollon-Heiligtum bestand. Dieser Punkt muss besonders nachdrücklich betont werden: es war für die neu errichtete Amphiktyonie eine Lebensfrage, die Rechte über das Heiligtum und die *τερά χώρα* zurückzuerhalten. Wenn das nicht gelang, konnte sie sich gleich wieder auflösen.

Darüber konnte aber nur der römische Senat entscheiden. Wie ich schon sagte, hatte er den Delphiern diese Rechte verliehen und er allein konnte diese Entscheidung rückgängig machen. Die Schwierigkeit lag aber darin, dass die Amphiktyonie in Rom diskreditiert war¹⁹: da sie bis 190 von den Aetolern beherrscht worden war, hatte sie im antiochischen Krieg eine anti-römische Stellung genommen und dies ist auch zweifellos der Grund, warum Rom diese Vereinigung ihrer Rechte zugunsten der Delphier beraubte. Deshalb musste sich die Amphiktyonie zuerst bei dem Senat rehabilitieren. Sie musste den Römern erklären, dass die alte Amphiktyonie in Wirklichkeit nur aus den Aetolern und ihren Bundesgenossen bestanden hatte. Sie musste sagen (und dies war auch tatsächlich der Fall), dass die autonomen *ἔθνη* und die demokratisch regierten *πόλεις* (d.h. die *πόλεις* die die römische Ordnung anerkannt hatten) an dieser "ätolischen" Amphiktyonie keinen Anteil gehabt hatten.

Dies erhellt den ganzen Inhalt der Inschrift und lässt insbesondere die eigentliche Bedeutung unserer beiden Stellen klar erkennen. Nikostratos ist nach Rom gesandt worden, um den Senat um die Rückgabe der Rechte über das Heiligtum und die *τερά χώρα* an die Amphiktyonie zu bitten. Um dies zu erhalten, hat er dem Senat einen Beschluss überreicht, der von allen Hellenen, die den Römern freundlich gesinnt waren, gefasst worden war, und in dem sich diese Hellenen für die Wiedereinsetzung der Amphiktyonie in ihre herkömmlichen Rechte erklärten. Zugleich hat er den Senatoren klargemacht, dass die neu errichtete Amphiktyonie mit der "ätolischen" nichts zu tun hatte und ihre rechtmässigen Mitglieder für die anti-römische Einstellung dieser "ätolischen" Amphiktyonie nicht verantwortlich gemacht werden konnten.

19. Vgl. P. Roussel, *a.a.O.*, S. 22.

Dass es ihm gelungen ist, geht aus unserer Inschrift selbst hervor: sonst wäre er in Delphi gar nicht aufgetreten, und es wäre wohl die Ehrenurkunde auch nicht entstanden. Wir wissen es aber auch aus anderen Urkunden.: der Beschluss von 178 (Syll.³ 636) ist eine Entscheidung der Amphiktyonie über die *ἱερὰ χώρα*²⁰. Es wird auch von einem nach 166 gefassten Beschluss des römischen Senats bestätigt, aus dem hervorgeht, dass die Delphier versuchten, die Verwaltung über das Heiligtum und die *ἱερὰ χώρα* abermals vom Senat zu erhalten, der Senat aber beim Bestehenden blieb²¹.

Deshalb glaube ich, dass die zwei Stellen, die wir interpretiert haben, zwar gegen die Aetoler gerichtet waren, aber nicht die Absicht verfolgten, sie zu beleidigen oder das Ressentiment der Amphiktyonie gegen dieses Volk zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Was die Thessaler und die anderen Hellenen eigentlich wollten, war die Rückgabe der Aufsicht über das Apollon-Heiligtum an die Amphiktyonie. In Wirklichkeit enthalten unsere Stellen eine Gesinnungserklärung an den römischen Senat, von dem eine Entscheidung in dieser Angelegenheit abhing. In der Formulierung der Z. 2 ff. distanziert sich die neu errichtete Amphiktyonie von der "ätolischen" Amphiktyonie. In der Formulierung der Z. 17 ff. betont sie, dass alle Hellenen, die den Römern wohl gesinnt waren, die Rückerstattung dieser Rechte an die Amphiktyonie befürworteten²².

20. Das hat P. Roussel., *a.a.O.*, S. 30 gesehen, ohne allerdings die eigentliche Bedeutung seiner Beobachtung zu erkennen.

21. Vgl. M. Holleaux, *BCH* 54, 1930, S. 7 ff.—In diesen Zusammenhang gehört vielleicht auch das Fragment eines Briefes eines römischen Magistrates an die Delphier (Syll.³ 614): dieser Brief enthielt einen Befehl an die Delphier (vgl. die Formel *ὅμεις οὖν καλῶς ποιήσ[τε]* der Z. 3 [nach der Abschrift von H. Pomtow, *Klio* 16, 1920, S. 147]) und spricht von einem Beschluss aller demokratisch regierten Hellenen. Es ist möglich, dass hier der Beschluss gemeint ist, den Nikostratos 186 nach Rom brachte und dass in diesem Brief der römische Magistrat die Delphier auffordert, sich nach diesem Beschluss zu richten.

22. Dies erhellt wiederum die bisher ungeklärte Tatsache, dass in der Liste von 178 die Vertreter der Lokrer, der Ainianen und der Dorer in Wirklichkeit ätolische Bürger waren, dass also diese Stämme immer noch Mitglieder des ätolischen Bundes waren und ihre Hieromnemonen immer noch von den Aetolern bestellt wurden (dies hat W. Dittenberger, *Hermes* 32, 1897, S. 161 ff. zuerst erkannt). Dass diese Hieromnemonen nicht als Aetoler gekennzeichnet wurden hängt mit den Bemühungen der neu errichteten Amphiktyonis zusammen, sich im Auge der Römer von der "ätolischen" Amphiktyonie zu distanzieren.— Die Bemühungen der Amphiktyonie, den Senat von ihrer guten Gesinnung zu überzeugen, bezeugt auch das Dekret des Jahres 182, in dem sie die Asylie des Athena-Heiligtums in Pergamon anerkennt (vgl. G. Daux, *Delphes*, S. 293 ff.). In diesem Beschluss hebt die Amphiktyonie die Freundschaft hervor, die den König Eumenes II. mit den Römern ver-

Damit verliert die Annahme, Philipp sei von der Amphiktyonie ausgeschlossen worden, jede Grundlage. Es ist m.E. ganz sicher, dass dieser König im Besitz seiner Stimmen blieb, und dass sein Sohn Perseus dieses Recht von seinem Vater erbte.

Heidelberg

A. GIOVANNINI

bindet, und weist auf die Verdienste hin, die sich die Römer bei den Griechen erworben haben (Z.3 f. und 17 f.). Es wird ebenfalls die gute Gesinnung des Eumenes der Haltung der schlechten Könige gegenübergestellt (Z.8.f.) wobei in erster Linie die Könige gemeint sind, die gegen Rom gekämpft haben, nämlich Philip V. und Antiochos III.

L'ORIGINE DE LA MAISON ROYALE DE MACÉDOINE ET LES LÉGENDES RELATIVES DE L'ANTIQUITÉ

La question de l'origine de la maison royale de Macédoine ne cesse depuis l'antiquité d'intéresser la recherche historique et de donner motifs à des discussions contradictoires. En réalité, il s'agit de l'interprétation de certains textes de l'antiquité hellénique qui seuls, éloignés de plusieurs siècles de l'époque à laquelle ils se réfèrent, mais puisant de quelques traditions fondées dans l'intervalle du temps, peut-être même de sources qui ne nous sont pas parvenues, prétendent mettre en question la vérité historique.

La première place appartient indiscutablement aux écrits d' Hérodote, qui a vécu en Macédoine vers le milieu du Ve siècle et qui a recueilli sur place les traditions concernant la maison royale de Macédoine et la fondation de l'état Macédonien d'Aegai.

Que cette tradition fût locale, transmise pendant des siècles d'une génération à l'autre, l'affirmation d' Hérodote, selon laquelle les membres de la famille royale des Argéades se rendaient pour sacrifices aux bords du fleuve qui avait sauvé leurs ancêtres Héraclides venus d'Argos, ne nous en laisse aucun doute. D'ailleurs, ceci est prouvé par le fait qu'Alexandre Ier le Philhellène, déjà avant les guerres Persiques, se rendit en Olympie pour participer aux jeux, et là, allégua sa descendance des Argéades comme preuve qu'il était Hellène, originaire d'Argos et qu'il avait en conséquence droit de participation.

Remarquons que dans cette tradition on ne trouve aucun mot ayant trait à des opérations militaires. L'occupation de la région et la fondation de l'état macédonien, se présentent comme œuvre de la providence divine, comme une volonté des Dieux.

Hérodote ne nomme pas expressément l'emplacement où l'état macédonien a été fondé par les Argéades. Mais sa description ne laisse pas de doute sur l'installation des Argéades à Edessa-Aegai. La description admirable des jardins, où des roses de soixante pétales d'un parfum rare poussaient automatiquement, où les eaux coulaient abondamment en cataractes impétueuses, faisant même aujourd'hui de cette étendue de fleurs et d'arbres fruitiers un vrai paradis, s'identifie à cette région d'Emathie, qui se trouve

justement sous la montagne de Vermion, impraticable par les neiges pendant l'hiver, comme le veut Hérodote.

Cette tradition sur l'émigration des Téménides d'Argos en Macédoine, mentionnée pour la première fois par Hérodote, se trouve abondamment chez des auteurs postérieurs, surtout de l'époque Alexandrine et post-alexandrine, c'est-à-dire à une époque où la maison royale d'Aegai fut renommée dans le monde par les exploits du dernier roi, Alexandre le Grand. Ces auteurs postérieurs, pour la plupart, ne copient pas Hérodote mais puisent à d'autres sources historiques, poétiques ou chronographiques qui en grande partie ne sont pas parvenues jusqu'à nous. Ainsi nous avons une variété pittoresque d'assertions qui en tout cas ont la même base : l'émigration d'Agros des Téménides ou du Téménide pour la fondation de la dynastie et de l'état macédonien. Ainsi, Théopompe de Chio, élève d'Isocrate, cite une tradition selon laquelle le Téménide Caranos, frère du roi d'Argos Pheidon, émigra en Macédoine, s'installa dans la ville d'Aegai prise par lui. Cette tradition, avec un peu plus de pittoresque, se trouve dans la chronographie de l'auteur Byzantin Georges Synguellos, qui identifie Caranos comme septième descendant de Téménos et onzième d'Héraclès. Selon Synguellos, Caranos n'émigra pas en Macédoine comme un humble errant fugitif, mais il s'élança du Péloponnèse à la tête d'une armée de mercenaires pour la conquête de terres et la fondation d'un royaume. Après un oracle favorable de Delphes, il traversa avec son armée la chaîne du Pinde, il aida le roi des Orestiens dans sa guerre contre les Eordéens et après la victoire il prit la moitié des territoires de l'adversaire pour fonder son royaume, avec Aegai pour capitale. Cette tradition est suivie dans ses lignes générales mais avec une plus abondante variété de détails, par l'historien latin Justin (abrégé de l'histoire macédonienne, œuvre non conservée de Pompeios Trogos). Selon celle-ci, Caranos, avec un grand nombre de Grecs, après un oracle d'Apollon, suivit un troupeau de chèvres se dirigeant en hâte, à cause d'un violent orage, vers la ville d'Edessa. Les habitants d'Edessa ont résisté, mais Caranos, profitant de la nuit et de la pluie, et guidé par les chèvres, comme il était prédit par l'oracle, réussit à entrer et à occuper la ville, dont il fit la capitale de son état. En mémoire de cela, il donna à Edessa le nom d'Aegai.

Une autre tradition apportée par Ephorion, auteur du III^{ème} siècle av. J.-C., donne une autre variation. Caranos, guidé par l'oracle, vint en Macédoine non comme un berger inconnu, ni à la tête d'une armée conquérante, mais à la tête de colons Grecs, avec qui il fonda une ville (évidemment Aegai) et se proclama roi de la Macédoine. Pausanias aussi cite une

tradition selon laquelle le roi Caranos vainquit dans une bataille le roi d'une région voisine, Kisseus. Enfin, un auteur très postérieur, Constantin Porphyrogénète dans son œuvre sur les Thèmes, écrit que la royauté en Macédoine commence avec Caranos, qu'il considère comme le troisième fils d'Héraclès.

Une mention particulière est due à la tradition qui servit de sujet au grand tragédien de l'antiquité, Euripide, pour son œuvre "Archélaos". Euripide a vécu en Macédoine à la cour du roi Archélaos, ami des Muses, qui le combla d'honneurs et de faveurs. Euripide, reconnaissant, se chargea d'immortaliser la légende sur l'origine des Argéades, par une tragédie écrite sur place. De cette œuvre d'Euripide il ne nous est parvenu que quelques fragments, mais nous connaissons largement le sujet grâce à Yginus qui écrivit en latin des contes grecs au I^{er} siècle av. J-C., et parmi ceux-ci la légende sur la maison royale d'Aegai, d'après l'œuvre d'Euripide. D'après ce bref exposé tiré de la tragédie, le fils d'Héraclide, Téménos, qui d'ailleurs n'était appelé ni Perdiccas ni Caranos, mais Archélaos, chassé d'Argos par ses frères, émigra en Macédoine, où il se réfugia à la cour du roi Kisseus. Ce roi se trouvait en guerre avec ses voisins et, risquant de perdre tout, il promit au jeune Archélaos de lui donner comme épouse sa propre fille et son royaume en dot s'il l'aidait à vaincre ses ennemis. Archélaos à la tête des troupes lutta contre les adversaires de Kisseus, et les mit en déroute. Mais quand le danger disparut, Kisseus oublia ses promesses et tâcha même de tuer par ruse Archélaos, en l'entraînant vers un fossé plein de charbon en feu, couvert de buissons. Archélaos informé de l'intrigue perfide, réussit à entraîner le roi ingrat et barbare et à le jeter dans ce fossé provoquant ainsi sa mort. Puis, guidé par l'oracle d'Apollon et conduit par une chèvre, il se dirigea vers l'intérieur de la Macédoine où il fonda une ville, qu'il nomma Aegai, après cette chèvre qui le conduisit, s'instituant ainsi le fondateur de l'état macédonien et de sa dynastie.

Il est évident qu'Euripide a modifié ou a ajouté tout ce qui lui était nécessaire pour la présentation théâtrale de cette légende. Il donna au héros principal de l'aventure le nom d'Archélaos pour honorer son protecteur et bienfaiteur, le roi Archélaos.

Le nom Perdiccas, qu'Hérodote attribue au fondateur de la dynastie macédonienne, est purement macédonien, et cela prouve qu'il s'agit d'une tradition recueillie par Hérodote sur place. Ceci explique sans doute le fait que ce nom se retrouve chez plusieurs rois, princes et généraux de Macédoine. Par contre, le nom Caranos, que presque tous les autres au-

teurs anciens attribuent au fondateur de la dynastie, a comme source les plus anciennes traditions grecques. Il est d'origine dorienne et les Héraclides, parmi lesquels la tradition comprend les rois de la Macédoine, étaient considérés comme les représentants par excellence de la branche dorienne des Hellènes. D'autre part, le nom Caranos est en rapport étroit avec le mot très ancien de la langue grecque "κοῖρανος", ou, en dialecte dorien, "κάρανος". Il est fort possible d'identifier en signification les mots "κάρανος" et "κοῖρανος" comme venant de la racine "κάρα" qui signifie "tête" et par métaphore, commandement, pouvoir royal. Déjà dans Homère on trouve le mot "κοῖρανος" avec le sens de chef, seigneur, roi. Ainsi, il serait possible que dans le souvenir des générations postérieures, le premier roi de la Macédoine comme "κοῖρανος" ou "κάρανος" au sens de chef, de roi, prenne la forme d'un nom propre.

La légende des chèvres qui conduisirent Caranos est, croyons nous, le résultat de la synonymie fortuite avec le nom de la capitale de l'état Macédonien (Αἷρας - Αἷραι). Dans les derniers siècles de l'antiquité, les choses ont pris un sens inverse et on croyait que la capitale macédonienne devait son nom à la légende des chèvres. Aujourd'hui, il est généralement accepté que le nom de "Αἷραι" est dû à l'abondance d'eaux, coulant avec force vers la plaine et formant des cataractes. La racine "αἷρ" donnait en langue grecque ancienne la formation de mots signifiant "sources d'eau" ou simplement l'eau, ou même des régions et des villes où l'eau abondait. (αἷρια-λός, Αἷραιον, Αἷριον etc.). D'ailleurs, aussi bien la nomination plus ancienne, et en usage pendant toute l'antiquité d'Aegai pour "Edessa" que celle de provenance étrangère, "Βοδενά", ont la même origine, c'est-à-dire l'abondance d'eau dans cette région. Par conséquent, il faut chercher l'origine de la légende sur les chèvres (αἷρας) dans ce malentendu du sens du nom existant d' Αἷραι.

Dans un passage d'Appien, Argos d'Orestide est mentionné, et ensuite on trouve l'observation "d'où les Argéades macédoniens". S'appuyant sur ce passage Abel, Falmereyer, l'historien grec Carolides et quelques autres encore, ont exprimé l'opinion que les rois de Macédoine n'étaient pas originaires de l'Argos du Peloponnèse, mais de l'Argos macédonien d'Orestide. Ceci serait contraire à toutes les traditions anciennes et à tous les renseignements historiques que l'on trouve chez les auteurs anciens qui, tous sans exception, parlent de l'Argos du Peloponnèse. Appien, auteur postérieur du IIe siècle après J.-C., ignorait évidemment la légende sur les Argéades qu'il mentionna dans une observation intercalée au hasard. D'ailleurs, il est très probable que cette parenthèse, tellement étrangère au sujet d'Appien,

soit postérieure et intrusive. La mésintelligence est évidente, si nous prenons en considération le fait que toutes les sources anciennes ne parlent pas des Argéades, mais des Téménides-Argéades, c'est-à-dire des descendants de l'Héraclide Téménos d'Argos du Péloponnèse. Toute cette tradition sur les rois de la Macédoine n'aurait aucun sens si ces rois venaient vers Aegai, non de l'Argos du Péloponnèse mais de la petite ville homonyme de Macédoine.

A quelle date devrions-nous placer cette tradition sur l'émigration ou l'expédition militaire du prince Héraclide de l'Argos du Péloponnèse et la fondation par lui de l'état Macédonien? Hérodote mentionne sept rois depuis le fondateur de la dynastie jusqu'à Alexandre Ier le Philhellène, régnant à l'époque des guerres Persiques. Georges Synguellos puisant à la partie détruite de l'histoire de Diodore et de Théopompos, nomme Caranos onzième depuis Héraclès et septième depuis Téménos. De Caranos à Alexandre Ier il énumère aussi sept, dont il fixe les années de règne respectivement. Mais le nombre d'années du règne des trois derniers est effacé dans le manuscrit. Synguellos écrit que Caranos régna 18 ans avant la première Olympiade fixée généralement à l'année 776 av. J.-C., par conséquent Caranos vint en Macédoine vers 794 av. J.-C. Eusebius, auteur ecclésiastique et historien du IV^e siècle après J.-C., accorde dans sa Chronique une place importante à l'histoire macédonienne, fixant aussi les années du règne de chaque roi. La totalité des années de règne depuis le fondateur de la dynastie jusqu'à la mort d'Alexandre Ier, est de 344. Etant donné qu'Alexandre Ier est mort en 454, nous en concluons que l'an 798 av. J.-C. est la date donnée pour la fondation de l'état Macédonien. Mais en calculant les années de règne de tous les Argéades depuis Caranos jusqu'à Alexandre le Grand, nous avons en tout 480 ans, et étant donné qu'Alexandre le Grand est mort en 323 av. J.-C. la fondation de l'état Macédonien remonte à l'an 803 av. J.-C. Les diverses variantes, abrégés, etc. de l'œuvre d'Eusebius présentent quelques variations sur la fixation des années qui de toute façon ne dépassent pas une dizaine d'années.

Ainsi, selon les renseignements des auteurs de l'antiquité, la fondation de l'état Macédonien d'Aegai se place vers les dernières années du IX^e siècle ou vers les toutes premières années du VIII^e siècle av. J.-C. Reste à examiner dans quelle mesure on pourrait tirer des données historiques des traditions relatives au fondateur de la dynastie et de l'état Macédonien. Il faut avant tout mettre en rapport ces traditions avec nos connaissances historiques sur les migrations des peuples Grecs, soit d'après les renseignements tirés des sources littéraires, soit d'après les découvertes archéologiques. Jusqu'au VIII^e siècle av. J.-C. certaines régions de la Macédoine, dont les rois étaient bar-

bares, constituaient des états séparés. D'autres régions étaient occupées par des Grecs depuis leur descente du Nord vers le Sud. Surtout pendant la grande expansion dorienne, les peuplades grecques sont restées au-delà de l'Olympe et du Pinde appartenant soit aux Achéens installés précédemment, soit aux nouveau-venus. Les fouilles archéologiques ont déjà mis au jour des traces très anciennes de vie grecque. Les rois de ces régions habitées par des Grecs ou par une population mixte, étaient pour la plupart des Grecs, tandis que les rois d'autres régions avoisinantes, surtout vers les côtes habitées, du moins en grande partie, par des populations autochtones, étaient barbares.

Dans l'Iliade, pendant que les Grecs de la Macédoine, isolés à l'intérieur, sont passés sous silence, ce sont les Péoniens, maîtres encore des régions d'Axiros et ayant participé à la guerre de Troie, qui y sont cités comme alliés des Troyens sous leur chef Astéropée. D'autre part, les traditions précitées présentent les Argéades, dès leur arrivée en Macédoine, alliés des Orestiens contre les Eordiens et d'autres barbares avoisinants. Même la tragédie d'Euripide se rapporte à une tradition d'alliance entre le premier Argéade en Macédoine et le roi indigène Kisseus. Enfin, la tradition la plus ancienne, celle d'Hérodote, présente le fondateur de la dynastie arrivé avec ses frères, par l'Illyrie, dans la ville de la haute Macédoine Levaia, qui devait être située dans l'Orestide, étant donnée que l'Orestide, voisine de l'Illyrie, est en même temps la plus proche de l'Eordée et de l'Emathie où les Téménides étaient arrivés et s'étaient installés en passant simplement un fleuve.

D'après Hérodote, des tribus d'origine dorienne habitaient, aux temps très anciens, la région autour de l'Olympe et d'Ossa appelée Istiaiotis. Ensuite, cette branche dorienne habita le Pinde, appelée "Μακεδὼν ἔθνος" (nation macédonienne). De là finalement, elle se dirigea par la Driopide vers le Péloponnèse où elle s'installa, appelée "Δωρικὸν ἔθνος" (nation dorienne). Ainsi, Hérodote identifie les Grecs qui habitaient autour des chaînes de montagnes séparant la Macédoine de la Thessalie et de l'Epire, avec les Doriens du Péloponnèse. Conséquemment, nous croyons l'existence d'une tradition reliant les Doriens de la Macédoine avec ceux du Péloponnèse très possible. Plus particulièrement, Argos, avant la prédominance de Sparte, était considérée comme la Métropole des Doriens et ses rois légendaires, descendants d'Héraclès et de Téménos, sont loués par Eschyle comme les chefs et maîtres de toute la branche dorienne des Hellènes, depuis le Péloponnèse jusqu'au Strymon, la Macédoine y comprise.

En conclusion, nous sommes amenés à faire une interprétation historique des traditions sur les Argéades comme fondateurs de la maison royale

de la Macédoine. Une branche dorienne, conservant encore fraîche la mémoire de l'identité raciale aux autres branches émigrées et installées définitivement au Péloponnèse, conduite probablement par un membre de la famille royale, pendant ces déplacements pleins d'aventures qui ont rendu toute la nation πολυπλάνητον κάρτα, s'est dirigée finalement dans la direction inverse. C'est-à-dire d'une région probablement non éloignée du Pinde, une partie des Doriens, au lieu de prendre le chemin vers le Péloponnèse en suivant leurs co-nationaux qui les avaient précédés, pour des raisons qui nous restent inconnues (peut-être parce que les territoires intermédiaires étaient déjà bloqués ou parce qu'ils ont été appelés à l'aide par un autre peuple grec du nord du Pinde, attaqué par les barbares) a passé de nouveau les montagnes macédoniennes. Après une alliance avec l'état grec d'Orestide et peut-être avec celui d'Elimée, les Doriens, sous le commandement d'un Argéade, attaquèrent les barbares qui occupaient l'Eordée et l'Emathie. Selon toute probabilité, aidés de leurs co-nationaux des régions asservies par les barbares, ils ont exterminé ou chassé ceux-ci. Ainsi l'état macédonien a été fondé.

Il ne serait peut-être pas inutile de rappeler ici que pendant les temps de l'épopée le mot "Ἀργεῖοι" avait un sens bien plus large, un sens de nationalité, la nationalité hellénique. Dans ce sens on trouve le mot "Ἀργεῖοι" chez Homère comme les mots Δαναοὶ et Ἀχαιοί. Le mot Ἕλληνες, pour une indication d'ensemble de la nationalité grecque, n'existe pas à l'époque pendant laquelle les Macédoniens se sont séparés des autres Grecs et se sont isolés pendant des siècles au nord de l'Olympe et du Pinde. Ainsi, la tradition sur l'origine des rois Macédoniens d'Argos, présentant ceux-ci comme "Argéens" (Ἀργεῖοι) à une époque pendant laquelle on ne pouvait point parler d'Hellènes, pourrait être considérée comme ayant un sens national plus large pour les Macédoniens.

En conclusion, la vérité historique sous-entendue par la tradition sur les Argéades est que pour la seconde fois, probablement pendant la première moitié du VIII^e siècle, eût lieu une expansion des Grecs vers le nord. C'est ainsi que, de cette expansion, résulta la fondation de l'état macédonien qui s'étendit après des efforts constants de plusieurs siècles, sur toute la Macédoine et vers la Thrace, prédestiné aux temps de Philippe et d'Alexandre le Grand, à jouer un rôle si important à l'évolution de l'hellénisme et au sort de l'humanité même.

ΧΡΟΝΟΛΟΓΙΚΑ ΖΗΤΗΜΑΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΛΛΗΣ*

Ἡ χρονολόγησις ἀρχαίων μνημείων, ὅταν δὲν ὑπάρχουν ἀσφαλῆ ἀντικειμενικά κριτήρια, οὔτε ἀπόλυτος εἶναι οὔτε ἀναμφισβήτητος. Καὶ πλάναι εἶναι εὐλογοὶ καὶ διαφωνίαι μεταξὺ τῶν ἐπιστημόνων δυναταί. Εἶναι πάντως θεμιτὸν—καὶ βεβαίως ἐντιμον—νὰ ἀναθεωρῇ τις τὴν γνώμην του, ὅταν ἀπὸ νέα στοιχεῖα ἢ ἐπιμελεστέραν ἐξέτασιν τῶν προϋφισταμένων ἀναδύουν νέαι ἀπόψεις, τροποποιητικαὶ ἢ ἀναθεωρητικαί.

Τὰ χρονολογικὰ θέματα ποὺ θίγονται εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν ἀνακοίνωσιν ἀφοροῦν εἰς τὸν κεντρικὸν τομέα I τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν τῆς Πέλλης, ὅπου ἀπεκαλύφθησαν μεγάλαι οἰκίαι εἰς τεράστια οἰκοδομικά τετράγωνα (insulae), εἰς δύο ἀπὸ τὰς ὁποίας εὐρέθησαν λαμπρὰ ψηφιδωτὰ δάπεδα.

Εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐπίσημον ἐκθεσίν μου τὸ 1960¹ εἶχα ἐκφράσει τὴν γνώμην ὅτι αἱ οἰκίαι αὗται, ὥς καὶ τὰ ψηφιδωτὰ αὐτῶν δάπεδα, ἀνάγονται εἰς τοὺς πρώτους ἑλληνιστικοὺς χρόνους, εἰς ἄλλα δὲ δημοσιεύματα εἶχα καθορίσει ἀκριβέστερα κάπως τὴν χρονολογίαν των εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὸ 300 π.Χ. χρόνους. Ἡ γνώμη αὕτη ἐγινε κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἢ ἥττον ἀποδεκτὴ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσχοληθέντων τοῦλάχιστον μὲ τὰ ψηφιδωτὰ δάπεδα ἀρχαιολόγων, κρινόντων ταῦτα κυρίως ἀπὸ τεχνοτροπικῆς ἀπόψεως².

Οὐσιώδης διαφωνία προέκυψεν ἀπὸ τὸν Γ. Μπακαλάκην. Οὗτος, εἰς ἀνακοίνωσίν του, γενομένην ἐν Βερολίνῳ τὸν Μάιον τοῦ 1965 καὶ δημοσιευθεῖσαν τὸ ἐπόμενον ἔτος 1966, βασισθεὶς κυρίως εἰς τὸ ψηφιδωτὸν τῆς θήρας τῆς ἐλάφου, τὸ ὅποιον θεωρεῖ ὡς μεταλυσίππειον (Πίν. XIII-XIV), ἐκφράζει τὴν γνώμην, ὅτι ὅλη ἡ σειρά τῶν ψηφιδωτῶν τῆς Πέλλης, πρὸς τὴν ὁποίαν συνάπτει καὶ τὸ ἀποσπασματικὸν ψηφιδωτὸν δάπεδον τοῦ ἀνακτόρου τῆς

*Προσθήκαι τινες εἰς τὸ κείμενον τῆς προφορικῆς ἐν τῇ Συμποσίῳ ἀνακοινώσεως (27.VIII. 1968) ἐγένοντο ἐδῶ πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν τῆς μείζονος διασαφήσεως καὶ, κυρίως, τῆς βιβλιογραφικῆς κλπ. τεκμηριώσεως. Διόρθωσις ἐνὸς οὐσιώδους λάθους γίνεται ἐν σελ. 167 (βλ. ὑποσ. 17).

1. Χ.Ι. Μακαρόνα, Ἀνασκαφαὶ Πέλλης 1957-1960, *Ἀρχαιολ. Δελτίον* 16, 1960, 72-83, Πίν. 35-90.

2. Οὗτω, ὁ Μ. Ἀνδρόνικος, *Ancient Greek Painting and Mosaics in Macedonia, Balkan Studies* 5, 1964, 293, δὲν διαφωνεῖ κατ' ἀρχὴν πρὸς τὴν χρονολόγησιν ταύτην. Ἡ Gisela M. A. Richter εἰς τὴν 3ην ἀναθεωρημένην ἐκδοσιν τοῦ βιβλίου της *A Handbook of Greek Art*, 1963, 278, εἰκ. 398a, ἀποδέχεται αὐτήν. Ὁ Μ. Robertson, *La peinture grecque* (Skira) 1959, 170, ἔχει τὴν γνώμην ὅτι τὰ πρῶτα ψηφιδωτὰ δύνανται νὰ χρονολογηθοῦν εἰς τὴν ἐπο-

Βεργίνας, ανάγεται εις τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἔτος 275 π.Χ. χρόνους, καθ' οὗς ἐκτίσθη τὸ ἀνάκτορον, ἦτοι εἰς τὴν περίοδον τῆς βασιλείας Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Γονατᾶ³.

Ἡ γνώμη μου εἶναι, ὅτι τὸ ζήτημα χρειάζεται ἀναθεώρησιν: Φρονῶ ὅτι πρέπει νὰ ἀναχθῶμεν εἰς ἄρκετὰ παλαιότερους χρόνους, περίπου εἰς τὰ τελευταῖα ἔτη τῆς βασιλείας Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μεγάλου, εἰς τὴν μεταβατικὴν δηλαδὴ περίοδον ἀπὸ τῆς ὑστεροκλασσικῆς ἐποχῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἑλληνιστικοὺς χρόνους.

Ἡ τεχνотροπία ἐκάστου τῶν ψηφιδωτῶν «ἐμβλημάτων» ἐμφανίζει παραλλαγὰς, ὀφειλομένας περισσότερον εἰς τὰ χρησιμοποιοθέντα πρότυπα ἢ τὰ διάφορα ἐργαστήρια ἢ ἀκόμη τὴν διάφορον προσωπικότητα τῶν τεχνιτῶν ποὺ ἐφιλοτέχνησαν αὐτὰ καὶ ὀλιγώτερον εἰς χρονικὰς διαφοράς.

Τὸ ψηφιδωτὸν τῆς θήρας τῆς ἐλάφου, τὸ ὅποιον κατὰ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ΓΝΩΣΙΣ ΕΠΟΗΣΕΝ, παρουσιάζει τὰς μεγαλυτέρας τεχνотροπικὰς διαφοράς ἀπὸ τὰ ἄλλα, διακρινόμενον διὰ τὴν ἐλευθεριότητα τῶν κινήσεων, τὸν πλοῦτον τῶν χρωμάτων, τὰς συνιζήσεις τῶν μορφῶν, τὰς πολλὰς φωτοσκιάσεις, τὴν ἐντονωτέραν δῆλωσιν τῆς τρίτης διαστάσεως καὶ τὴν φυσικωτέραν παράστασιν τοῦ τοπίου μὲ τὰς ἀνωμαλίας τοῦ ἐδάφους κλπ. Δι' ὅλ' αὐτὰ ἐθεωρήθη ὡς «κρίσιμον» ἔργον ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐν γένει χρονολογικὴν τοποθέτησιν τῶν ψηφιδωτῶν «ἐμβλημάτων» τῆς Πέλλης. Δὲν νομίζω ὅμως ὅτι τὰ ἰδιαίτερα ταῦτα χαρακτηριστικὰ, φαινομενικῶς ὑστερογενῆ, εἶναι ἀπαγορευτικὰ διὰ τὴν προτεινομένην ἀναθεώρησιν. Ἦδη ὁ Καθηγητὴς Karl Schefold, εἰς τὸ προσφάτως κυκλοφορήσαν λαμπρὸν βιβλίον του *Die Griechen und ihre Nachbarn*, ἀνεκδοιάστως χρονολογεῖ τὸ ψηφιδωτὸν τοῦ Γνώσιος εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὸ 320 χρόνους⁴. Καὶ νομίζω ὅτι τοῦτο δὲν εἶναι ὑπερβολή.

Διαφέρουν ὅμως οἱ ἐκφραστικοὶ τρόποι τοῦ τεχνίτου ποὺ ἐφιλοτέχνησε τὸ ψηφιδωτὸν τοῦ Διονύσου ἐπὶ τοῦ πάνθηρος (Πίν. XV). Τὸ ψηφιδωτὸν τοῦτο, ποὺ δύναται νὰ θεωρηθῇ ὡς ἀντίπους τοῦ προηγουμένου, κυριαρχεῖται ἀσφαλῶς ἀπὸ περισσοτέραν κλασσικὴν διάθεσιν. Ἡ κομψότης, ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ εὐγένεια τῶν μορφῶν, τὰ καθαρὰ περιγράμματα, τονιζόμενα εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τὰ ἄκρα ἀπὸ μολύβδινα ἐλάσματα (Πίν. XVI)⁵, ἡ ἀποφυγὴ τῆς τρίτης διαστάσεως καὶ τῆς δηλώσεως τοῦ τοπίου (τὸ βάθος εἶναι ἐξ ὀλοκλή-

χὴν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἢ τῶν Διαδόχων. Εἰς μεταγενεστέραν ὁμοίαν μελέτην του (Greek Mosaics, *JHS.* 85, 1965, 89) χρονολογεῖ αὐτὰ μὲ μεγίστην πιθανότητα εἰς τὰ τέλη τοῦ 4ου αἰῶνος.

3. G. Bakalakis, Neue Funde aus der Umgebung von Thessaloniki, *Arch. Anz.* 1966, 537.

4. Propyläen Kunstgeschichte I, Berlin 1967, 228, π. 241.

5. Τὰ μολύβδινα ταῦτα περιγράμματα σχετίζονται πρὸς τὰς ἀναγλύφους γραμμὰς τῶν περιγραμμάτων τῶν ἐρυθρομόρφων ἀγγείων (Andronicos, *Balk. Stud.* 5, 1964, 294. Πρβ.: Robertson, *JHS.* 85, 1965, 75).

ρου μέλαν, ὡς εἰς τὰ ἐρυθρόμορφα ἀγγεῖα) δημιουργοῦν μίαν ἀτμόσφαιραν διάφορον ἀπὸ τὴν τοῦ ψηφιδωτοῦ τῆς θήρας τῆς ἐλάφου. Τὰ χαρακτηριστικά ταῦτα, εἰς τὰ ὁποῖα ὁ Ἀνδρόνικος διαβλέπει ἐποχικὸν μανιερισμόν⁶, ἐνθυμίζουν τὴν τέχνην τοῦ κρατῆρος τοῦ Δερβενίου, τὸν ὁποῖον ἐγὼ μὲν εἶχα χρονολογήσει μετ' ἐπιφυλάξεων εἰς τὸ τελευταῖον τρίτον τοῦ 4ου αἰῶνος⁷, ὁ Μπακαλάκης περὶ τὸ 300⁸, ἥδη δὲ ὁ Schefold ὡς οὐχὶ νεώτερον τοῦ 330⁹.

Ἐὰν αἱ ἐκφραστικαὶ διαφοραὶ μεταξὺ τοῦ ψηφιδωτοῦ τοῦ Διονύσου, ποῦ ἀπεκαλύφθη εἰς οἰκίαν τοῦ τετραγώνου 1, καὶ τοῦ ψηφιδωτοῦ τοῦ Γνώσιος, ποῦ εὗρέθη εἰς οἰκίαν τοῦ μεθεπομένου πρὸς δυσμὰς τετραγώνου 5, δὲν ὀφείλονται μόνον εἰς τὴν διάφορον διάθεσιν τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ἢ εἰς τὰ πρότυπα ἔργα ζωγραφικῆς ἢ ἀγγειογραφίας, τὰ ὁποῖα εἶχον ὑπ' ὄψει των καὶ ἐδῶ ἐπανελάβον οἱ τεχνῖται, ἀλλὰ σημαίνουν καὶ χρονικὴν διαφοράν, ἢ διαφορὰ αὕτη δὲν θὰ ἦτο σημαντική. Ἡ γνώμη μου εἶναι, ὅτι δυνάμεθα νὰ καθορίσωμεν τὴν χρονολογίαν ὅλης τῆς σειρᾶς τῶν ψηφιδωτῶν τῆς Πέλλης εἰς τὴν περὶ τὸ 320 δεκαετίαν.

Ἐπικουρικῶς, ἐνδεικτικὰ στοιχεῖα, δικαιολογοῦντα τὴν ἀναθεώρησιν γενικῶς τῆς χρονολογήσεως τῶν κτηρίων καὶ τῶν ψηφιδωτῶν δαπέδων τοῦ τομέως I τῆς Πέλλης, εἶναι τὰ ἀκόλουθα:

1) Οἱ τύποι τῶν γραμμάτων τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς *Γνώσις ἐπόησεν* τοῦ ψηφιδωτοῦ τῆς θήρας τῆς ἐλάφου καὶ τῶν ἐπιγραφῶν *Φόρβας, Θησεύς, Ἐλένη* καὶ *Δηϊάνειρα* τοῦ ψηφιδωτοῦ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς τῆς Ἑλένης ἔχω τὴν γνώμην ὅτι συμβιβάζονται πρὸς τὴν ἐποχὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μεγάλου. Χαρακτηριστικὸς εἶναι καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς ἀττικὸς τύπος τοῦ ρήματος *ἐπόησεν* ἀντὶ *ἐποίησεν*.

2) Ἀπὸ ἓνα ἀριθμὸν χαλκῶν νομισμάτων, εὗρεθέντων εἰς τὴν περιοχὴν τῶν οἰκιῶν τοῦ τετραγώνου 1, ἀρκοῦντως σημαντικὸν ποσοστὸν ἀνάγεται εἰς τὴν ἐποχὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ Β' καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μεγάλου¹⁰.

3) Ἐρυθρόμορφα ἀγγεῖα, εὗρεθέντα εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τομέα, χρονολογοῦνται εἰς ἐποχὴν παλαιότεραν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μεγάλου. Ἀναφέρομαι συγκεκριμένως, ἐκτὸς ἄλλων, εἰς μίαν πελίκην καὶ εἰς καλύμματα λεκανίδων

6. *E. d.* 295.

7. *Arch. Δελτ.* 18, 1963, Χρονικά σ.196. Ὡς σημειωθῇ ὅτι ὁ Στ. Κατωμένος, *Arch. Δελτ.* 19, 1964, 18, χρονολογεῖ τὸν πάπυρον, τὸν εὗρεθέντα εἰς τὸν τάφον Α τοῦ Δερβενίου, εἰς τὰ μέσα τοῦ 4ου αἰῶνος.

8. *E. d.* 534.

9. *E. d.* 119, πίν. 156 - 157.

10. Πρόκειται περὶ 237 νομισμάτων ἀποσταλέντων εἰς τὸ Νομισματικὸν Μουσεῖον Ἀθηνῶν καὶ καθαρισθέντων μερίμνη τῆς κ. Εἰρήνης Βαρούχα-Χριστοδουλοπούλου, ἢ ὁποῖα, κατόπιν προχείρου ταξινομήσεως, εἶχε τὴν καλοσύνην νὰ μοῦ ἀποστείλῃ συνοπτικὰ δελτία, ἐξ ὧν συνάγονται τὰ ἑξῆς:

που παρουσιάζουν ομοιότητας πρὸς ἀνάλογα εὑρήματα ἐξ Ὀλύνθου, ὅπου, ὡς γνωστόν, τὸ ἔτος 348, κατὰ τὸ ὅποιον ἡ πόλις κατεστράφη ὑπὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ Β', ἀποτελεῖ ἀναμφισβήτητον *terminus post quem* ¹¹.

4) Αἱ ἀρχικαὶ κεραμώσεις τῶν οἰκιῶν τοῦ τετραγώνου 1 τοῦ κεντρικοῦ τομέως τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν ἐβεβαιώθη ὅτι ἦσαν κορινθιακοῦ τύπου. Τὸ ὕλικόν, κεραμίδες καὶ σίμαι, ἦτο ἐπέισακτον, ἀγνωστον ὁμῶς πόθεν. Μετὰ τὴν ἀναπόφευκτον φθορὰν τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ τούτου κεράμου, ἐγένοντο ἀνακεραμώσεις, πιθανῶς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐποχῆς Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Δώσωνος, διὰ κεραμίδων εὐτελεστέρων, ἐγχωρίας κατασκευῆς, ψευδο-λακωνικοῦ τύπου, αἱ ὁποῖαι, ὅταν ἐφθειρόντο, ἦτο εὐκόλῳ νὰ ἀνανεώνωνται ἀπὸ τὰ πλείονα βασιλικά ἐργαστήρια ποῦ ὑπῆρχον εἰς τὴν Πέλλαν.

Αἱ ἀνασκαφαί, ἐκτὸς τῶν ἄλλων, ἔφεραν εἰς φῶς ἄριστα δείγματα τῶν πρώτων κορινθιακῶν κεραμώσεων, μερικὰ τῶν ὁποίων ἐδημοσιεύθησαν

Ἐκ τῶν 237 τούτων νομισμάτων τὰ 25 εἶναι ἐντελῶς ἐφθαρμένα καὶ ἀδιάγνωστα.

Τὰ ὑπόλοιπα 212 κατανέμονται ὡς κατωτέρω:

Μακεδόνων βασιλέων	122
Λυσιμάχου	1
Ἐφθαρμένα ἑλληνικά ἀγνώστου ἐποχῆς	14
Ἑλληνικά διάφορα 3ου π.Χ. αἰῶνος	7
» » 2ου π.Χ. αἰ.	8
Μακεδονικά 187 - 168 π.Χ.	20
Πέλλης Β' αἰῶνος π.Χ.	11
Θεσσαλονίκης Β' αἰ. π.Χ.	9
Μακεδονίας ἀπὸ τοῦ 148 π.Χ. καὶ ἐντεῦθεν	5
Ρωμαϊκὰ Δημοκρατίας	2

Τὰ 122 τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέων κατανέμονται ὡς ἑξῆς:

Ἀμύντας Γ', βέβαιον	1			σύνολον	1
Φίλιππος Β', βέβαια	27	πιθανὰ	7	»	34
Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μέγας, βέβαια	26	»	4	»	30
Κάσσανδρος, »	13	»	4	»	17
Δημήτριος Πολιορκ., βέβαιον	1			»	1
Ἀντίγονος Γονατῆς, βέβαια	9	πιθανὰ	2	»	11
Δημήτριος Β', »	3	πιθανόν	1	»	4
Ἀντίγονος Δώσων,		πιθανὰ	5	»	5
Φίλιππος Ε', »	12	»	2	»	14
Περσεύς, »	5			»	5

Ἡ ποσοστιαία ἀναλογία (52% περίπου) τῶν νομισμάτων Φιλίππου τοῦ Β' καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μεγάλου, ἐν σχέσει πρὸς τὰ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων βασιλέων, μέχρι τοῦ Περσέως, εἶναι περισσότερον ἀπὸ ἐνδεικτική.

11. Πρὸς τὴν πελίκην Πέλλης, *ΑΔ* 16(1966) π.75, πρβ. τὴν ἐξ Ὀλύνθου, D.M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus* V, ἀρ. 267, π. 120, ὡς καὶ τὴν κατὰ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην μὲν εὑρεθείσαν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὀλυνθιακοῦ ἐργαστηρίου προερχομένην — καὶ συνεπῶς πρὸ τοῦ 348

εις την πρώτην εκθεσιν τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν¹². Ὅρθῃ ἐκτίμησις τῶν αὐτόθι εἰκονιζομένων γραπτῆς σίμης καὶ ἡγεμόνος στρωτήρος ἐπιτρέπει τὴν ἀναγωγὴν τῶν εἰς τὸ δεῦτερον ἡμισυ τοῦ 4ου αἰῶνος.

Ἡ ἀναθεώρησις τῶν χρονολογήσεων τῶν οἰκῶν καὶ τῶν ψηφιδωτῶν τῆς Πέλλης δημιουργεῖ ἀναμφιβόλως διάφορα ζητήματα. Ἐν ἅπ' αὐτὰ εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐξῆς: Μήπως πρέπει ἐπίσης νὰ ἀναθεωρήσωμεν καὶ τὴν χρονολόγησιν τοῦ ἀνακτόρου τῆς Βεργίνας;

Ὅπως εἶναι γνωστόν, ἡ ἀνακάλυψις τοῦ ἀνακτόρου τῆς Βεργίνας ὀφείλεται εἰς τὸν ἐπιφανῆ Γάλλον ἀρχαιολόγον τοῦ παρελθόντος αἰῶνος Λέον Heuzey. Οὗτος, εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκθεσίν του, τὴν ὁποίαν ἐδημοσίευσεν τὸ 1860 εἰς τὸ βιβλίον του *Le mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie*, εἶχε χρονολογήσει τὰ ἐν μέρει ὁρατὰ ἀλλ' ἄσκαπτα τότε ἐρείπια τοῦ κτηρίου εἰς τοὺς χρόνους τῶν Διαδόχων τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἀλεξάνδρου. Μετὰ τὰς ἀνασκαφὰς δμως, τὰς ὁποίας ἐνήργησε τὸ 1861 μαζὶ μετ' ὁν ἀρχιτέκτονα H. Daumet, ἀνεθεώρησε τὴν πρώτην γνώμην του. Οἱ Heuzey καὶ Daumet εἰς τὸ βιβλίον των *Mission Archéologique de Macédoine*, Paris 1876, ὅπου γίνεται ἐκτεταμένος λόγος περὶ τοῦ ἀνακτόρου, χρονολογοῦν πλέον τὸ κτήριο εἰς τὴν ἐποχὴν Ἀρχελαίου τοῦ Α', ἥτοι εἰς τὰ τέλη τοῦ Ε' αἰῶνος, ἐντυπωσιασθέντες ἀπὸ τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐξαιρετον τέχνην τῶν ἀρχιτεκτονικῶν μελῶν του.

Τὸ σκαφικὸν ἔργον τοῦ Heuzey ἐσυνέχισεν ὁ ἀείμνηστος Διδάσκαλος Κωνσταντῖνος Ρωμαῖος κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1938-1940. Οὗτος ὑπεβίβασεν τὴν ἡλικίαν τοῦ ἀνακτόρου κατὰ ἓνα καὶ πλέον αἶθνα, χρονολογήσας αὐτὸ εἰς τὴν μακρὰν περίοδον τῆς βασιλείας Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Γονατᾶ¹³. Ἡ γνώμη τοῦ Ρωμαίου ἐγενεν ἀποδεκτή καὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς συνεχιστὰς τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ ὀμιλητής¹⁴.

Εἶναι ἀληθὲς ὅτι τὰ κινητὰ εὐρήματα τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν δὲν ὑπῆρξαν πρόσφορα διὰ μίαν ἀντικειμενικωτέραν ἀντιμετώπισιν τοῦ θέματος τῆς χρονολογίας. Ἐχῶ τὴν γνώμην, ὅτι τὸ ζήτημα πρέπει νὰ ἐξετασθῇ ἐκ νέου, ἐν ὧν τῶν ἐν τῇ μεταξὺ εὐρεθέντων ψηφιδωτῶν ἀπαέδων καὶ τῶν κεραμῶσεων καὶ ἐν συσχετισμῷ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰς τῆς Πέλλης.

Ὁ Γ. Μπακαλάκης νομίζω ὅτι ὀρθῶς συνεσχέτισεν τὰ ψηφιδωτὰ τῆς Πέλλ-

χρονολογουμένην—horse pelice, *Exc. at. Ol. XIII*, ἀρ. 46, πίν. 60. Πρὸς τὰ ἐκ Πέλλης καλύμματα λεκανίδων, *ἔ.δ.* πίν. 74, πρβ. τὰ ἐξ Ὀλύμπου παράλληλα, *Exc. at. Ol. V*, ἀριθ. 267, πίν. 120 καὶ *XIII* ἀρ. 61, 64, 65, πίν. 85, 87, 88.

12. *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 16, 1960, π. 67.

13. Διὰ τὰς χρονολογήσεις αὐτὰς τῶν Heuzey-Daumet καὶ Ρωμαίου βλ. *BCH* 63, 1939, 137, Κ.Α. Ρωμαίου, *Μικρὰ Μελετήματα* σ. 111.

14. Μ. Ἀνδρονίκου-Χ. Μακαρόνα - Ν. Μουτσοπούλου - Γ. Μπακαλάκη, *Τὸ ἀνάκτορον τῆς Βεργίνας*, Ἀθ. 1961, 29-30.

λης πρὸς τὸ ἀποσπασματικὸν ψηφιδωτὸν δάπεδον τοῦ δωματίου G τοῦ ἀνακτόρου¹⁵. Ἄς μοῦ ἐπιτραπῇ νὰ προσθέσω, ὅτι δυνάμεθα νὰ συνάψωμεν καὶ τὸ ψηφιδωτὸν τοῦ δωματίου E (Πίν. XVII) πρὸς τὰ τῆς Πέλλης, ἰδίως πρὸς τὸ ψηφιδωτὸν τῆς θόλου τοῦ τομέως VI (Πίν. XVIII) καὶ τὸ τοῦ Γνώσιος. Ὁ φυτικός διάκοσμος τῶν δύο πρώτων καὶ τοῦ πλαισίου ποὺ περιβάλλει τὸ «ἐμβλημα» τοῦ τρίτου προβάλλουν τόσας θεματικὰς καὶ τεχνοτροπικὰς ἀναλογίας, ὥστε ἡ σχέσις των δὲν δύναται νὰ παραβλεφθῇ.

Ἡ κορινθιακὴ ἐξ ἄλλου κεράμωσις τοῦ ἀνακτόρου μᾶς παρέχει πολλὰς ὁμοιότητας πρὸς τὰς τῆς Πέλλης. Ἡ ἀντιπαραβολὴ τῶν γραπτῶν σιμῶν καὶ ἡγεμόνων κεραμίδων Πέλλης καὶ Βεργίνας βεβαιώνει τὴν χρονολογικὴν σχέσιν¹⁶. Ἀντικειμενικώτερον, ἡ σχέσις αὕτη ἐπικυροῦται καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ γεγονός, ὅτι πανομοιότυπον σφράγισμα κεραμίδων ἔχει εὑρεθῇ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀνάκτορον καὶ εἰς τὴν Πέλλαν. Τὸ σφράγισμα τοῦτο, ἐλλειψοειδοῦς σχήματος, ἐν ᾧ εἰκονίζεται ἀναγλύφως ἀλέκτωρ¹⁷, ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁποίου ἔχει ὀρμήσει ἄγριον ὄρνειον (Πίν. XIX), ὁποδεικνύει ὅτι κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐποχὴν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐργαστηρίου εἶχε γίνῃ ἡ προμήθεια τοῦ ὀλικοῦ τῶν κεραμώσεων καὶ τοῦ ἀνακτόρου τῆς Βεργίνας¹⁸ καὶ τῶν οἰκίδων τῆς Πέλλης.

Μὲ τὴν ἐπανεξέτασιν τοῦ θέματος δὲν πρόκειται βεβαίως νὰ γεφυρωθῇ τὸ εὐρὺ χάσμα τῶν 125 περίπου ἐτῶν μεταξὺ τῶν χρονολογήσεων Heuzey-Daumet καὶ Ρωμαίου. Εἶναι δυνατόν ὅμως τοῦτο νὰ μετριάσθῃ.

Ἰδρυμα Μελετῶν Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἴμου

X.I. MAKAPONAS

15. *E.d.* 537.

16. Βλ. *AA* 16, 1960, π. 67. Πρβ. Μ. Ἀνδρονίκου κλπ. *E.d.* πίν. 25. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀρχιτεκτονικὸν ὄλικόν πρέπει νὰ ἐπανεξετασθῇ ἀπὸ ἀπόψεως χρονολογικῆς. Ἦδη ὁ A.W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture* (The Pelican History of Art) 306, ἐκφράζει τὴν γνώμην ὅτι τὰ δωρικά κιονόκρανα τοῦ ἀνακτόρου apparently belong to the mid fourth century.

17. Κατὰ τὴν προφορικὴν ἀνακοίνωσίν μου εἰς τὸ Συμπόσιον (27 Αὐγούστου 1968) εἶχε λεχθῇ ὅτι εἰς τὸ σφράγισμα τοῦτο «εἰκονίζεται ὀρθία ἀνδρική μορφή ἐντὸς ἐλλειψοειδοῦς πλαισίου». Ἐπρόκειτο περὶ λάθους, ὀφειλομένου εἰς σύγχυσιν τῶν σημειώσεών μου.

18. Δημιουργοῦνται ἤδη ἀμφιβολίαι μήπως δὲν πρόκειται περὶ ἀνακτόρου. Ἐκτὸς τῆς γνώμης τοῦ R.A. Tomlinson, τῆς ἀνακοινωθείσης ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ τούτῳ (βλ. κατωτέρω), καὶ ὁ C. M. Robertson, *JHSr.* 85, 1965, 85, φαίνεται νὰ ἀμφιβάλλῃ ἂν πρόκειται περὶ μεγάλης οἰκίας ἢ ἀνακτόρου. Τὸ θέμα ἴσως διευκρινηθῇ ὀριστικῶς διὰ τῶν συνεχιζομένων ἀνασκαφῶν.

EXCAVATIONS AT VERGINA PRESENTATION OF THE FINAL REPORT

I suppose every archaeologist knows about the discoveries made in the excavations at Vergina which began in 1951. Since then I have published several articles and in two short essays I have tried to give a first general summary of the discoveries. When I was invited to this Symposium, the work of bringing out the final publication had already begun. I have therefore thought it superfluous and useless to read yet another short paper which would only be a repetition of what I have written earlier or of what I have already given at the VIth International Congress for Pre- and Protohistorical Studies, in Rome in 1962. But as the organisers of this Symposium have judged that a presentation of my book which is 'already being printed would be acceptable, I venture to occupy a little of your time with it and to bring before you some of the final conclusions in which my investigation has resulted.

As is well-known, the excavation of Vergina was carried out with a grant from the Archaeological Society, which was also willing to meet the expense of printing the book. I must state that only this generous decision of the Society could have enabled a right presentation of the discoveries, since the cost of the work will be very heavy. I need only mention that in this book there will be included 265 drawings and 1100 photographs of almost all the objects found in the tombs of this unique cemetery, while the text will run to about 300 pages of large quarto.

The presentation of such abundant material alone will provide a significant contribution, I believe, to the study of Early Iron Age in Macedonia. There are 544 vases, of which two are of Mycenaean shape and 31 proto-geometric. These represent more than 31 varieties and constitute a collection which provides a firm basis for a systematic study of Macedonian pottery from the 10th up to the 8th century B.C. Even more abundant and more important are the bronze ornaments and iron weapons: 632 bronze ornaments, among which I do not include the 890 small "studs," 440 necklace beads and other small objects, and 92 iron weapons. The bronze ornaments are divided into 13 large classes, while there are many others unique or found in small numbers. The iron weapons are of 4 kinds: swords, knives or daggers, spear-heads and arrow heads. It is worth observing that whereas everywhere else on

Greek soil (including Cyprus) there have been found till now 80 such swords of this period, only in Vergina have there been found 16 such swords (and I refer only to my own excavations) among which one, 1,06m. long, is the longest of all so far discovered.

But the abundance of the material taken alone would not contribute as many points of interest as the fact that all these objects have been found in closed funerary deposits which were excavated with every care and were sketched and photographed on the site, so that no detail should be lost that would be useful for their study.

Here it is impossible in the short time in my disposal to present all the problems which have to be met and their solutions which are proposed in the final publication which I bring to your notice. I confine myself simply to the most significant points, which can be grasped without great analysis. The pottery of Vergina shows that basically the inhabitants of the area continue the old Macedonian ceramic tradition of the Bronze Age. Along with this, however, they preserve a faint recollection of Mycenaean pottery, while they are very strongly influenced by the protogeometric pottery of southern Greece, probably through Thessaly, although Cycladic mediation is not ruled out. Very interesting, though limited and weak, is the evidence of a ceramic tradition which must have been derived from the areas of Central Europe and which extends to Troy (VIIb).

In contrast with the pottery, the bronze ornaments must be connected with a European tradition of the Bronze Age. The pins, the fibulae, the bosses, the spiral metal headbands, the rings with the spiral ornament, the large necklaces, the numerous "studs" and all the objects collectively and separately are elements which cannot be derived from the previous tradition of Macedonia nor proceed from southern Greece. This proves that the inhabitants of Vergina preserve an ancient European tradition which goes back to the middle period of the Bronze Age. We can also confirm the same derivation for the type of sword which prevails at Vergina, the type known as *Naue II*. Yet this type reached southern Greece earlier than the 10th century B.C. and possibly its appearance in Macedonia is due to its having spread there from Greece.

The presence of tumuli is important. Although, as I have shown in a special study, the tumuli are known throughout Greek territory from 2000 B.C. and are constructed in every succeeding period, the existence of a complete cemetery with more than 300 tumuli is unique in Greece. The *Tumuluskultur* on the other hand constitute an almost universal phenomenon for the continent of Europe.

The general chronological problem of the cemetery and the special chronological problems of each category of the finds are examined with great care in this final publication. I believe that all these tombs without any doubt are to be dated between the 10th and the 8th century B.C. I also propose a date for the Protogeometric pottery of Macedonia somewhat earlier than that accepted by Desborough in his book *Protogeometric Pottery* which was questioned by my late colleague Dr. N. Verdelis in dealing with Thessalian Pottery. I also consider that the spectacle fibulae of Vergina or at least some of them may be dated even to the beginning of the 9th century and not to its end or to the middle of the 8th as is usually assumed. On the other hand the "bosses", which Gero von Merhardt dated to the 11th century must go down to the end of the 10th or to the beginning of the 9th. Here I note in passing that there can be no doubt about the use of the Vergina "bosses." They are belt ornaments and they are the only "bosses" for the use of which there can be no doubt. As regards all the other Greek "shield -bosses" we cannot be sure with absolute certainty what was their purpose.

But apart from all these special archaeological problems the discoveries of Vergina confirm, I think, the view I expressed 14 years ago in the journal "*Hellenika*" in Greek, with the title "The Dorian Invasion and the archaeological finds," as well as in the VIIth Intern. Congress for Pre- and Proto-historical Studies 2 years ago. The older view about the "Dorian Invasion" has been recently very strongly supported by our colleague Vl. Milošević. According to this view Dorians were a race that descended into Greece at the beginning of the 12th century B.C. from the North (e.g. from Illyria, in the view of Milošević). In this case they would have to pass through Macedonia. In fact we see that the material we find at Vergina may belong to a tradition of European areas, especially those in Central Europe. The date too of its presence in Macedonia coincides with that of the so-called "Dorian Invasion." The logical conclusion must be that the people in question are the Dorians. But if this conclusion is sound, then we should find in southern Greece also, in the areas occupied by the Dorians the "new" objects which we find at Vergina (bosses, pins, bracelets etc). Archaeological research, however, does not confirm this. Similar material appears in Thessaly, admittedly somewhat dispersed, and even more dispersed and rare in the remainder of Greece. But this cannot support the view of a Dorian invasion which overwhelms Greece and destroys Mycenaean Civilisation. The only satisfactory interpretation, in my view, is that a great movement of peoples, observable in Central Europe in the 13th century B.C. and superimposing the *Urnenfelderkultur* of the *Tumuluskultur* has far reaching repercussions on the

areas of Greek territory. The turmoil created there in combination with the weakening of the Mycenaean kingdom creates the movement of certain races from the N.W. of Greece to the South. These races must be the Dorians as the Greek tradition allows (the return of Heraclidae) and linguistic material also permits us to suppose it (the researches of my colleague Prof. M. Sakellariou will, I hope, throw enough light on the fundamental problem when they are published). Consequently the "Dorian Invasion" about which we hear so much must be an endohellenic event produced by a more general movement of peoples on the last phase of the Bronze Age. I consider it both probable and natural that this movement should have repercussions both on Troy and on the rest of Asia Minor and possibly beyond it. But I am neither able nor fit to follow this up.

Therefore, with the publication of the volume of which I have the honour to present you with the first printed pages, I hope to offer both to my colleagues who are concerned with the problems of Greek archaeology and those of them who are investigating European prehistory useful material, which will induce them to advance towards the gathering of conclusions beyond whatever I have succeeded in providing within the pages of this book.*

University of Thessaloniki

MANOLIS ANDRONIKOS

* See: Μαν. Ἀνδρονίκου, *Βεργίνα. I, Τὸ νεκροταφεῖον τῶν τύμβων*. Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, ἀρ. 62. Athens, 1969, pp. 298+135 Plates.

ΤΟ ΛΑΤΟΜΕΙΟ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΑΣ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ (;)

1. Τὸ χρονικὸ τῆς ἀνεύρεσης τοῦ ἀρχαίου λατομείου.

Ἐχοντας σὰν σκοπὸ τὴν συγκέντρωση τῶν τοπωνυμίων τῶν νότιων προσβάσεων τοῦ ὄρους Πάικου, καθὼς καὶ τῶν παραδόσεων ποὺ συνδέονται μὲ αὐτά, ἐπισκέφθηκα στὶς 15 Αὐγούστου 1967 τὴν Ἀραβυσσοῦ (παλαιὰ ὀνομασία: Ὁμπαρ), χωριὸ τῆς ἐπαρχίας Γιαννιτσῶν, χτισμένο κοντὰ στὴ θέση «Παλαιόκαστρο» (βλ. χάρτη Εἰκ. 1).

Στὴν πλατεία τοῦ χωριοῦ ὁ κ. Ἀστέριος Ἀμπάζιος, 60 χρόνων, βλάχος ἀπὸ τὰ Μεγάλα Λειβάδια τοῦ Πάικου, κάτοικος Ἀραβυσοῦ, εἶχε τὴν καλοσύνη νὰ μὲ ἐνημερώσῃ σχετικὰ μὲ τὰ βλαχόβετα τοπωνύμια τῶν προσβάσεων τοῦ Πάικου ποὺ ἐκτείνονται βορειοδυτικὰ ἕως βορειοανατολικά τῆς Ἀραβυσοῦ. Ἀνάμεσα σὲ ἄλλα, μοῦ ἀνέφερε ὅτι στὴ Βακαρεάτσα, τὸ βοσκοτόπι ποὺ ἀπλώνεται στὴν πλαγιά τοῦ βουνοῦ ἀκριβῶς πάνω ἀπὸ τὸ χωριό, βρίσκεται μιὰ τοποθεσία ποὺ λέγεται Καλούκι (Καλούπια), γιατί ὑπάρχουν ἐκεῖ μεγάλες πέτρες πελεκημένες, ποὺ μοιάζουν μὲ «καλούπια» σαπουνιοῦ. Ζήτησα ἀμέσως νὰ μάθω ἂν συνδέεται καμιά παλιὰ ἱστορία μὲ τὴν τοποθεσία αὐτὴ καὶ ἄκουσα ἀπὸ τὸν κ. Ἀναστάσιο Λέντζο, 30 χρόνων, βλάχο ἀπὸ τὰ Μεγάλα Λειβάδια τοῦ Πάικου, κάτοικο τῆς Ἀραβυσοῦ, τὴν παρακάτω παράδοση:

«Στὰ πολὺ παλιὰ χρόνια, τὸ Παλαιόκαστρο ἦταν μιὰ μεγάλη πολιτεία ὅπου ζοῦσαν ἄνθρωποι πολὺ δυνατοὶ καὶ πολὺ ψηλοὶ· τόσο ψηλοὶ, ποὺ τὸ κάθε πλευρό τους ἦταν μακρὸ ὅσο μιὰ ἀνοιχτὴ ἀγκαλιά—βρῆκαν οἱ παλιοὶ κάποτε ἓνα τέτοιο πλευρό¹. Πήγαιναν στὴν Βακαρεάτσα καὶ ἔκοβαν μεγάλες πέτρες στὰ «Καλούπια». Τὶς πελεκοῦσαν καὶ τὶς τετραγώνιζαν ἔτσι ποὺ νὰ μοιάζουν μὲ τεράστια καλούπια σαπουνιοῦ καὶ ἄφηναν κάτι προεξοχὲς στὶς πλευρές, γιὰ νὰ μποροῦν νὰ τὶς σηκώνουν πιδ εὐκολα. Οἱ ἄνθρωποι αὐτοὶ εἶχαν καὶ ἄλογα πολὺ μεγάλα καὶ πολὺ δυνατά. Ἀφοῦ πελεκοῦσαν τὶς πέτρες, φόρτωναν ὁ καθένας στὸ ἄλογό του ἀπὸ δύο—μιὰ ἀπὸ τὴ μιὰ πλευρὰ καὶ μιὰ ἀπὸ τὴν ἄλλη—καὶ μιὰ τρίτῃ πέτρα φορ-

1. Ζήτησα νὰ μοῦ διευκρινίσουν γιατί ὀνομάζεται Ὅς (Κόκκαλο) μιὰ τοποθεσία ποὺ βρίσκεται πάνω ἀπὸ τὴν Βακαρεάτσα, ἀλλὰ κανεὶς δὲν μπόρεσε νὰ μοῦ δώσῃ κάποια ἐξήγηση.

τώνονταν στὴ δική τους ράχη. Ἔτσι μεταφέρονταν οἱ πέτρες τρεῖς-τρεῖς στὸ Παλαιόκαστρο, τὸν τόπο τῆς παλιᾶς πολιτείας. Καὶ ἦσαν τόσο δυνατοὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι αὐτοί, ποὺ κανεὶς δὲν μποροῦσε νὰ τὰ βάλῃ μαζί τους· ἀκόμη καὶ βέλη νὰ τοὺς ἐρριχναν, τὰ ἐπιαναν μὲ τὰ χέρια. Καὶ πέθαιναν μόνον ἀπὸ σκονταμόν».

Ἡ παράδοση αὕτῃ ἔχει ὅλα τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς νεοελληνικῆς παράδοσης γιὰ τοὺς «Ἕλληνες», τοὺς παλιούς, ὑπερφυσικοὺς σὲ ἀνάστημα καὶ δύναμη, ἀνθρώπους, παράδοσης ποὺ ἐξακολουθεῖ νὰ ζῇ ἀκόμη καὶ σήμερα στὴν φαντασία τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ, σὲ πανελλήνια ἔκταση καὶ σὲ ποικιλότατες παραλλαγές². Ἡ παραλλαγή ὁμῶς τῆς Ἀραβυσοῦ ἔχει κάποιον στοιχεῖο ποὺ δὲν ἀνευρίσκεται στὶς ἄλλες παραλλαγές, παλιές καὶ νεώτερες: Ἐνῶ δηλ. στὶς ἄλλες οἱ ὑπερφυσικοὶ ἄνθρωποι διαγωνίζονται στὸ λιθάρι μὲ μυλόπετρες ἢ μετακινοῦν βράχους καὶ βουνὰ μόνον μὲ τὰ δικά τους χέρια, στὴν παραλλαγή τῆς Ἀραβυσοῦ μεταφέρουν δόμους στὴ ράχη τους, ἔχουν ὁμῶς καὶ ἄλογα, καμωμένα στὰ δικά τους μέτρα φυσικά, ποὺ τοὺς βοηθοῦν στὴ μεταφορά. Γιὰ ποῖο τάχα λόγο; Ἴσως γιὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖα κτίσματα ποὺ γέννησαν τίς ἄλλες παραλλαγές τῆς παράδοσης³ εἶναι τετελεσμένα: αὐτὸ εἶναι τὸ κοινὸ τους χαρακτηριστικόν. Ἐνα λατομεῖο ὁμῶς εἶναι χῶρος τοῦ γίνεσθαι, ἐργαστήρι δημιουργίας ποὺ ἀποζητᾷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸν μόχθο. Καὶ σὲ ἓνα τέτοιο ἐργαστήρι, ἀκόμη καὶ ὑπερφυσικοὶ νὰ εἶναι οἱ δουλευτάδες του, οἱ συνηθισμένοι ἄνθρωποι τοὺς θεωροῦν σὰν νὰ ἔχουν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀνάγκη κάποιας βοήθειας, γιὰ τὸ πᾶν στὸ μόχθο τῆς δουλειᾶς τοὺς νιώθουν πιδ κοντὰ τους.

Ὁ ἀφηγητὴς τῆς παράδοσης κ. Λέντζος εἶχε τὴν καλὸσύνῃ νὰ μὲ ὀδηγήσῃ, τὴν 3 Σεπτεμβρίου 1967, στὴν τοποθεσία «Καλούπια», ὅπου δοκίμασα τὴν ἐξαιρετικὴ εὐτυχία νὰ ἀντικρύσω ἓνα ἀρχαῖο λατομεῖο.

Ἡ παράδοση τῆς Ἀραβυσοῦ προσκαλεῖ τὴν ἐπιστημονικὴ ἔρευνα στὸ ἀρχαῖο ἐργαστήρι τοῦ Πάικου, μὲ τὸν χτύπο τῆς σμίλης τοῦ παρελθόντος, παλμὸ καρδιᾶς τῆς ἀθάνατης Μακεδονίας.

ΜΑΡΙΑ Γ. ΠΑΠΑΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ

2. Τὸ λατομεῖο καὶ ἡ ἀρχαία πόλις μὲ τὴν ὁποία σχετίζεται.

Ὅπως φαίνεται ἀπὸ τὴν παραπάνω ὥραία ἀφήγησις τῆς δος Παπαγεωρ-

2. Βλ. στὴν μελέτη τοῦ Καθηγητοῦ κ. Ι. Θ. Κακριδῆ, *Die alten Hellenen im neugriechischen Volksglauben*. Ernst Heimeran Verlag, München, ὅλη τὴν μέχρι τώρα βιβλιογραφία σχετικὰ μὲ τὴν παράδοση αὕτη καθὼς καὶ τίς παραλλαγές, παλιές καὶ σημερινές, ἀπὸ τίς ὁποῖες πολλὰς προέρχονται ἀπὸ τὴν ἰδιωτικὴ συλλογὴ τοῦ κ. Καθηγητοῦ.

3. Βλ. Ι. Θ. Κακριδῆ, *δ.π.*, 9 κέ.

Τὰ γυμνά νότια ριζὰ τοῦ Πάικου ἀνηφορίζουν ὁμαλὰ ἀμέσως πέρα ἀπὸ τὸ χωριὸ Ἀραβυσοῦ καὶ τὸ βοσκοτόπι Βακαρεάτσα (Χάρτης Εἰκ. 1, Β καὶ Πίν. XXα). Σὲ ἓνα ὑψόμετρο ποὺ πρόχειρα ὑπολογίζεται γύρω στὰ 300 μ. ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπιφάνεια τῆς θάλασσας (ἡ ἀμέσως ψηλότερη, ὑψομετρικὰ βεβαιωμένη κορυφὴ Κισαλὰρ εἶναι 650μ.) συναντᾶ κανεῖς τοὺς πρῶτους ξεχοντρημένους ἀρχαίους δόμους ποὺ κύλισαν προφανῶς λίγο παρακάτω ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχικὴ θέση τους.

Ὅταν προχωρήσῃ λίγο παραπάνω βρίσκεται ὁ ἐπισκέπτης ὄχι μονάχα μπροστὰ σὲ πλῆθος ἀπὸ ὀρθογώνιους δόμους διαφόρων διαστάσεων (Πίν. XXβ), ἀλλὰ καὶ μπροστὰ στὶς «κοῖτες», ἀπὸ τίς ὁποῖες πολλοὶ ἀπὸ αὐτοὺς τοὺς δόμους ἀποκόπηκαν κάποτε (Πίν. XXα-β). Οἱ «κοῖτες» βεβαιώνονται ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὸ κλιμακωτὸ σχῆμα τους καὶ ἀπὸ τίς μισὲς κοιλότητες ποὺ εἶχαν γίνει γιὰ τίς σφῆνες τῆς ἐξόρυξης (Πίν. XXIIα).

Βρίσκεται μὲ ἄλλα λόγια κανεῖς ὀλοφάνερα μπροστὰ σὲ ἓνα «κάθετο» ἢ ὑπαίθριο λατομεῖο (Α. Κ. Ὁρλάνδου, *Τὰ ὀλικά δομῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων*, 2 σ. 84 κέ., R. Martin, *Manuel d' Architecture Grecque I*, 146 κέ., *Extraction. Carrières*)⁴, ὅπου ἡ τομὴ τοῦ πετρώματος προχωρεῖ κλιμακωτὰ πρὸς τὰ μέσα, κόβοντας τὸ «στήθος» τοῦ πετρώματος ποὺ ἀποκαλύπτεται (Εἰκ.5).

Ἀντικρύζει ἀκόμη κανεῖς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀρκετὰ μεγάλους δόμους ποὺ ξεχοντρίστηκαν ὕστερα ἀπὸ τὴν λατομίαν ἢ τὴν τομὴν (Ὁρλάνδου, δ.π., σ. 87. Martin, δ.π., σ. 147) ἐπὶ τόπου καὶ πῆραν τὸ ὀρθογώνιο σχῆμα τους (Πβ. IG II², 1666 ...ἐκπελεκῆσαι ὀρθοῦς καὶ εὐγωνίους πρὸς τὰ μέτρα ἢ πρὸς τὸν ἀναγραφέα..., Martin, δ.π., σ. 150 καὶ σημ. 1), παρέμειναν ὁμως ἐκεῖ ἀπὸ ὅπου περίπου ἐξορύχτηκαν (Πίν. XXIIβ-γ, XXIIα-δ). Ἀνάμεσα στοὺς τόσους δόμους ἓνα μονάχα σπόνδυλο μετρίου μεγέθους μπορέσαμε νὰ σημειώσουμε (Πίν. XXIIδ). Οἱ διαστάσεις του εἶναι: ὕψος 0,70 μ., μεγαλύτερη διάμετρος 0,57 μ. Κι' ἀκόμη ἀντικρύζει ἀρκετὰ μεγάλες ἐπιφάνειες τοῦ πετρώματος, ἐπάνω στὶς ὁποῖες χαράχτηκαν μὲ τυπίδες (σημ. πικούνι. Ὁρλάνδου, δ.π., σ. 116 καὶ εἰκ. 55) τὰ αὐλάκια γιὰ τίς ποθητὲς διαστάσεις τῶν ὀγκων καὶ ἀνοίχτηκαν καὶ οἱ σφηνόσχημες κοιλότητες, ποὺ θὰ δέχονταν ἢ δέχτηκαν τίς ξύλινες σφῆνες, μὲ τὸ βρέξιμο τῶν ὀπείων (σφηνῶν) θὰ ἀποκόβονταν οἱ ὀγκοί. Αὐτοὶ ὁμως οἱ ὀγκοὶ δὲν ἀπεσπασθῆκαν ἢ δὲ μετακινήθηκαν ἀπὸ τὸ συμπαγὲς πέτρωμα ἢ ἀπὸ τὸ «στήθος» τοῦ πετρώματος (Πίν. XXIVα, XXVβ).

Τὸ μῆκος τοῦ ἐτοιμασμένου «στήθους» τοῦ πετρώματος τοῦ Πίν. XXIVα εἶναι 7μ., τὸ πλάτος του 3μ. Ἡ κάθε μιὰ ἀπὸ τίς 12 σφηνόσχημες, ὄχι πολὺ

4. Τὴν ὑπόδειξη τῆς ἐργασίας τῆς Angelina Dworakowska, *Extraction de la pierre dans la Grèce antique. Technique des travaux et ses problèmes, Archeologia* 13, 1962, 8 κέ. (στὴν πολωνικὴ μὲ γαλλικὴ περίληψη, σ. 54 κέ.) χρωστῶ στὴν καλοσύνη τοῦ ἐφόρου κ.Φ. Πέτσα.

ἐπιμελημένες, κοιλότητές του έχει μήκος 0,28μ., πλάτος 0,15μ. και βάθος 0,12μ. Οἱ ἐνδιάμεσες ἀποστάσεις πιάνουν τὰ 5μ. και κάτι. Τὰ ὑπόλοιπα ἀπὸ τὰ 7μ. τοῦ συνολικοῦ μήκους δὲ ἔχουν σφηνόσχημες κοιλότητες. Τὸ μακρόστενο κομμάτι ποὺ ἀποκόπηκε ἀπὸ τὸ πλάτος τοῦ «στήθους» καὶ δὲν ἀπομακρύνθηκε ἔχει σὲ δυὸ σημεῖα του ἄλλες δυὸ, κάθετες, ὡς πρὸς τὶς προηγούμενες 12, κοιλότητες (Πίν. XXIVβ-γ), δὲν τεμαχίσθηκε ὁμῶς σὲ ἄλλα τρία κομμάτια. Τὰ μικρότερα ρήγματα, ποὺ φαίνονται στὸν Πίν. XXIVβ-γ, ὀφείλονται σὲ νεώτερες καιρικὲς αἰτίες. Τὸ πέτρωμα στὸ σημεῖο αὐτὸ ἔχει μερικὲς ἀνάγλυφες νευρώσεις ποὺ περιέχουν σίδερο.

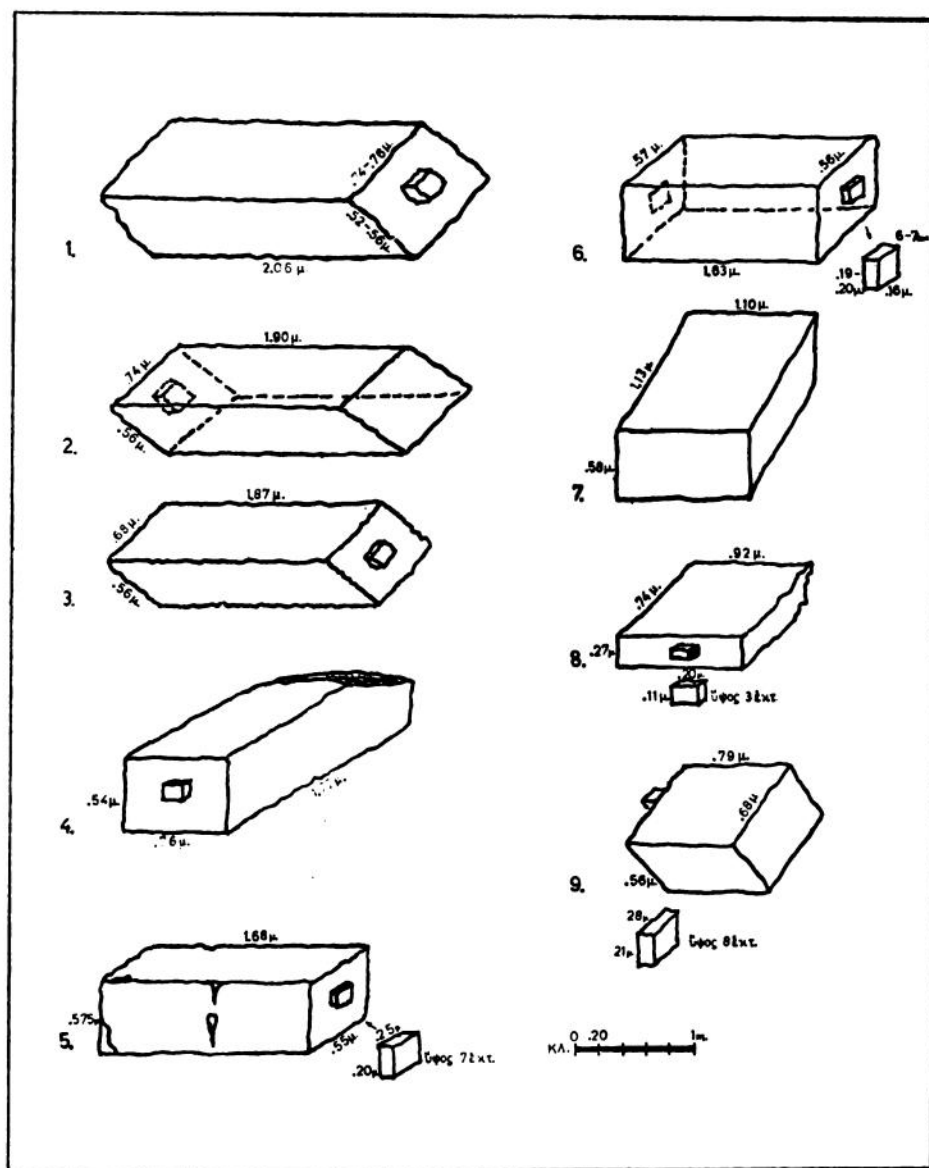
Λίγο δεξιότερα καὶ κάπως ψηλότερα ἀπὸ τὸ μεγάλο αὐτὸ ἐτοιμασμένο «στήθος» τοῦ πετρώματος τῶν 7×3 μ., βρίσκεται ἓνα ἄλλο (Πίν. XXIVα δεξιὰ φαίνεται ἡ ἐπάνω ἐπιφάνειά του λιγάκι, Πίν. XXVβ ἡ ἐπιφάνεια καὶ τὸ κάθετο «στήθος»). Αὐτὸ ἔχει μήκος 3,91μ. (=12 πόδες. Θεωρητικὰ θὰ ἦταν 3,936μ.), πλάτος 1,80μ. (5 πόδες καὶ 7/8) καὶ διατηρεῖ στὴν ἐπάνω ἐπιφάνειά του 10 σφηνόσχημες κοιλότητες (Πίν. XXIIε, XXVα,γ). Αὐτὲς εἶναι ἀντίθετα μὲ τοῦ προηγούμενου «στήθους» τῶν 7×3μ., πολὺ ἐπιμελημένες. Τὸ μήκος τῆς καθεμιᾶς εἶναι 0,25μ. Τὸ μήκος τῆς ράχης στὸ βάθος κάθε κοιλότητος εἶναι 0,145μ., τὸ πλάτος κάθε κοιλότητος εἶναι 0,135μ. καὶ τὸ βάθος 0,105μ.

Πρὶν σκαλιστοῦν οἱ κοιλότητες, διπλῇ χαρακτὴ γραμμῇ, ὑπογραμμός, δριζε τὴν κατεύθυνση-σειρά τους καθὼς καὶ τὸ πλάτος τους (Πίν. XXVα,γ). Τὸ πέτρωμα δὲν ἀποκόπηκε. Μὲ ἄλλα λόγια δὲ βάλαν σφῆνες μέσα στὶς κοιλότητες καὶ δὲν τὶς ἔβρεξαν. Ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὶς σφηνόσχημες κοιλότητες τῶν δύο αὐτῶν ἐτοιμασμένων μεγάλων ἐπιφανειῶν τῶν 7 μ. καὶ 3,91 μ. μήκους, τὶς διδυμες κοιλότητες ἐνὸς ἄλλου «στήθους», ποὺ δὲν εἰκονίζεται, ἔχουμε μετρήσει ἀκόμη τὶς διαστάσεις ἐνὸς ἄλλου ἐξίσου μεγάλου, ποὺ δὲν φωτογραφήθηκε. Παραθέτουμε ἐδῶ τὶς διαστάσεις του. Μῆκος 3,088μ. (9 πόδες καὶ 1/2· θεωρητικὰ 3,10 μ.) Ἀριθμὸς κοιλοτήτων 7. Διαστάσεις τους 0,24 μ. × 0,15 μ. Βάθος 0,15 μ.-0,16 μ. Ἀπόσταση ἀνάμεσα στὴν καθεμιὰ ἀπὸ τὶς κοιλότητες 0,18 μ. Ἡ πρώτη κοιλότητα ἀρχίζει σὲ ἀπόσταση 0,328 μ. (ἐνὸς ποδός) ἀπὸ τὴν ἄκρη τοῦ «στήθους». Ἡ ἑβδόμη βρίσκεται στὸ πέρασ του, στὰ 3,088 μ., ποὺ σημαίνει ὅτι ἀπὸ τὸ πλάτος τοῦ πετρώματος ἀποσπάσθηκε κάποτε ἓνα ἄλλο κομμάτι.

Ὁ μεγαλύτερος δόμος-δγκος ποὺ παρατηρήσαμε μᾶς κρύβει ἀκόμη τὸ ὀλικὸ μήκος του (Πίν. XXVI α-β). Τὸ ὁρατὸ μήκος του εἶναι 4,41μ. Τὸ ἀρχικὸ πλάτος του 1,57-1,65μ. βεβαιώνεται ἀπὸ μιὰ σφηνόσχημη κοιλότητα. Τὸ ἀρχικὸ πάχος ἢ ὕψος του εἶναι 0,61μ. (=1 πούς καὶ 7/8· θεωρητικὰ 0,615μ.). Γιὰ ἓνα πιδ ἀκριβολόγο μέτρημα χρειάζεται νὰ προηγηθῇ ἀνασκαφή.

Τὸ ὀλικὸ—ὅπως ὅλη ἡ πλαγιά τοῦ γυμνοῦ σήμερα βουνοῦ—εἶναι «στιφρὸς τεφρομέλανος ἀσβεστόλιθος» σὲ κοῖτες πάχους διαφορετικοῦ, ποὺ θραύεται

άνώμαλα. Πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς μετακινημένους δόμους ἔχουν ὑποστῇ ἀρκετὰ μεγάλα ρήγματα καὶ ἄλλοι πάλι ἔχουν ὀλότελα διαρραγῇ, ὅστερα ἀπὸ τὴ μα-



Εἰκ. 2. Διαστάσεις διαφόρων δόμων ἀπὸ τὸ λατομεῖο "Καλουπιδόν". (Στὸ δόμο 2, ἀντὶ 1.90 μ. νὰ διαβασθῇ 1.92 μ.).

κρόχρονη εκθεσή τους στις καιρικές μεταβολές⁵. Ἡ σπανὴ βλάβη τοῦ βουνοῦ δὲν προστατεύει τὸ ὕλικό ποὺ κείτεται. Ἀντίθετα οἱ ρίζες τῆς προξενοῦν βλάβες στὶς χαραγμένες, ἀλλὰ ἀλατόμητες κοῖτες.

Τὸ λατομεῖο εἶναι, ὅπως σωστά τὸ χαρακτήρισε ἡ δις Παπαγεωργίου, ἓνα «ἐργαστήρι δημιουργίας», ποὺ δὲν πιστεύει κανεὶς ὅτι ὁ χρόνος ποὺ πέρασε ἀπὸ τὸν τελευταῖο ἀνθρώπινο μόχθο στὸ χῶρο αὐτὸν περᾶ τις δύο χιλιάδες καὶ ἀρκετὲς ἀκόμη ἑκατοντάδες χρόνια. Ἔχουμε τὴν ψευδαίσθηση πὼς μόλις πρὶν ἀπὸ λίγο διέκοψαν οἱ λιθοτόμοι τὴ δουλειὰ καὶ πὼς ἀναπαύονται κάπου ἐκεῖ κοντὰ γιὰ λίγο οἱ μεροκαματάρηδες! Τὴν ἐντύπωση αὕτη δὲν τὴν ἔχει κανεὶς ὅταν ἐπισκέπτεται λ.χ. τὰ λατομεῖα τῆς Θάσου (Ἀλυκὴ), Ἀττικῆς (Βραυρῶνος, Χ. Μπούρα, *Ἡ ἀναστήλωση τῆς στοᾶς τῆς Βραυρῶνος*, 1967, σ. 22 καὶ πίν. 5-6), Κυκλάδων καὶ ἄλλων ἐλληνικῶν τόπων, γιὰτὶ ἐκεῖ φαντάζουσι μονάχα οἱ ἀνοιχτὲς πληγὲς τοῦ σώματος τοῦ βουνοῦ ἢ τῆς γῆς, ἀπὸ τὸ ὅποιο ἀποσπάσθηκαν μὲ τὴν ἐξόρυξη οἱ ὄγκοι τοῦ πετρώματος (Ὁρλάνδου, *δ. π.*, εἰκ. 26 καὶ *Martin, δ. π.*, πίν. XII). Ἐνῶ στὸ λατομεῖο τῶν «Καλουπιῶν» φαντάζει τὸ ἔτοιμο γιὰ τὴ μεταφορὰ τοῦ ὕλικό, ποὺ ποιὸς ξέρει γιὰτὶ δὲν πρόλαβαν νὰ τὸ ἀπομακρύνουν καὶ γενικὰ νὰ τὸ χρησιμοποιήσουν! Κάποια ἀνώτερη φυσικὰ αἰτία, κάποιοι ἀπὸ τοὺς πολέμους ἴσως ἐνάντια στὸν τόπο, ἐναντίον τῶν Μακεδόνων, κάποια εἰσβολή, τοὺς ἔκανε νὰ παραιτηθοῦν πιά ἀπὸ τὴν χρησιμοποίησιν τοῦ ὕλικοῦ, ποὺ ἀσφαλῶς μὲ ἀρκετὸ κόπο ἀποσπάσθηκε ἀπὸ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ βουνοῦ.

Οἱ πλευρὲς τῶν δόμων, ποὺ ἀρκετὲς εἰκόνες τοὺς παραθέτουμε στὴ δημοσίευσή μας αὕτη, εἶναι κάπως ἀδρᾶ δουλεμένες· ἡ ἐπὶ τόπου κατεργασία τοὺς (ἀρχ. *πελέκσεις*. Ὁρλάνδου, *δ. π.*, σ. 8. *Martin, δ. π.*, σ. 149) ἐγινε μὲ τὸ βελόνι (ἀρχ. *κοπέα*) καὶ μὲ τὸν μαντρακὰ (ἐπικόπανον). Τὰ νερὰ τῆς βροχῆς ἔχουν ἐνώσει σήμερα τις χαραγὲς τοῦ ἐργαλείου σὲ πολλὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἐπιφάνειάς τοὺς καὶ ἔτσι ἔχουν πάρει ἓνα εἶδος «κατάμιτης» διακόσμησης.

Ἀπὸ τις διάφορες διαστάσεις τῶν δόμων ποὺ δίνουμε ἐδῶ ἀμέσως παρακάτω βγαίνει τὸ συμπέρασμα ὅτι ὁ ἀρχαῖος «πούς» ἦταν 0,328μ., γνωστὸς ἀπὸ πολὺ παλαιὰ χρόνια, ὥστε νὰ λέγεται καὶ «φειδώνειος», γιὰτὶ οἱ ἀρχικὲς διαστάσεις τῶν δόμων ἀνάγονται σὲ πολλαπλάσια ἢ ὑποδιαιρέσεις τοῦ «ποδός» αὐτοῦ⁶.

5. Χρυστῶ τὴν ἀνάλυσιν τῶν κομματιῶν ποὺ μεταφέραμε στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη στὴν καλοσύνη τοῦ συναδέλφου τῆς Φυσικομαθηματικῆς Σχολῆς καθηγητῆ κ. Πέτρου Κόκκορου, τὸν ὅποιο καὶ ἀπὸ ἐδῶ θερμὰ εὐχαριστῶ.

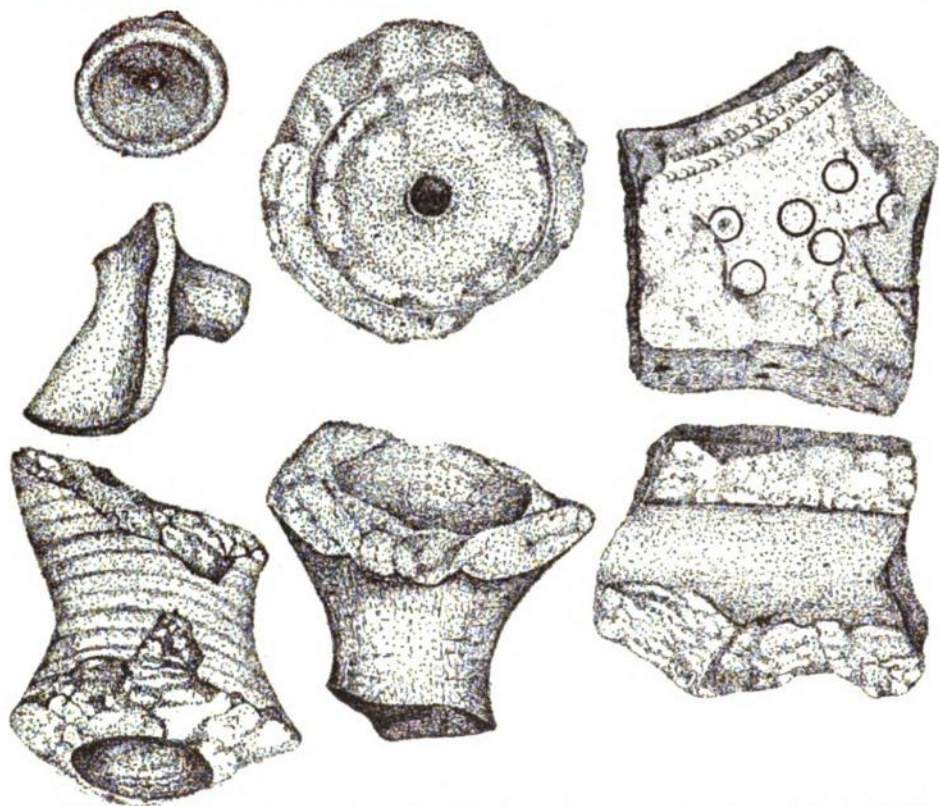
6. Γιὰ τὸν πόδα βλ. *OJh* 43, 1956/58 σ. 24, σημ. 29. Γιὰ τὴν χρησιμοποίησίν του στὰ ἑλληνιστικὰ χρόνια καὶ συγκεκριμένα σὲ κτίρια τῆς Ἀμφίπολης, βλ. Γ. Μπακαλάκη, *Θρακικὰ Χαράγματα*, *Θρακικά* 13, 1940, σ. 13 καὶ σημ. 1.

Διαστάσεις δόμων (Εἰκ. 2):

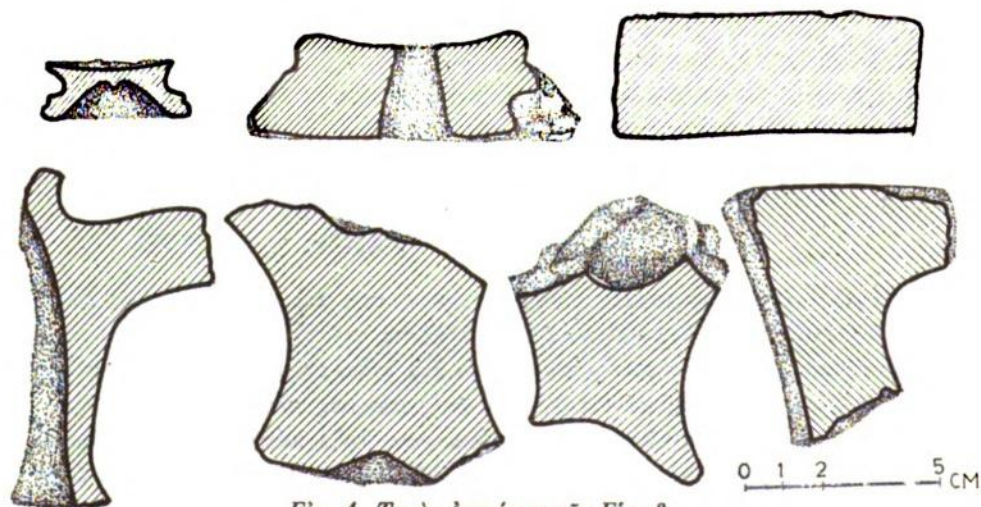
	Μήκη σὲ ἀρχ. πόδες (π) πρὸς 0.328μ.	Μήκη θεωρητικὰ σὲ μέτρα	Μήκη πραγμα- τικὰ σὲ μέτρα
Πίν. XXVIIα, Εἰκ. 2,1.	6π+3/8π. 2π+1/4π. 2π+3/8π. 1π+5/8π. 1π+11/16π.	=2.062μ. =0.738μ. =0.779μ. =0.533μ. =0.553μ.	2.06μ. 0.74μ. 0.76μ. 0.52μ. 0.56μ.
Πίν. XXVIIβ, Εἰκ. 2,2	5π+7/8π. 2π+1/4π. 1π+11/16π.	=1.927μ. =0.738μ. =0.553μ.	1.92μ. 0.74μ. 0.56μ.
Πίν. XXVIIIα, Εἰκ. 2,3	5π+6/8π. 2π+1/8π. 2π+1/16π. 1π+11/16π.	=1.888μ. =0.697μ. =0.6765μ. =0.553μ.	1.87μ. 0.68μ. 0.68μ. 0.56μ.
Πίν. XXVIIIβ, Εἰκ. 2,4	5π+3/8π. 2π+3/8π. 1π+5/8π.	=1.763μ. =0.779μ. =0.553μ.	1.77μ. 0.76μ. 0.54μ.
Πίν. XXIXα Εἰκ. 2,5	5π+1/8π. 1π+6/8π. 1π+11/16π.	=1.681μ. =0.574μ. =0.553μ.	1.68μ. 0.575μ. 0.55μ.
Πίν. XXIXβ, Εἰκ. 2,6.	5π 1π+6/8π. 1π+7/8π.	=1.640μ. =0.574μ. =0.615μ.	1.63μ. 0.57μ. 0.60μ.
Πίν. XXVIγ, Εἰκ. 2,7.	3π+1/2π. 3π+3/8π. 1π+6/8π.	=1.148μ. =1.107μ. =0.574μ.	1.13μ. 1.10μ. 0.58μ.
	Ὑπάρχουν καὶ ἄλλοι ὅμοιοι δόμοι μὲ τὶς ἴδιες διατάξεις μήκους καὶ πλάτους, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὕψος τους εἶναι 0.50μ.		
Εἰκ. 2,8.	θεωρητικὰ 1π+1/2π. Τὸ μήκος δὲν εἶναι τὸ ἀρχικὸ 2π+1/4π. 13/16π.	=0.492μ. =0.738μ. =0.2665μ.	0.50μ. 0.92μ. 0.74μ. 0.27μ.
Εἰκ. 2,9.	2π+3/8π. 2π+1/16π. 1π+11/16π.	=0.779μ. =0.6767μ. =0.5535μ.	0.79μ. 0.68μ. 0.56μ.

Πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς μεγάλους δόμους ἔχουν, στὴ μιὰ ἀπὸ τὶς στενὲς πλευρὰς τους, ἓνα, ἢ ἀπὸ ἓνα καὶ στὶς δύο, ἀγκῶνες γιὰ τὴν ἀνύψωσή τους κατὰ τὴ μεταφορὰ. Οἱ μικρότεροι ἔχουν μονάχα ἓνα ἢ δὲν ἔχουν κανένα ἀγκῶνα ἀνυψώσεως. Σπάνια βλέπει κανεὶς ἀγκῶνα στὶς μακριὰς πλευρὰς (Εἰκ. 2,8).

Ἐπάνω στὴν πλαγιά τοῦ βουνοῦ ὑπάρχουν λοξά, κάπως ὁμαλά, κατωφερικὰ μονοπάτια, ποὺ μὲ καλὺτερο ἀρχικὰ λιθόστρωτο θὰ μπορούσαν νὰ ἀπο-



Εικ. 3. Διάφορα δοτράκα από τὸ Παλαιόκαστρο. Ἀνήκουν σὲ κανθάρους (1-2), ὀξυπύθμενους ἀμφορεῖς (4-6) καὶ σὲ πιθάρια (3 καὶ 7).



Εικ. 4. Τομές δοτράκων τῆς Εἰκ. 3.

τελοῦσαν «δρόμους» γιὰ τὴν *λιθαγωγίαν* (Πίν. XXXα), γιὰ τὴ μεταφορὰ δηλ. τῶν ὄγκων-δόμων μὲ κάποιο ἐξελιγμένο τρόπο, μὲ φαλάγγια λ. χ. (ἀρχ. ἐ-σχάρας ἢ χελώνας) καὶ ὄχι ἀπλῶς μὲ τὸ κύλισμα. Ἡ φύση τοῦ πετρώματος προσφέρει πρόχειρες ὁπές γιὰ νὰ βάζαν ἐκεῖ ξύλινους πασσάλους, ἐπάνω στοὺς ὁποίους θὰ ντύλιγαν τὰ σχοινιά, πού θὰ ἀναχαίτιζαν τὴν ὁρμὴ τῶν ὄγκων πού κατηφόριζαν. Γιὰ τὸν ἴδιο λόγο θὰ μπορούσαν νὰ χρησιμοποιήσουν καὶ τοὺς κορμούς τῶν δένδρων, γιατί δὲν πιστεύω πὼς ἡ νότια πλαγιά τοῦ βουνοῦ ἦ-ταν γυμνὴ καὶ στὴν ἀρχαιότητα. Στὰ πλαίσια τῶν «δρόμων» αὐτῶν παρατη-ρήσαμε σὲ μερικὰ σημεῖα ὁπές τεχνιτῆς (Πιν. XXVIδ), διαφορετικῆς διαμέτρου, ἀπὸ 0,115μ. - 0,10μ. καὶ βάθους ἀπὸ 0,15μ. - 0,12μ. Οἱ ὁπές αὐτὲς εἶναι πολὺ στενές, ἂν τίς συγκρίνῃ κανεὶς μὲ ἐκεῖνες τῶν λατομεῶν τῆς Πεντέλης (Ὁρ-λάνδου, δ.π., σ. 90 καὶ εἰκ. 32, βλ. καὶ εἰκ. 31 καὶ 33 ἀναπαράσταση). Ἴσως ὁμως στὸ λατομεῖο τῶν «Καλουπιῶν» νὰ χρησιμοποιοῦσαν πιά σιδερένιους πασσάλους.

Δὲν ἔχουμε πρὸς τὸ παρὸν καμιὰ χρονολογικὴ ἔνδειξη γιὰ τὸ ὕλικό πού κίετται ἢ γιὰ τὴν ἀρχὴ καὶ τὴν ἐγκατάλειψη τοῦ λατομεῖου. Ὑποθέτουμε μονάχα ἀπὸ τὴν παστρικὴ δουλειὰ (Πίν. XXVα,γ. XXXIβ), ὅτι ἡ παροῦσα κατάσταση θὰ πρέπει νὰ εἶναι ἀπὸ τὰ πρῶμα ἐλληνιστικὰ χρόνια.

Τὸ πρῶτο, ὅσο ξέρουμε, ὡς τὰ σήμερα βεβαιωμένο ἀρχαῖο λατομεῖο στὴν περιοχὴ αὐτῇ, δὲν ἐβγαζε βέβαια στὴν ἀρχαιότητα τίποτε λαμπρὸ ὕλικό, ὅπως αἰ...διωνομασμένοι λιθοτομίαι *Παρίων τε καὶ Πεντελικῶν καὶ Χίων καὶ Θηβαϊκῶν*... (Θεοφράστου, *Περὶ λίθων* I,6. ἐκδ. D.E. Eichholz, Oxford 1965, σ. 58). Ἡ παρουσία τοῦ ὠστόσο, πέρα ἀπὸ τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι τὸ ὕλικό του ἂν σήμερα τριβῇ καὶ γυαλιστῇ δὲν παρουσιάζει εὐκαταφρόνητὴ ὀψῃ⁷, εἶναι σημαντικὴ, ἂν θὰ μπορούσαμε νὰ καθορίσουμε μιὰ μέρα, ποῖα ἀρχαία γειτονικὴ πόλη τροφοδοτοῦσε ἢ καλύτερα ποῖα ἀρχαία γειτονικῆς πόλης τὰ τεῖχη χτίστηκαν γιὰ πρώτη φορὰ ἢ καὶ ἐπισκευάστηκαν περισσότερες φορὲς μὲ τὸ ὕλικό αὐτό;

Εἶδαμε πὼς ἡ λαογραφικὴ ἔρευνα μᾶς πληροφορεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἀρχαιο-λογικὴ μπόρεσε νὰ διαπιστώσῃ ὅτι ἀνάμεσα στὸ παλαικό, μεσαιωνικὸ δομικὸ ὕλικό τῆς παλαιᾶς πολιτείας, τοῦ γειτονικοῦ στὴ σημερινὴ Ἀραβυσσὸ Παλαιό-καστρο (βλ. χάρτη Εἰκ. 1), βρίσκονται καλοδουλεμένοι, ἀρχαῖοι δόμοι (Πίν. XXXβ-γ, XXXIα), πού προέρχονται ἀπὸ τὸ λατομεῖο τῶν «Καλουπιῶν»⁸. Ἡ δουλειὰ ἐνὸς ἀπὸ αὐτοὺς τοὺς δόμους, πού χρησιμοποιοῦντο μὲ ἄλ-λους στὰ αὐλάκια ἐνὸς παλαιοῦ νερόμυλου, φάνηκε ὅταν κοπανίσαμε τὸ ἄσβε-

7. Τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον τοῦ κ. Δεσπίνη ἔκανε καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπεξεργασία.

8. Αὐτὸ ἀπέδειξε καὶ ἡ ἔρευνα τοῦ κ. Κόκορου γιὰ τὰ κομμάτια πού πήραμε ἀπὸ τοὺς δόμους πού βρίσκονται στὸ Παλαιόκαστρο.

στοῦχο Ἱζημα πού σκέπαζε τὴν ἀρχικὴ ἐπιφάνειά του (Πίν. XXXIα-β). Εἶναι καμωμένη με ὀδοντωτὴ σμίλη (ντισλίδικο) καὶ εἶναι ἡ καλύτερη ἀπόδειξη τῆς ἐπεξεργασίας τοῦ ὕλικου τοῦ λατομείου τῶν «Καλουπιῶν» στὴν ἀρχαιότητα, ὕστερα ἀπὸ τὸ ξεχόντρισμα του καὶ τὴ μεταφορὰ του κάτω στὸν κάμπο ἢ στὴν ἀρχαία πόλη.

Ἡ ἐργασία δὲν διαφέρει ἀπὸ ἐκείνη τῆς βάσης τοῦ ἀξονικοῦ κίονα τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ Προπύλου στὴ Βραυρῶνα (X. Μπούρα, δ.π., σ. 28 καὶ σημ. 260, πίν. 13), πού με τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ ὀνόματος κάποιου «καλοῦ» χρονολογεῖται «εἰς τὸν 4ον π.Χ. αἰ. καὶ πέραν τῶν μέσων τοῦ αἰῶνος ἀκόμη». Μιὰ ἄλλη ἔνδειξη γιὰ τὴν «πρώιμη ἐλληνιστικὴ» χρονολόγηση τῆς ἐργασίας κερδίζουμε με τὸν τρόπο κατὰ τὸν ὁποῖο ἔχει σκαλιστῇ τὸ ἔδαφος τῆς μεγάλης, ἑλλιποῦς, γραπτῆς στήλης ἀπὸ τίς Παγασές στὸ Μουσεῖο Βόλου, ἀριθ. εὐρ. Α 235.

Κατὰ τὰ νότια τοῦ παρεκκλησιοῦ τοῦ νεκροταφείου τῆς Ἀραβυσοῦ (Προφήτη Ἡλιοῦ), πού βρίσκεται ἐπάνω στὸ μεσαιωνικὸ Παλαιόκαστρο, ἔβγαλαν με τὰ διάφορα ἐγγειοβελτικὰ ἔργα δόμους κατεργασμένους καὶ μὴ, πού προέρχονται ἀπὸ τὸ ἴδιο λατομεῖο. Στὴν ἐπίχωση τοῦ χθαμαλοῦ ὑψώματος μέσα στὸ Παλαιόκαστρο βρίσκει κανεὶς πολλὰ κομμάτια ἀπὸ μελαμβαφεῖς κεραμίδες-στρωτῆρες στέγης, τύπου quasi λακωνικοῦ, πού ἀνάγονται ἀναμφισβήτητα στὰ ἐλληνιστικὰ χρόνια. Πολλὰ κομμάτια ἀπὸ ὀξυπύθμενους ἀμφορεῖς, πού τὰ ἐμβολὰ τους ἀνάγονται ὅπωςδὴποτε στοὺς πρὶν ἀπὸ τὴν Ρωμαιοκρατίαν χρόνους. Κι ἀκόμη ὀστρακα ἀπὸ πιθάρια με χαραχτὴ διακόσμηση καὶ βάσεις ἀπὸ μελαμβαφεῖς κανθάρους (εἰκ. 3-4).

Ἀπὸ ἐκεῖ κάπου κοντὰ προέρχεται ἓνα μικροῦ μεγέθους, ἀκέφαλο ἀγαλμάτιο κιθαρωδοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. Τὸ ὄψιμο ἐλληνιστικὸ ἔργο στεγάζεται σήμερα στὴ συλλογὴ Πέλλας. Χρωστῶ τίς φωτογραφίες τοῦ Πίν. XXXIγ-δ στὴν καλὸσύνῃ τοῦ κ. Δ. Παντερμαλῆ. Ὁ φίλος κ. Γ. Δεσπίνης με πληροφορεῖ ὅτι τὸ γλυπτὸ βρέθηκε σὲ κάποιον ἐρείπιο πού οἱ τοῖχοι του εἶχαν ἀρκετὰ καλὰ κονιάματα.

Δὲν ξέρω, ἂν τὰ ἐρείπια αὐτὰ ταυτίζονται με τὴν παλαιότερη πληροφορία τῶν χωρικῶν, ὅτι σὲ μιὰ μικρὴ ἀπόσταση ἀπὸ τὸ Παλαιόκαστρο πρὸς τὸν κάμπο ἔχουμε τὰ ἐρείπια μιᾶς «παλαιᾶς ἐκκλησίας». Ἀπὸ ἐκεῖ προέρχεται ἓνα ἀνάγλυφο (κομμάτι) τοῦ Μουσείου Θεσσαλονίκης ἀπὸ τὰ ρωμαϊκὰ χρόνια.

Λιγοστοὶ δόμοι ἀπὸ τὸ ἴδιο ὕλικό τοῦ λατομείου μας βρίσκονται σὲ δευτέρῃ χρήσῃ στὴν εἰσοδο τοῦ τζαμιοῦ στὰ Γιαννιτσά, πού χρησιμοποιεῖται σήμερα ὡς ἐκκοκκιστήριό βάμβακος. Στὴν αὐλὴ τοῦ ἰδιοῦ οἰκοδομήματος

9. Πρέπει νὰ σημειώσουμε ἐδῶ ὅτι τὰ Γιαννιτσά ἀπέχουν ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀραβυσσὸ τόσο, ὅσο καὶ ἡ Πέλλα.

βρίσκεται καὶ ἓνα θεοδοσιανὸν κιονόκρανο, ποὺ μπορεῖ νὰ σχετίζεται καὶ μὲ τὴν Πέλλα.⁹

Ἀνάμεσα στὸ ἄλλο ὕλικό ποὺ μᾶς γνώρισε ἡ ἀνασκαφὴ τῆς Πέλλας, τῆς πόλης ποὺ κατὰ ἀποκλειστικὸ λόγο χρησιμοποιεῖ στὶς οἰκοδομὰς τῆς ἑνὸς πωρώδη λίθο, ὅμοιο μὲ ἐκεῖνον ποὺ λατομεῖται ἀκόμη καὶ σήμερα στὴν περιοχὴ, στὰ γειτονικὰ Κουφάλια (Χάρτης Εἰκ. 1), ἔχουμε τεμάχια ἀπὸ τρεῖς διαφορετικὰς, ἀλλὰ ὅμοιες λίθινες βάσεις γιὰ ἀναθηματικούς τρίποδες (Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 16, 1960, σ. 81 καὶ πίν. 60), ποὺ τὸ ὕλικό τους προέρχεται, ὅπως φαίνεται, ἀπὸ τὸ λατομεῖο τῶν «Καλουπιῶν».

Οἱ παλαιότεροι ἐρευνητὲς εἶχαν κιόλας τοποθετήσῃ στὸ μεσαιωνικὸ Παλαιόκαστρο, ποὺ βρίσκεται λίγο δεξιότερα—πρὸς βορρᾶν—τῆς γραμμῆς τῆς Ἑγνατίας ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ Πέλλας πρὸς Ἑδεσσα, τὴ γνωστὴ ἀπὸ τὸν Θουκυδίδην (2, 100, 4), ἀρχαία μακεδονικὴ πόλις Κύρρον¹⁰. Ἡ πόλις, γιὰ τὴν ὁποία δὲν ξέρουμε καὶ πολλὰ (Δήμητσα, δ. π., 244 καὶ σημ. 2), δὲν βρισκόταν ἐπάνω στὴ διαδρομὴ τῆς προηγουμένης ἀπὸ τὴν Ἑγνατία ἀρχαίας ἀρτηρίας, ἀλλὰ λίγο βορειότερα. Ἔτσι δικαιολογεῖται ἡ σημείωσις στὸ ἱεροσολυμίτικο ἱτινερᾶριο,¹¹ ὅτι ἔχουμε μιὰ «μεταλλαγὴ ἱππων ἢ ἱππέων», «*Mutatio Scurio*». Ἡ σημείωσις αὕτη εἶναι γιὰ μᾶς πάρα πολὺ σπουδαία ἐνδειξη, γιὰτὶ μέσα στὸ ἐφθαρμένο τοπωνύμιον *Scurio* τοῦ ἱτινερᾶριου θὰ πρέπει νὰ κρύβεται ἡ ἑλληνικὴ ἐνδειξη ἢ ἔκφρασις «διακλάδωσις, ἡ ὁποία ὁδηγεῖ, εἰς Κύρρον».¹²

Δὲν μπορούμε ἀκόμη σήμερα, ἂς ἐλπίσουμε πρὸς τὸ παρὸν τουλάχιστο, νὰ προσφέρουμε περισσότερες ἐνδείξεις ἢ ἀποδείξεις γιὰ τὴν ταύτισιν τοῦ Παλαιόκαστρου μὲ τὴν ἀρχαία Κύρρον. Στὴν ἀπελπιστικὴ ὥστόσο φτώχεια μας σὲ ἀρχαῖες πληροφορίες καὶ στὶς λιγοστὲς μαρτυρίαι γιὰ τὴν ἀρχαία Μακεδονία προστέθηκε μιὰ ἀκόμη, ποὺ εἶναι ἡ ὀλοζώντανη φωνὴ τῆς γῆς, ἀπὸ τὴν ὁποία βγήκε τὸ ὕλικό, μὲ τὸ ὁποῖο χτίστηκαν ἓνα ἢ καὶ περισσότερα ἴσως μακεδονικὰ προρωμαϊκὰ κάστρα. Εἶναι ἡ φωνὴ τοῦ γειτονικοῦ στὸ Παλαιόκαστρο λατομεῖου τῶν «Καλουπιῶν», αὕτη ποὺ ὅπως καὶ μιὰ ἄλλη, ἐνὸς θαυμαστοῦ μακεδονικοῦ ἐρείπιου, τοῦ ἀνακτόρου τῆς Βεργίνας¹³, ἐπέζησε ὡς τὰ σήμερα στὸ στόμα τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ.

Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης

Γ. ΜΠΑΚΑΛΑΚΗΣ

10. Μ. Δήμητσα, *Ἀρχαία Γεωγραφία τῆς Μακεδονίας*, 2, 245. Kiepert, *FOA*, πίν xvi καὶ xvii.

11. Th. L. F. Tafel, *De via mil. R. Egnatia, Pars occ.* 1841, σ. 51. *Mutatio Scurio*. M. XV. sic *itin. Hierosolym.* (p. 606). K. Miller, *Itin. Rom.*, 1916, σ. 521 (Hi. σ. 606), 15 μίλια ὡς τὴ *Mutatio Scurio*. Ἄλλα 15 ὡς τὴν Πέλλα. Βλ. καὶ χάρτη εἰκ. 162. Πβ. καὶ Πτολεμαίου, *Γεωγραφία* III, 12. ἔκδ. C. Müllerus, Paris 1883, σ. 518 καὶ πίν. 21.

12. Tafel δ.π., σ. 51 «*Cyrrhum... quod, et vocum soni conspirare videntur*».

13. Μ. Ἀνδρονίκου κ.ά., *Τὸ ἀνάκτορον τῆς Βεργίνας*, 1961, 10.

Η ΟΡΓΑΝΩΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΩ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΡΩΜΑΪΚΟΥΣ ΧΡΟΝΟΥΣ

Ἡ Ἄνω Μακεδονία εἶναι ἡ ὀλιγώτερον γνωστὴ περιοχὴ τῆς Μακεδονίας, ἰδιαιτέρως ἡ ρωμαϊκὴ περίοδος αὐτῆς εἶναι σχεδὸν ἀνεξερευνή-
νητος καὶ σκοτεινὴ. Οἱ λόγοι εἶναι διττοί: α') ἡ μεγάλη ἔλλειψις τῶν ἀρ-
χαίων πηγῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀρχαιολογικοῦ καὶ ἐπιγραφικοῦ ὕλικου καὶ β') ἡ μέ-
χρι σήμερον διατηρηθεῖσα ἀκόμη πεποίθησις εἰς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐρευνητῶν,
ὅτι ἡ περιοχὴ αὕτη οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου δύναται νὰ παρουσιάσῃ. Διὰ τοὺς
λόγους αὐτοὺς οὔτε εὐρήματα ἀξιόλογα ἤλθον εἰς φῶς, ἂν καὶ πολλὰ πρέ-
πει νὰ κρύπτονται εἰς τὸ ἔδαφός της, οὔτε ἡ ἐπιστημονικὴ ἐρευνα ἐπέτυχε
πολλὰ προβλήματα νὰ διαλευκάνῃ. Εὐνόητον λοιπὸν εἶναι ὅτι ὁ ἐρευνητὴς
συναντᾷ πλῆθος δυσχερειῶν, αἵτινες καθιστοῦν τὸ ἔργον του δυσκολώτα-
τον.

Ἡ Ἄνω Μακεδονία, ἡ σημερινὴ Δυτικὴ Μακεδονία, ἐξετείνετο μεταξὺ
τοῦ Βερμίου καὶ τοῦ Βοίου ὄρους καὶ περιελάμβανε τὴν Ἑλιμειαν (Ἑλι-
μιῶτιν), τὴν Ὀρεστίδα, τὴν Λυγκηστίδα, τὴν Πελαγονίαν καὶ τὴν Δερ-
ρίοπον. Ἡ Ἑορδαία, ἂν καὶ γεωγραφικῶς ἀνήκεν εἰς τὴν Ἄνω Μακεδονίαν,
ἦτο ἀναπόσπαστον τμῆμα τοῦ κράτους τῆς Κάτω Μακεδονίας. Ἡ Ἄνω
Μακεδονία πρὸ τῆς ἐνσωματώσεώς της ἐπὶ Φιλίππου Β' εἰς τὸ κράτος τῶν
Αἰγῶν ἦτο διηρημένη κατὰ ἔθνη, ἕκαστον δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶχεν ἰδίους ἡγεμό-
νας, οἱ ὅποιοι οὐχὶ σπανίως ἤρχοντο εἰς ρῆξιν μεταξύ των, ἀλλὰ καὶ μὲ τὸν
βασιλέα τῶν Μακεδόνων. Τὰ ἔθνη αὐτά, κατὰ πᾶσαν πιθανότητα, ἐπὶ Ἀ-
λεξάνδρου Α' τοῦ Φιλέλληνος¹ κατέστησαν σύμμαχα καὶ ὑποτελεῖ εἰς τοὺς
βασίλεις τοῦ κράτους τῶν Αἰγῶν, διετήρησαν ὁμῶς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας των.
Ὁ Θουκυδίδης, ἀναφερόμενος εἰς τὴν πολιτικὴν κατάστασιν τῆς Ἄνω Μα-
κεδονίας ἐπὶ τῆς ἐποχῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου Α' Περδίκκα Β', ἐπι-
γραμματικῶς λέγει: τῶν γὰρ Μακεδόνων εἰσὶ καὶ Λυγκησταὶ καὶ Ἑλιμιῶται
καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη ἐπάνωθεν, ἃ ξύμμαχα μὲν ἐστί τούτοις, βασιλείας δὲ ἔχει καθ'
αὐτά (Θουκ. II, 99, 2). Ἡ κατάστασις αὕτη διετηρήθη μέχρι τοῦ Φιλίππου
Β', ὁπότε κατηργήθησαν ὀριστικῶς αἱ τοπικαὶ ἡγεμονίαι, ἐνσωματώθησαν
δὲ αἱ περιοχαὶ ὡς ἐπαρχίαι τοῦ κράτους του (περὶ τὸ 358 π.Χ.). Αἱ νέαι αὖ-

1. Βλ. O. Abel, *Makedonien vor König Philipp*, Leipzig 1847, 152. Fr. Geyer, *Makedo-
nien bis zur Thronbesteigung Philipps II.*, München-Berlin 1931, 45/6 καὶ RE XIV, 703
ἐν λ. *Makedonia*. Δ. Κανατσούλη, *Ἡ Μακεδονία μέχρι τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Ἀρχελαίου*
(ἐξωτερικὴ πολιτικὴ), Θεσσαλονίκη 1964, 41.

ταὶ ἐπαρχίαι τοῦ μακεδονικοῦ κράτους ἐκυβερνῶντο ἀπ' εὐθείας ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ τῶν ἀποστελλομένων ἐκεῖ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διοικητικῶν ὑπαλλήλων. Φαίνεται δὲ ὅτι ἡ διοίκησις αὐτῶν τοῦλάχιστον ἐπὶ Φιλίππου Β' καὶ Μ. Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀνετίθετο εἰς μέλη τῶν κατὰ τόπους ἡγεμονικῶν οἰκῶν. Τὸ διοικητικὸν ὅμως σύστημα, τὸ ἰσχύον ἐν Ἄνω Μακεδονίᾳ, ἦτο διάφορον τοῦ τῆς Κάτω Μακεδονίας. Ἐνθ' δηλ. ἡ τελευταία ἦτο διηρημένη εἰς μικρὰς περιοχάς, αἵτινες διοικητικῶς ἐξηρτῶντο ἐκ μιᾶς πόλεως, ἡ Ἄνω Μακεδονία ἦτο χωρισμένη εἰς εὐρυτέρας φυλετικὰς περιοχάς, δηλ. εἰς τὴν Ἑλιμιώτιν, τὴν Ὀρεσιίδα, τὴν Λυγκησιίδα κ.λ.π. Τοῦτο συνάγομεν ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐπισήμους τίτλους τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν Μακεδόνων· οἱ προερχόμενοι δηλ. ἐκ τῆς Κάτω Μακεδονίας διακρίνονται διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς πόλεως, ἐξ ἧς κατήγοντο ἢ διέμενον, π.χ. Πελλαῖος, Βεροιαῖος, Μακεδὼν ἐξ Αἰγῶν, ἐγ Λητῆ[ς], ἐνθ' οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἄνω Μακεδονίας χαρακτηρίζονται διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἔθνους, εἰς δ' ἀνήκον, π.χ. Ἑλιμιώτης, Πελαγῶν, Ἑορδαῖος, ἐξ Ὀρεσιίδος. Αἱ ἀστικαὶ περιοχαὶ τῆς Κάτω Μακεδονίας, ὡς καὶ αἱ φυλετικαὶ τῆς Ἄνω, δὲν ἀπετέλουν ἐνότητος συνδεομένης μεταξύ των, ὅπως εἰς τὰς τότε ὁμοσπόνδους ἑλληνικὰς πολιτείας, τὰ κοινά, ἀλλ' ἦσαν διοικητικαὶ μάλλον ὑποδιαίρεσεις τοῦ κράτους, ἐξαρθόμεναι ἀπ' εὐθείας ἀπὸ τὴν κεντρικὴν ἐξουσίαν, δηλ. ἀπὸ τὸν βασιλέα. Ὡς ἐκ τούτου καὶ οἱ κάτοικοι τῆς Ἄνω Μακεδονίας ἦσαν πρωτίστως πολῖται τοῦ μακεδονικοῦ κράτους, κατόπιν δὲ μέλη τῆς κοινότητος, τοῦ ἔθνους, εἰς δ' ἀνήκον· τοῦτο ἄριστα ὑποδηλοῦται εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπισήμους τίτλους τῶν ὀνομάτων των, ἐνθα παρὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν προστίθεται τὸ ἐθνικὸν Μακεδὼν καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἔθνους, π.χ. Μακεδὼν Ἑλιμιώτης (SGDI 2765), Μακεδὼν ἐξ Ὀρεσιίδος (App. Ἀναβ. 6,28,4. Ἰνδ. 18,5. Ditt. Syll. I², 268N). Σποραδικῶς συναντῶμεν, κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τῶν Ἀντιγονιδῶν, καὶ πόλεις τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ τύπου, οἷας συναντῶμεν καὶ εἰς τὴν Κάτω Μακεδονίαν, δηλ. με βουλήν, δῆμον καὶ ἄρχοντας. Οὕτως εἰς ἐπιγραφὴν τῆς Ἑορδαίας² τοῦ ἔτους 181 π.Χ. μνημονεύεται πόλις τις Γρήια, ὅπου ἡ παρουσία μετοίκων, κατοίκων δηλ. ἐξ ἄλλων μερῶν τῆς Μακεδονίας, ἐγκατεστημένων ἐν αὐτῇ, προϋποθέτει τάξιν πολιτῶν μὲ πλήρη τοπικὰ δικαιώματα καὶ συνεπῶς διοικητικὴν ὁργάνωσιν τῆς πόλεως κατὰ τὸ πρότυπον τῶν ἑλληνικῶν πόλεων. Διὰ τοὺς Μακεδόνας δὲ αὐτοὺς τῆς Ἄνω Μακεδονίας, ὅταν ἀνήκον εἰς πόλιν τινά, τότε προστίθεται πλὴν τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως, δηλ. Μακεδὼν Ἑλιμιώτης ἐκ Πυθελίου³.

2. X. Μακαρόνα, AE 1934/35, 117 κέ. Βλ. καὶ C. B. Welles, AJA 42 (1938) 246 κέ. F. W. Walbank, *Philip of Macedon*, Cambridge 1940, 2, σημ. 6. Δ. Χατζή, Γέρας Ἀντωνίου Κεραμοπούλλου 274-282.

3. BCH 21 (1897) 112 [= SGDI, 2765].

Τὸν 3ον π.Χ. αἰῶνα ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Φιλίππου Ε΄ εἰς τὴν Ὀρεστίδα, ὅπως βλέπομεν εἰς ἐπιγραφὴν τῆς Δήλου⁴, ἐμφανίζεται ὁμοσπονδιακὴ τις ἔνωσις, ἐν κοινὸν Ὀρεστών. Τί εἶδος ἔνωσις ἦτο τοῦτο καὶ εἰς ποίαν σχέσιν εὐρίσκετο μὲ τὸ μακεδονικὸν κράτος ἢ ἀκόμη μὲ τὸ εὐρύτερον κοινὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων, τὸ ὁποῖον διαπιστοῦμεν εἰς τὰς πηγὰς μας κατὰ τὰ τέλη τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου Δώσωνος καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Φιλίππου Ε΄, τίποτε δὲν ἠμποροῦμεν νὰ εἰπώμεν. Νὰ παραδεχθῶμεν πάλιν ὅτι τὸ κοινὸν τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἦτο παρὰ σύλλογός τις ἐγκατεστημένων Ὀρεστών ἐν Δήλῳ, δὲν φαίνεται πιθανόν. Ὅπως δὲ ἴσως θὰ πρέπει τοῦτο, ὅταν ἡ Ὀρεστὶς ὀλίγον ἀργότερον κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον μακεδονικὸν πόλεμον καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἥτταν τοῦ Φιλίππου Ε΄ εἰς τὰς Κυνὸς Κεφαλὰς ἀπεσπάσθη κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τῆς Ρώμης ἀπὸ τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἀνεκηρύχθη ἐλευθέρη, νὰ ἦτο τὸ κατ' ἐξοχὴν διοικητικὸν ὄργανον τῆς περιοχῆς αὐτῆς. Τὸ κοινὸν Ὀρεστών διετηρήθη καθ' ὅλην τὴν ρωμαϊκὴν ἐποχὴν· τὸ συναντῶμεν μίαν φορὰν κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἡμισυ τοῦ 1ου μ.Χ. αἰῶνος, ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου, καὶ ἔπειτα εἰς ἐπιγραφὴν τοῦ ἔτους 143 (ἢ 144) μ.Χ. εὐρεθεῖσαν εἰς τὸ Δρανίτσι (Κρανιοχώρι) τῆς Καστορίας⁵. Τὸ κοινὸν (ἢ ἔθνος, ὡς ἄλλως φέρεται εἰς ἐπιγραφὴν) ἦτο πολιτικὴ καὶ διοικητικὴ ἔνωσις καὶ διέφερεν οὐσιασδῶς ἀπὸ τὸ εὐρύτερον κοινὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων τῶν αὐτοκρατορικῶν χρόνων, τὸ ὁποῖον ἦτο ἀπλῶς ἓνας λατρευτικὸς σύνδεσμος τῆς ἐπαρχίας⁶. Συνεκροτεῖτο, πιθανώτατα, ἐκ τῶν ἀντιπροσώπων τῶν πόλεων καὶ κοινοτήτων τῆς Ὀρεστίδος, οἱ ὅποιοι ἐστέλλοντο κατ' ἔτος εἰς αὐτὸ ἀπὸ κάθε πόλιν-μέλος καὶ συνήρχοντο εἰς τὴν ἔδραν τοῦ κοινοῦ, πιθανῶς εἰς τὸ Ἄργος τὸ Ὀρεστικόν, ὡς ἂν ἐπρόκειτο νὰ συζητήσουν ζητήματα ὁμοσπονδιακά. Κατὰ πόσον τὸ κοινὸν ἀνεμειγνύετο εἰς καθαρῶς ἐσωτερικὰ ζητήματα τῶν πόλεων, αἱ ὁποῖαι ἦσαν μέλη αὐτοῦ, δὲν ἠμποροῦμεν νὰ εἰπώμεν τίποτε. Τὸ βέβαιον εἶναι ὅτι τοῦτο ἐξεπροσώπει τὰς πόλεις εἰς τὰς ἐξωτερικὰς τῶν σχέσεις. Αὐτονόητον εἶναι ὅτι οἱ πολῖται πόλεως τινος τοῦ κοινοῦ ἦσαν ταυτοχρόνως καὶ ὑπήκοοι αὐτοῦ. Τὸ ὀρεστικὸν κοινὸν ἀναμφιβόλως εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον, τὸ ὁποῖον ἐγνώρισεν ἡ Ἀνω Μακεδονία, κατὰ τὸ πρότυπον δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐσχη-

4. IG XI, 4, 1118. Περί τῆς χρονολογίας τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς βλέπε St. Dow καὶ Ch. Edson, *Harw. Stud.* 48 (1937) 128.

5. BSA 18 (1911) 179, ἀρ. 23 [= *Ἀθηνᾶ* 25 (1913) 440, ἀρ. 27]. Δήμιτσα, *Ἡ Μακεδονία ἐν λίθοις φθεγγόμενοις καὶ μνημείοις σωζόμενοις*, Ἀθῆναι 1896, ἀρ. 217 [= J. H. St. 33 (1913) 337, ἀρ. 17]. Πρβ. καὶ Παπαδάκιν, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, ἔ.δ. 462 κέ. Περί τοῦ κοινοῦ βλ. I. Keil, *CAH* 11, 569/70. J.A.O. Larsen, *Roman Greece* ἐν. T. Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* 4 (1938) 443. M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* 561, σημ. 92 καὶ Fanoula Papazoglou, *Sur les koina régionaux de la haute Macédoine*, *Ziva Antika* 9 (1959) 163 κέ.

6. Βλ. Δ. Κανατσούλη, *Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων*, *Μακεδονικά* Γ (1956), 27 κέ.

ματίσθησαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κοινὰ τῆς περιοχῆς αὐτῆς. Τὰ κοινὰ ὅμως αὐτὰ ἦσαν ὅπωςδῆποτε δημιουργήματα τῆς ρωμαϊκῆς ἐποχῆς, ὄχι προγενέστερα. Εἶναι γνωστὸν ὅτι τὸ 167 π.Χ. μετὰ τὴν ἥτταν τοῦ Περσέως, τοῦ τελευταίου βασιλέως τῆς Μακεδονίας, ἀνεκηρύχθη ἐλευθέρᾳ καὶ ἡ υπόλοιπος Ἄνω Μακεδονία, ἡ ὁποία συμφώνως πρὸς τὴν συνθήκην τῆς Ἀμφιπόλεως, καθ' ἣν ἡ Μακεδονία διηρέθη εἰς τέσσαρας ἀνεξαρτήτους δημοκρατίας, ἀπετέλεσε τὴν τετάρτην λεγομένην μερίδα μὲ πρωτεύουσαν τὴν Πελαγονίαν. Τὸ κοινὸν ὅμως τῶν Ὀρεστών, δηλ. ἡ Ὀρεστίς, δὲν περιελήφθη εἰς αὐτήν. Ὁ Τίτος Λίβιος, XLV, 29, καθορίζων τὴν ἑκτασιν τῆς τετάρτης μερίδος (pars), λέγει ὅτι αὕτη ἐξετείνετο πέραν τοῦ ὄρους Βόρα, συνορεύουσα τὸ μὲν μὲ τὴν Ἰλλυρίαν, τὸ δὲ μὲ τὴν Ἑπειρον, καὶ ἀκολουθῶς (30, 6) ἀπαριθμεῖ τοὺς λαοὺς, οἱ ὅποιοι κατέκουν τότε εἰς αὐτήν, τοὺς Ἑορδαίους, τοὺς Λυγκηστὰς καὶ τοὺς Πελαγόνους, καὶ προσθέτει ἐπὶ πλέον τὴν Ἀτιντανίαν, τὴν Τυμφαίαν (Tymphaeis) καὶ τὴν Ἑλιμιώτιν⁷. Περὶ Ὀρεστίδος ἢ Ὀρεστών οὐδεὶς λόγος. Οἱ Ὀρέσται φαίνεται ὅτι κατὰ τὴν διαρρύθμισιν αὐτὴν τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς Μακεδονίας δὲν μετέβαλον κατάστασιν ἐξοκλούθουν νὰ μένουν ἐλεύθεροι, ὅπως καὶ πρὶν, καὶ φυσικὰ διετήρησαν τὸ κοινὸν τῶν. Ὅταν δὲ τὸ 148 π.Χ., μετὰ τὴν ἐπανάστασιν τοῦ Ἀνδρίσκου, κατηργήθησαν αἱ μακεδονικαὶ δημοκρατίαι καὶ ἡ Μακεδονία μετεβλήθη εἰς ρωμαϊκὴν ἐπαρχίαν, διοικουμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ ἐδρεύοντος Ρωμαίου ἀνθυπάτου⁸, ἡ Ἄνω Μακεδονία δὲν ὑπῆχθη εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, ἀλλ' ἐμεινεν ἐλευθέρᾳ, ὅπως προηγουμένως καὶ ἡ Ὀρεστίς. Ὅτι δὲ αὕτη δὲν ὑπῆγετο εἰς τὴν ρωμαϊκὴν ἐπαρχίαν καὶ κατὰ συνέπειαν δὲν περιελαμβάνετο εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχιακὴν ἔνωσιν τῶν Μακεδόνων, τὸ κοινὸν δηλ., τὸ συμπεραίνομεν ὅχι μόνον ἀπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ιδιότητα αὐτῆς ὡς ἐλευθέρᾳ περιοχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι μέχρι τοῦλάχιστον τοῦ 3ου μ.Χ. αἰῶνος τιμητικαὶ ἐπιγραφαὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ ἄλλαι, ἀφορῶσαι εἰς ἄρχοντας αὐτοῦ, δὲν εὑρέθησαν εἰς τὰς περιοχὰς αὐτάς⁹, μαρτυρεῖται δὲ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ δόγμα τῶν Βαττυναίων τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς τοῦ Δραντισίου, ὅπου πολῖται τῆς ἐπαρχίας, οἱ ἐγκατεστημένοι εἰς τὴν Ὀρεστίδα, διακρίνονται μὲ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπαρχικοί. Ἡ διάκρισις αὕτη θὰ ἦτο περιττὴ καὶ ἄσκοπος, ἂν ἡ Ὀρεστίς ἦ ὁλόκληρος ἡ Ἄνω Μακεδονία ὑπῆγετο ἢ εἶχεν ὑπαχθῇ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ

7. Liv. XLV, 30, 6: quartam regionem Eordaei et Lyncestae et Pelagones incolunt; juncta his Atintania et Tymphaeis et Elimiotis.

8. Βλ. π.χ. Δ. Κανατσούλη, Ἱστορία τῆς Μακεδονίας μέχρι τοῦ Μ. Κωνσταντίνου, Θεσσαλονίκη 1964, 91.

9. Δ. Κανατσούλη, Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τὰ συνέδρια τῶν μερίδων. Παράρτημα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀρ. 4, Προσφορά εἰς Στίλωνα Π. Κυριακίδη, Θεσσαλονίκη 1953, 295 καὶ σημ. 5 καὶ Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων, ἔ. ἀ. 36 κθ.

εις τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, καθ' ὅσον καὶ οἱ κάτοικοι αὐτῆς θὰ ἦσαν ἐπαρχικοί. Κατὰ τὴν ἐποχὴν λοιπὸν αὐτὴν τῆς μεγάλης ἀλλαγῆς εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν εἶναι πολὺ πιθανὸν ὁ θεσμὸς τοῦ κοινοῦ νὰ ἐπεξετάθῃ εἰς τὰς περιοχὰς τῆς Ἄνω Μακεδονίας. Προηγουμένως ὑπὸ τὸ συγκεντρωτικὸν καθεστῶς τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέων δὲν ἦτο δυνατόν νὰ καθιερωθῇ ἀποκεντρωτικὸν διοικητικὸν σύστημα, καὶ μάλιστα ὁμοσπονδιακόν, μεμονωμένως εἰς ὅρισμένας περιοχὰς τῆς ἐπικρατείας, ἀλλ' οὔτε καὶ κατὰ τὸ βραχὺ εἰκοσαετὲς διάστημα τῶν μακεδονικῶν δημοκρατιῶν. Τότε μὲ τὴν κατάργησιν τῶν μεριδίων ὡς πολιτικῶν ἐνώσεων καὶ τὴν ἀναγνώρισιν τῶν ἀνωτέρω περιοχῶν ὡς «ἐλευθέρων» παρίστατο ἀνάγκη νὰ εὐρεθῇ θεσμός τις διοικήσεως δι' αὐτάς. Ἐπαναφορὰ τῆς βασιλείας εἰς αὐτάς δὲν ἦτο πλέον δυνατὴ, ὅχι μόνον διότι οὐδεὶς γόνος τῶν δυναστικῶν οἰκογενειῶν αὐτῶν ἐσώζετο τότε, ἀλλὰ καὶ διότι οἱ ἴδιοι οἱ Ρωμαῖοι κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον θὰ ἤθελον νὰ ἐπανεέλθῃ θεσμός, ὅστις κατὰ τοὺς τελευταίους χρόνους τόσα προβλήματα καὶ δυσκολίας τοὺς εἶχε δημιουργήσει εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν. Ἀλλωστε οἱ ἴδιοι, διὰ νὰ εἶναι ἡσυχοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτῆς, ἐφ' ὅσον δι' ἄλλους λόγους δὲν ἠθέλησαν νὰ ὑπαγάγουν τὴν Ἄνω Μακεδονίαν εἰς τὴν ρωμαϊκὴν ἐπαρχίαν, ἠδύνησαν τὰς τοπικὰς καὶ φυλετικὰς διαιρέσεις καὶ διακρίσεις, αἱ ὁποῖαι ὑπῆρχον πρὸ τῆς ἐνσωματώσεώς της εἰς τὸ μακεδονικὸν κράτος. Ἀντιθέτως τὸ ὁμοσπονδιακὸν σύστημα ἦτο τὸ μόνον ἐνδεδειγμένον εἰς τὰς τότε περιστάσεις καὶ πρὸς ἐξυπηρέτησιν τῶν πολιτικῶν συμφερόντων τῆς Ρώμης. Ἦδη εἶχε δοκιμασθῇ τοῦτο εἰς τὴν Ὀρεσίδα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν τοῦ αἰῶνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίαν εἶχον λάβει πείραν ἀπὸ τοῦ 167 π.Χ. τῆς *δημοκρατικῆς καὶ συνεδριακῆς πολιτείας*. Ἐπὶ πλέον τὸ σύστημα τοῦτο ἦτο τὸ κυριαρχοῦν εἰς τὰς πολιτείας τῆς Νοτίου Ἑλλάδος.

Σήμερον, ἐκτὸς τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ὀρεστών, γνωρίζομεν ἔνθετος (τ.ἔ. κοινόν) τῶν Λυγκηστῶν¹⁰, ἐν κοινόν τῶν Ἑλιμιωτῶν¹¹ καὶ μίαν ἔνωσιν, παρομοίαν ἰσως πρὸς κοινόν, τῶν Δασσαρητίων¹², δηλ. τῶν κατοίκων τῆς μακεδονικῆς Ἰλλυρίας. Περὶ τῶν ἄλλων περιοχῶν τῆς Ἄνω Μακεδονίας, τῆς Δερριόπου, τῆς Πελαγονίας καὶ τῆς Ἑορδαίας, εἰκασίας μόνον ἡμποροῦμεν νὰ κάμωμεν· οὐδεμίαν μαρτυρίαν ἀσφαλῆ ἔχομεν. Ἄν ὅμως λάβωμεν ὑπ' ὄψιν ὅτι ὁ θεσμὸς τῶν κοινῶν εἶχεν ἐπεκταθῇ εἰς τὰς

10. BCH 21(1897) 161/62 [=Δήμιτσα, ἔ.ἀ. 248]: Κατ'ἀναλογίαν πρὸς τὸ κοινόν τῶν Ὀρεστών, τὸ ὅποion, ὅπως εἶδομεν, καὶ ἔθνος λέγεται, πρέπει νὰ θεωρήσωμεν καὶ τὸ *Λυγκηστῶν ἔθνος* ὡς μίαν ὁμόσπονδον ἔνωσιν τῶν κατοίκων τῆς Λυγκηστίδος. Βλ. Larsen, ἔ.ἀ. 444. Γενικώτερον περὶ τῆς ἐναλλαγῆς τῶν ὄρων ἔθνος - κοινόν βλ. Kornemann, RE Suppl. IV, 915.

11. Δ. Κανατσούλη, Τὸ κοινόν τῶν Ἑλιμιωτῶν, *Μακεδονικὸν ἡμερολόγιον* 1959, 210.

12. Δήμιτσα, ἔ.ἀ. ἀρ. 330. Πρβ. καὶ Plin. N.H. 4,3.

σημαντικωτέρας περιοχᾶς τῆς Ἄνω Μακεδονίας, θὰ πρέπει νὰ συμπεράνωμεν ὅτι τὸ διοικητικὸν τοῦτο σύστημα ἦτο καθολικὸν διὰ τὴν περιοχὴν αὐτήν. Ἔως πότε διετηροῦντο τὰ κοινὰ ὡς πολιτικαὶ καὶ διοικητικαὶ ὀργανώσεις εἰς τὸ τμήμα αὐτὸ τῆς Μακεδονίας; Ἀσφαλῶς μέχρις οὗτου διετηρεῖτο καὶ ἡ αὐτονομία τῆς Ἄνω Μακεδονίας, ἡ ὁποία, φαίνεται, κατὰ τὸν 3ον μ.Χ. αἰῶνα ἔπαυσεν ὑπάρχουσα. Κατὰ τὴν ἐποχὴν αὐτήν, ἂν λάβωμεν ὑπ' ὄψιν ὅτι ἡ Ἑλίμεια καὶ ἡ Λυγκηστὶς μετέχουν τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν χρόνων τοῦ Αὐγούστου ὑφισταμένης ἐπαρχιακῆς ἐνώσεως τῶν Μακεδόνων, δηλ. τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων, ἐνῶ προηγουμένως δὲν μετεῖχον, πρέπει μὲ κάποιαν βεβαιότητα νὰ συμπεράνωμεν ὅτι ὅλαι αἱ περιοχαὶ τῆς Ἄνω Μακεδονίας ὑπήχθησαν εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, ἀπολέσασαι τὴν σκιώδη καταστάσαν αὐτονομίαν των. Ἄν ὅμως τὰ κοινὰ τῆς Ἄνω Μακεδονίας κατηργήθησαν ἐντελῶς ἢ μετεβλήθησαν ἀπὸ πολιτικὰς ὀργανώσεις εἰς λατρευτικὰς, ὅπως ἦτο καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων, μὲ τὰ σημερινὰ δεδομένα, τίποτε δὲν εἴμεθα εἰς θέσιν νὰ εἴπωμεν.

Πολὺ ὀλιγώτερα ἢ μᾶλλον σχεδὸν τίποτε δὲν γνωρίζομεν περὶ τῆς ἐσωτερικῆς ὀργανώσεως τῶν κοινῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρμοδιοτήτων αὐτῶν. Ἀντιθέτως αἱ μαρτυρίαι εἰς ὅ,τι ἀφορᾷ εἰς τὰς σχέσεις αὐτῶν καὶ γενικώτερον τῆς Ἄνω Μακεδονίας μὲ τὴν Ρώμην, ἰδίως κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοκρατορικοὺς χρόνους, εἶναι περισσότεραι. Εἶναι γνωστὸν ὅτι ἤδη κατὰ τὸν 3ον μακεδονικὸν πόλεμον, τὸ 167 π.Χ., καὶ προτοῦ ἀκόμη καταστῆ ρωμαϊκὴ ἐπαρχία, ἡ Μακεδονία ὑπεχρεώθη νὰ καταβάλῃ εἰς τὴν Ρώμην τὸ ἡμισυ τῶν εἰσπρατομένων πρότερον κατ' ἔτος ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέων φόρων, ἀνερχομένων εἰς 100 τάλαντα ἑτησίως¹³. Πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν τοῦτον ἡ χώρα διηρέθη εἰς τέσσαρας διοικητικὰς καὶ φορολογικὰς περιφερείας, τὰς γνωστὰς μερίδας. Αἱ φορολογικαὶ αὗται περιοχαὶ φαίνεται ὅτι διετηρήθησαν καὶ μετὰ τὸ 148 π.Χ., καθ' ὅσον αἱ μερίδες, αἵτινες ἀπετέλουν αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ 167 μέχρι τοῦ 148, ὑπῆρχον καὶ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοκρατορικοὺς χρόνους, ὅπως βλέπομεν εἰς ἐπιγραφὴν τῆς Βεροίας τῶν χρόνων τῶν Φλαβίων¹⁴. Ὅτι δὲ αὗται ἦσαν κατὰ κάποιον τρόπον ὑπεύθυνοι διὰ τὴν εἰσπραξίν των φόρων δυνάμεθα νὰ τὸ συμπεράνωμεν ἐξ ἡμιεμφαρμένης ἐπιγραφῆς περιεχοῦσης ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Ἀδριανοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν Βέροϊαν, ὅπου ἀναφέρεται ποσὸν τι ἐκ 50,000 σηστερτίων (ἢ δηναρίων), τὸ ὅποιον

13. Liv. XLV, 29,4 : tributum dimidium eius, quod pendissent regibus, pendere populo romano. Just. 33,2. Διόδ. 31,8,3. Πλούτ. Αἰμίλ. 28,6: ἑκατὸν τάλαντα Ῥωμαίοις ὑποτελεῖν, οὗ πλέον ἢ διπλάσιον τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν εισέφερον. Eutr. Brev. 4,7,3. Σύγκελλ. 267 D. Ἰωάνν. Ἀντίοχ. παρὰ Müller, FHG 4,558,57.

14. R.A. 37 (1900) 489, ἀρ. 130. Βλ. καὶ Feyel, BCH 70 (1946) 194 καὶ Larsen, Cl. Phil. 40 (1945) 67 καὶ 44 (1948) 89.

κατενέμετο εἰς τέσσαρα ἴσα μέρη, καθὼς δύναται τις νὰ συμπεράνη ἐκ τοῦ εὐθὺς ἀμέσως σημειουμένου ποσοῦ τῶν 12,500 σηστερτίων (ἢ δηναρίων), ἀποτελοῦντος τὸ τέταρτον τοῦ ἀνωτέρω ποσοῦ¹⁵. Ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιγραφὴν ἀναφέρεται καὶ τὸ ἐπαρχιακὸν συνέδριον καὶ οἱ σύεδροι, τὸ ὡς ἄνω ποσὸν συσχετίζεται μὲ τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπαρχίας κατανεμόμενον εἰς τέσσαρα ἴσα μέρη φόρον, ὅσαι δηλ. ἦσαν καὶ αἱ μερίδες. Ὅτι δὲ ὑπῆρχε καὶ ἡ τετάρτη μερίς, ἡ περιλαμβάνουσα τὴν Ἄνω Μακεδονίαν, καὶ ὅτι αὕτη δὲν ἦτο ἀπλοῦς γεωγραφικὸς ὅρος, ἀλλὰ διοικητικὴ (φορολογικὴ) περιφέρεια, μὲ ἰδίαν ἐσωτερικὴν ὀργάνωσιν, τὸ διαπιστώνομεν ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας ἐπιγραφῆς τῶν χρόνων τῶν Φλαβίων, ἐνθα ὄχι μόνον κατονομάζεται ἡ μερίς αὕτη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ συνέδριον καὶ ἄρχων αὐτῆς μνημονεύεται. Κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοκρατορικοὺς λοιπὸν χρόνους πρέπει νὰ θεωρηθῇ βέβαιον ὅτι ἡ Ἄνω Μακεδονία ἐπλήρωνε φόρους εἰς τὴν Ρώμην. Πράγματι δὲ εἰς τὸ δόγμα τῆς ὀρεστικῆς πόλεως τῶν Βαττυναίων βλέπομεν «διάταξιν» τοῦ Γεντιανοῦ (περὶ τὸ 118 μ. Χ.)¹⁶, ἀφορῶσαν εἰς ἀπογραφὴν καὶ ἀποτίμησιν τῶν περιουσιῶν τῆς ἐπαρχίας νὰ ἰσχύη καὶ διὰ τοὺς «ἐλευθέρους» Ὀρέστας¹⁷. Αἱ ἀποτιμήσεις αὗται (census), αἵτινες ἀπὸ τοῦ Αὐγουστοῦ ἐνηργοῦντο κατὰ καιροὺς εἰς τὸ ρωμαϊκὸν κράτος, εἶχον βέβαια σχέσιν μὲ τὸν καθορισμὸν καὶ τὴν εἰσπραξίν φόρων. Ὅτι δὲ ὑπὸ τύπον φόρων καὶ εἰσφορῶν εἰσεπράττοντο ἐκ μέρους τοῦ δημοσίου χρήματα ἀπὸ τοὺς Βαττυναίους καὶ γενικώτερον ἀπὸ τοὺς Ὀρέστας ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ ἡ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐπιγραφῇ παρουσία τοῦ φίσκου, τοῦ αὐτοκρατορικοῦ δηλ. ταμείου, μνημονευομένου παραλλήλως πρὸς τὸ τῆς πόλεως (στ. 29.30: ἀποδοῦναι εἰς φίσκον δηνάρια πεντακισχέλια καὶ ἄλλα τῇ πολιτείᾳ δηνάρια πεντακισχέλια). Ἀσφαλῶς ἡ διάταξις αὕτη πρέπει νὰ ἰσχύει δι' ὅλας τὰς civitates liberae τῆς Ἄνω Μακεδονίας.

Ποῖαι ἦσαν αἱ φορολογικαὶ ὑποχρεώσεις τῆς «ἐλευθέρας» Ἄνω Μακεδονίας κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τῆς δημοκρατίας ἐναντι τῆς Ρώμης, δὲν εἶναι εὐκόλουν νὰ εἰπωμέν τι μετὰ βεβαιότητος· δὲν γνωρίζομεν, ἂν αὕτη ὡς «ἐλευθέρα» ἦτο παντελῶς ἀπηλλαγμένη φόρων ἢ ὑπεχρεοῦτο νὰ τελῇ φόρον τινὰ καὶ ποῖον. Ὅπωςδὲποτε ἐκ τῶν διατυπουμενῶν κατηγοριῶν τοῦ Κικέρωνος¹⁸ κατὰ τοῦ Λευκίου Καλπουρνίου Πείσωνος Καισωνίνου, ὅτι οὗτος κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τῆς ἀνθυπατείας του ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ἐπέτυχε διὰ τοῦ

15. *J.R.St.* 30(1940) 148 [= *BCH* 47(1923) 184 = *SEG* 2,69/70, ἀρ. 398]. Βλ. καὶ Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1926, 586, σημ. 3 καὶ Δ. Κανατσούλη, Ἡ μακεδονικὴ πόλις, *Μακεδονικά Δ'* (1960), 289.

16. Βλ. Groag, *RE* 2R V, 659/60, ἐν. λ. *Terentius*, ἀρ. 48.

17. *JHS* 33 (1913) 337/38, ἀρ. 17, στ. 17

18. Cic. *De pr. Cons.* 3,6. 4,7 καὶ *In Pison.* 16,37. 24,57

κομματικοῦ τοῦ φίλου Ποπλίου Κλωδίου νὰ παραχωρηθῇ εἰς αὐτὸν κατὰ παράβασιν νόμου τινὸς τοῦ 59 π.Χ., διατάσσοντος τὴν αὐστηρὰν τήρησιν τῶν προνομίων τῶν ἐλευθέρων πόλεων, τὸ δικαίωμα νὰ ἐπεμβαίη εἰς τὴν οἰκονομικὴν διοίκησιν καὶ εἰς δικαστικά ζητήματα, ἀφορῶντα εἰς αὐτάς καὶ τοὺς Ρωμαίους πιστωτάς, συμπεραίνομεν ὅτι αἱ ἐλεύθεραι πόλεις, αἱ *civitates liberae*, εὐρίσκοντο εἰς πλεονεκτικωτέραν θέσιν τῶν ὑπηκόων¹⁹. Κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοκρατορικοὺς ὅμως χρόνους, ὅπως εἶδομεν, μὲ τὴν ἐπελθοῦσαν μεταβολὴν εἰς τὰς ἐλευθέρας πόλεις ὡς πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον δίκαιον, αὗται ἐπλήρωνον φόρους, ὅπως καὶ αἱ *civitates stipendiariae*.

Πλὴν τῆς ἀνωτέρω φορολογίας αἱ ἐλεύθεραι πόλεις τῆς Ἄνω Μακεδονίας ὑπέκειντο καὶ εἰς ἄλλα βάρη, ἐπιβαλλόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς ρωμαϊκῆς διοικήσεως, τακτικὰ καὶ ἔκτακτα. Εἰς ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος (ἡ διοικητοῦ τῆς ἐπαρχίας) πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθέραν πόλιν Ἡράκλειαν τὴν Λυγκηστικὴν καθορίζεται ὁ τρόπος, καθ' ὃν πρέπει νὰ γίνῃ ἡ εἰσπραξις εἰδικοῦ φόρου, ἐπιβληθέντος διὰ τὴν ἐπισκευὴν δρόμου τινός, πιθανῶς τῆς Ἐγνατίας²⁰. Ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναφέρεται ὅτι προηγουμένως εἶχεν ἐκδοθῇ διάταγμα (*κοινὸν διάταγμα*) ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου, καθορίζον τὸν τρόπον στρώσεως τῶν ὁδῶν, πρέπει νὰ συμπεράνωμεν ὅτι ἡ ἐπισκευὴ τῆς ὁδοῦ δὲν ἐγίνετο ὑπὸ μόνης τῆς Ἡρακλείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων πόλεων, πιθανῶς ὑφ' ὅλων τῶν κατὰ μῆκος τῆς Ἐγνατίας εὐρισκομένων ἐλευθέρων πόλεων τῆς Ἄνω Μακεδονίας. Κατὰ ταῦτα λοιπὸν αἱ ἐλεύθεραι πόλεις ὑπεχρεοῦντο εἰς τὴν καταβολὴν εἰδικοῦ φόρου διὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν ἢ ἐπισκευὴν τῶν δημοσίων ὁδῶν, ἰδιαίτερος τῶν στρατιωτικῶν (*viae militares*). Τοῦτο διὰ τὴν Μακεδονίαν γενικώτερον διαπιστώνομεν ἐκ τῶν μυριαρίων, δηλ. τῶν μαρμαρίνων ἐκείνων στηλῶν, αἵτινες ἐστήνοντο κατὰ μῆκος τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ὁδῶν ἀνὰ πᾶν ρωμαϊκὸν μίλιον καὶ ἐδήλουν τὰς μεταξὺ τῶν ἀποστάσεις. Ὅσα ἐξ αὐτῶν φέρουν τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως κατ' ὀνομαστικὴν, κατὰ δοτικὴν δὲ ἢ αἰτιατικὴν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον ἀνατίθεται τὸ μυριάριον, δεικνύουν ὅτι ὄχι μόνον ταῦτα κατεσκευάσθησαν μὲ ἐξοδα τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μῆμα τῆς ὁδοῦ, τὸ ὁποῖον συνήθως σημειώνεται εἰς αὐτά. Μυλιάρια ἀγνώστων πόλεων τῆς Λυγκηστί-

19. Κατὰ τὸν Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* 78/9, τὰ παραχωρηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν Ρωμαίων προνόμια εἰς τὰς ἐλευθέρας πόλεις ἦσαν: 1) τὸ δικαίωμα νὰ δικάζουν αἱ ἐλεύθεραι πόλεις αἱ ἴδιαι τοὺς πολίτας τῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐγκατεστημένους εἰς τὴν περιοχὴν τῶν Ρωμαίων, 2) νὰ διαχειρίζονται τὰ οἰκονομικά τῶν, 3) ἀπαλλαγὴ ἀπὸ τὴν στάθμευσιν ρωμαϊκῶν φρουρῶν, 4) τὸ δικαίωμα νὰ εἰσπράττουν δασμοὺς ἐντὸς τῆς περιοχῆς τῶν καὶ 5) τὸ δικαίωμα τῆς νομισματοκοπίας.

20. Δήμιτσα, *ἑ. ἀ.* 247 [= *BCH* 21 (1897) 161/62 = *REC* 47 (1934) 33]. Βλ. καὶ Larsen, *Roman Greece*, *ἑ. ἀ.* 458, σὴμ 33.

δος και Ἑορδαίας ἔχουν ἔλθει εἰς φῶς²¹. Ὅλα τὰ εὑρεθέντα εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν μιλιάρια εἶναι τοῦ 2ου, 3ου καὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν τοῦ 4ου μ.Χ. αἰῶνος. Ἄρα αἱ ἐλευθεραὶ πόλεις τῆς Ἄνω Μακεδονίας, ὅπως καὶ τῆς ὑπολοίπου Μακεδονίας, ὑπεχρεοῦντο ἀπὸ τοῦ 2ου τοῦλάχιστον μ.Χ. αἰῶνος νὰ ἀναλάβουν μὲ ἰδικὰ τῶν ἐξοδα τὴν κατασκευὴν καὶ συντήρησιν τοῦ τμήματος τῆς στρατιωτικῆς ἢ δημοσίας ὁδοῦ, τὸ ὅποιον εὐρίσκετο ἐντὸς τῆς περιοχῆς τῶν (*territorium*).

Ἡ ρωμαϊκὴ διοίκησις δὲν περιορίζετο μόνον εἰς τὴν εἰσπραξιν τῶν φόρων καὶ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν διαφόρων οἰκονομικῶν βαρῶν καὶ ἄλλων ὑποχρεώσεων, ἐνίοτε ἐπενέβαινε καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐσωτερικὰ τῶν κοινῶν. Ἀναπόφευκτος δὲ ἦτο ἡ ἐπέμβασις τῆς ρωμαϊκῆς ἐξουσίας, ὅταν ἀνεφύοντο μεταξὺ αὐτῶν καὶ ἄλλων πολιτειῶν διαφοραί, πρὸ παντὸς ἐδαφικαί. Ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγραφῶν μᾶς εἶναι γνωσταὶ τοιαῦται ἐπεμβάσεις. Οὕτως ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Τραϊανὸς τὴν 27ην Σεπτεμβρίου τοῦ ἔτους 101 μ.Χ. καθώρισε λεπτομερῶς, προφανῶς τῇ αἰτήσῃ τῶν ἐνδιαφερομένων, τὰ σύνορα μεταξὺ τῶν Ἑλιμιωτῶν, τ.ἔ. τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλιμιωτῶν, καὶ τῶν Δολιχηγῶν (*Dolichani*), κατοίκων τῆς περραιβικῆς πόλεως Δυλίσχης²². Ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπανεφέρειν ἐν ἰσχύϊ παλαιότεραν διάταξιν τοῦ Ἀμύντα Γ' (393-370 π.Χ.) τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Μακεδονίας, ἀφορῶσαν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ζήτημα.

Ὅπως βλέπομεν, ἡ παραχωρηθεῖσα ἐλευθερία εἰς τὰ κοινὰ τῆς Ἄνω Μακεδονίας, ὅπως καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἐλευθέρας πόλεις, ἦτο μᾶλλον τυπικὴ, ὅπως καὶ ἡ διαφημισθεῖσα ἐλευθερία καὶ αὐτονομία τῶν ὑπηκόων πόλεων, παρὰ οὐσιαστικὴ.

Ἄξιον παρατηρήσεως ὅμως εἶναι ὅτι ἡ Ἄνω Μακεδονία διετήρησε τὴν φυλετικὴν τῆς διαίρεσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τοῦλάχιστον τῶν ὑστέρων ρωμαϊκῶν. Ἡ διαίρεσις αὕτη ὅτε μὲν ἦτο, ὅπως εἶδομεν, ἀπλῶς διοικητικὴ, ὅτε δὲ καὶ πολιτικὴ. Παρομοίαν σχεδὸν διοικητικὴν διαίρεσιν ἐνεφάνιζεν αὕτη καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀθωμανικὴν κυριαρχίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σήμερον ὑπὸ τὴν ἑλληνικὴν διοίκησιν. Ἀρά γε ὑπαγορεύουν ταύτην γεωγραφικοὶ λόγοι καὶ ἐδαφικαὶ ἀνάγκαι μόνον ἢ μήπως ἡ ὑπ' αὐτὴν κρύπτεται παλαιὰ παράδοσις;

Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης

Δ. ΚΑΝΑΤΣΟΥΛΗΣ

21. Βλ. Ch. Edson, *Cl. Phil.* 46 (1951) 4 κέ. ἀρ. 2.3.4.

22. *BSA* 17 (1910/11) 193 κέ.

PROGRESS REPORT ON THE GREEK INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TRITE MERIS FOR IG X

"Tertia regio," says Livy (45.30), "nobiles urbes Edessam et Beroeam et Pellam habet." This brief survey is confined to the Greek inscriptions of Beroea and Edessa. In the past two years, thanks to the kindness of Dr. Petsas, Miss Andreiomenou, Mr. Touratsoglou, and their colleagues in the Archaeological Service, I have been able on two separate occasions to spend some weeks working in the new Museum at Verria, and also in Edessa. On my last sojourn in Verria I was able to identify all the published inscriptions housed in the courtyard of the Museum, and in the Museum itself. Many of them have experienced some vicissitudes since I first saw them over 30 years ago, when they were stored in the Old Metropolis.

"I can discover," wrote Colonel W.M. Leake, describing his journey of 1806 (*Travels in Northern Greece*, 3.292), "only three inscriptions at Verria." Only one of these survives, viz. Pl. XXX, no. 142; I found it 30 years ago in the Turkish cemetery, where Leake saw it. It is now in the courtyard of the new Museum. I have already corrected Leake's interpretation of the proper name Παπποῦνι, in *BSA* 58, 28, no. 17. (Pl. XXXII a).

Leake was perhaps not as diligent in his search as he should have been. Half a century later Delacoulonche found some 50 inscriptions scattered in the town in the Greek, Turkish and Jewish cemeteries, and in the 61 churches and 15 mosques. Of these about half survive; a few have been "lost," but have now turned up in the new Museum. Other scholars during the past hundred years have added their quota. Of the 9 inscriptions from Verria published by Rostovtzeff, from the copies and squeezes of Uspenski, in the *Bull. de l'institut archéologique à Constantinople*, IV, 3, 1899, 166-88 (in Russian), seven survive. Of the 9 inscriptions published by Struck in *AM* 27, 1902, 315-6 only one is extant. Of the 44 published by Woodward, from Wace's copies and squeezes, in *BSA* 18, 133-65, only 22 survive. Of these 44 Woodward thought that 32 were unpublished, but, in fact, some of his unpublished ones were already known from Rostovtzeff's article. Of the 27 published by Orlandos in *'Aρχ. Δελτ.* 2, 1916, 144-63, thirteen survive. Thus Leake's total

of three inscriptions has now risen to over 300, of which I reckon about 70 are still unpublished.

Of the unpublished inscriptions by far the most important is the γυμνασιαρχικός νόμος, mentioned by Ch. Makaronas in *Χρονικά 'Αρχαιολογικά*, 1940-50, no.71. The stele is now displayed in the new Museum at Thessaloniki; it is to be hoped that the text will be published in time for inclusion in the Corpus. The inscriptions referring to Artemis Digaia, mentioned in *BCH* 63, 1939,317, and found by Rhomaïos at Metochi, are still unpublished; they are in the courtyard of the new Museum at Verria.

With its 300 inscriptions Verria cannot rival in quantity or quality the thrice-greater epigraphic harvest of Thessaloniki. Nevertheless, the inscriptions of Verria are by no means negligible. Of the 230 or so published inscriptions about 110 are extant, 70 are lost (or, at least, I have not been able to find them in a prolonged search over the years); in addition, 20 or so have disappeared since I measured, read and squeezed them 30 years ago. There are 25 that I examined in 1937, but have not looked at since; they are mostly in churches. I have collected and re-assembled the fragments of 10 inscriptions that were broken when the occupying forces cleared the stones from the Old Metropolis in October 1941, in order to use it as a stable (Ch. Makaronas, *Χρονικά 'Αρχ.* 1940-50, no.59). There are about two dozen Hellenistic inscriptions, including royal letters, a manumission, the gymnasium law, and some fine funerary monuments; some 50 honorary inscriptions, including many splendid examples of imperial date; a few decrees and imperial rescripts, several manumissions, a dozen or so votive inscriptions, including some to Zeus Hypsistos, and ten ephebic lists. The 150 or so funerary inscriptions are often interesting from the point of view of Macedonian nomenclature, a dozen sizeable inscriptions are in verse, and there are half a dozen gladiatorial inscriptions. There are about 30 dated inscriptions, two dated by regnal years, 7 by the Actian era, 9 by the double era, 5 by the unnamed era, and 7 are datable by their contents, e.g. names of Roman emperors.

Much of my time recently has been spent in improving the texts of already published inscriptions, a field in which there is still considerable scope.

1. The stele containing the letters of Demetrius II to Harpalos is one of the most important inscriptions in Verria. It was found in 1911-2 by A.J.B. Wace in a Jewish butcher's and published by Woodward in *BSA* 18, 1911-2, 134-9, no.1. When Edson and I saw the stone in the Old Metropolis 30 years ago, it had already lost one fragment from the top right (*BSA* 40, 1939-40, 14-16). It suffered another loss, as Makaronas tells us in *Μακεδονικά*, 2, 1951, *Χρονικά 'Αρχαιολογικά*, 1940-50, n.59, in October 1941. In 1947 it was res-

cued by V.G. Kallipolitis and put in the church of the Παναγία Κυριώτισσα. It is now in the new Museum at Verria (Pl. XXXII b).

2. In the catalogue of ephebes, published by V. G. Kallipolitis (see *SEG* 13.398 for bibliography), it has been possible to improve some readings. Col. A. L.1, read Μέσσιος for Κάσσιος; 1.7, Μάριος for Μάρκος; 1.9, Σουλπίκιος; 1.10, Νείκανδρος for Νε[όμ]αν[δρ]ος; 1.11, the last name is Κοῖντας; 1.12, Εὐπορος. Col. B. L.1, Γεμίνιος Γάιος; 1.7, Κλαύδιος Φαβρίκιος.

3. The inscription published by L. Robert, from a copy by S. Lollis, in *Rev. Phil.* 1939, 128-32, no. 1, requires correction; the mistake arises from haplography by the copyist.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
 Αἰρήλιος Ῥωμανὸς
 κατεσκεύασεν τῇ πα-
 τρίδι τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ
 5 μητροπόλει Βεροῖα κλπ.

This is a curious bomos macedonicus. The inscription is out on what was intended to be the left side; the original front, now on the right side, has a countersunk panel for the inscription, but it has been left blank (Pl. XXXIII a).

4. The gladiatorial relief published by L. Robert in *Gladiateurs* 82-3, no. 17 was, when he saw it, embedded high up in the wall of what was the Μελετεῖον Παρθεναγωγεῖον. Now it is in the new Museum, where it can be studied more closely (Pl. XXXIII b). Sulpicius' native town was Pautalia, as Robert saw. The letters at the end of 1.2 and the beginning of 1.3 must conceal a technical term for a gladiator. The end of 1.2 has a pi, epsilon and tau in ligature, followed by an upright, though this may be a flaw in the stone. There follows room for two or three letters, if they were ever engraved; but the flaw in the stone may be an ancient one and the engraver may have avoided it. At the extreme edge of the stone there appears to be an epsilon, but it may be a circular sigma with a mark on the stone. This letter may not in fact belong to this line; e.g. the final sigma of Ἰουλιανός in 1.5 is under the nu of Νικαεύς. There is also a rasura below Ἰουλιανός. L.3 begins with eta (perhaps tau and eta in ligature, though the apparent tau may be a mark on the stone) followed by sigma. One is tempted to see here ἐπέτης as a translation of *secutor*; an example is quoted in the *Suppl.* to LJS from P.Ryl.4.627.146. But the normal syllabic rule would require ἐπέτης not ἐπέτης. It might be possible to see πετρ[ων]στής, "one who trips up with the heel," but I can find no example of this word as a technical gladiatorial term. It might be a nickname, but ἐν ὄπλοις seems against this. One might also think of πετ[ευρ]στής

from the Latin *petaurista*. L.5: If we read Μεδίας i.e. Με(ι)δίας (cf. L. Robert, *op. cit.*, no. 191 a), assuming that the apparent bar on the epsilon, between the final alpha of ΜΕΔΙΑ and the final sigma of Νικαεύς, is in fact a flaw on the stone, this confirms G. Klaffenbach's conjecture in his review of Robert's book, *Gnomon* 1949, p. 321: "Ich möchte den Namen Μειδίας erkennen."

5. The manumission, dated January, A.D.181, was published by Woodward from Wace's copy and squeeze, in *BSA* 18, 1911-2, 139-44, no. 4. When Wace saw the stone, it was built into the west end of the church of Hagios Kerykos. From there it was moved to the Old Metropolis, and is now in the new Museum. It has been possible to correct the text in many places, and to read two whole lines that eluded Wace and Woodward (Pl. XXXIV a).

- Ἀριάγνη Βάστου τὴν ὁ-
 πάρχουσιν αὐτῇ παιδί-
 σκην ὀνόματι Ἑλπίδα
 δῶρον ἔδωκεν θεῷ
- 5 Ἀγροτέρῳ Ἀρτέμίδι, μὴ
 μηθενὸς ἑτέρου αὐτῆς ἑ-
 ξουσίαν ἔχοντος μήτε ἀρ-
 χόντων μήτε βουλευτῶν, ὁ-
 πέταξεν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν
- 10 τὴν δεδομένην αὐτῇ ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἀδελφῶν· ν Ἡρακλείδης Βά-
 στου καὶ Σύρος Βάστου Ἀριάγνη
 Βάστου τῇ κυρίᾳ ἀδελφῇ χαίριν·
 ἡμεῖς, κυρία ἀδελφή, ἐν πολλοῖς
- 15 σοι χάριν οἶδαμεν καὶ νῦν βουλο-
 μένης σου τινὰς τῶν ἰδίων θρε-
 παρίων ἐλευθερῶσαι συνευαρε-
 στοῦμεν καὶ συνκατατιθέμεθα· σὺ
 γὰρ τῶν ἰδίων ἑξουσίαν ἔχεις καὶ
- 20 γὰρ αὐτὴ αὐτὰ κοπίασας περιοδικὰ
 οὐ παρ' ἁ(λ)λου τινὸς παραλαβούσας,
 καὶ ὥς πρεσβυτέρα γυνὴ βούλει δα-
 νίσασθαι καὶ ὑποθέσθαι ΠΓ ω Κ²⁻³ NIC
 παιδίου, ἀρώγην τοῦ γήρως, καὶ ἐν τοῦ-
- 25 τοῖς συνευαρεστοῦμεν, κυρία, μηδὲν τι
 τηλικούτον παρεχόμενοί σοι, ὥς γὰρ
 προείπαμεν, καὶ σὰ ἐστὶν καὶ σὺ αὐτὰ

- κεκοπίακας· ἐγράψαμεν τὴν ἐπιστο-
λὴν σοι ἐν Βεροίᾳ ἔτους βισ' Σε-
30 βαστοῦ τοῦ καὶ ηκτ' Περειτίου
τετράδι διὰ χειρὸς Φλαυίου Ἀ[ρ]-
δουοῦ διὰ τὸ μὴ αὐτοῦς ἡμᾶς ἐπίστα-
σθαι γράμματα· ἔρωσθαί σε εὐχόμε-
θα. μάρτυρες. Πίος Αἰλιος Ἐπίκτη-
35 τος, Λούκιος Μάγνιος Οὐαλεριανός,
Σέξτος Ποπίλλιος Λυκῖνος·
ἐγράφη ἡ στήλη ἔτους βισ' Σεβαστοῦ
Πανήμου δευτέρᾳ.

I shall not repeat what Woodward has already written in his long and careful commentary; I confine my comments to noting the places where my text differs from his.

L.16. In such a stone marks of weathering may easily be mistaken for letters, but I seem to see the ungrammatical *τινας τῶν* rather than *τινα σὼν*.

Ll. 20-1. "The end of this line and the whole of the next are irrecoverable from the squeeze, and the copy gives no help" (W.); a squeeze is of little help in such a weathered surface, and only prolonged study of the stone bears fruit. The γάρ at the beginning of l.20 reinforces the γάρ in the previous line. I take αὐτὴ as the subject, *ipsa*, and αὐτὰ as the object of κοπιάσα-σα. In l. 21 I take παραλαβούσασα as a late form of the second aorist participle (perhaps influenced by κοπιάσασα), rather than παραλαβοῦσα σά. I am indebted to Professor G. Klaffenbach for his help in interpreting these lines. In l.21 the reading is certain; the engraver has put a cross-bar on the first lambda of ἄλλου.

L.22. W.'s νὺν ἡβούλου should be γυνὴ βούλει.

L.23. After ὑποθέσθαι, the first letter appears to be a pi, the second a gamma or rho, the third an omega, the fourth a broken eta or kappa, the fifth letter would be a small letter like an omicron or omega, but there is a flaw in the stone. The last three letters seem to be NIC; the final two may represent a ligature of eta and sigma. One might think of πρῶκ' [ὦ]νῆς, with the meaning "as a gift, in addition to the sale" (l. 4, δῶρον), with a reference to the fictitious sale common in similar manumissions.

L.24. W.'s δν is really ἐν.

Ll. 25-6. I read μηδέν τι for W.'s μηδενί. W. thought that the sense was "though we have nobody of such an age (as your slave) to offer you (to replace her)." It would suit the context better if we took the phrase, as in πρά-

γμᾶτα παρέχειν τινί, to mean "we raise no great objection, for, as we said before, they are your property."

L.27. W.'s εὖ should be σύ.

L.37. W.'s ἐγράψαμεν|ταδι should be ἐγράφη ἡ στήλλη.

6. This tantalising inscription, once in the church of Hagia Anna and now in the courtyard of the Museum, was published by Rostovtzeff, from Uspenski's copy and squeeze, in *Bull.de l'institut arch.à Constantinople* (in Russian), 1899, 167-70, no. 1. The last three letters are ΑΛΕ; R. read ME (Pl. XXXIV b).

7. This splendid inscription was published first by Delacoulonche, *Mémoire*, p. 248, no. 35, and later by Rostovtzeff from Uspenski's copy and squeeze in loc. cit. 172, no.2 a. It was in the vestibule of the Orta Cami. When Edson and I looked for it 30 years ago, it was not to be found, but it has turned up in the courtyard of the Museum (Pl. XXXV a). On the other hand, the Nerva inscription of which I published a corrected text in *JRS* 30, 1940, 50-2, has now disappeared.

8. One of the very fine series of honorary inscriptions published by Walter in *Arch.Anzeiger* 57, 1942; this is no. 15, pp. 177-8. (Pl. XXXV b). These stones still repay study; the published text is not always correct. In l. 6 read Μαν-τοῦς, not Μαντῶς; the ligature of ους is the same as in ἡθους. Three of these bomoi have unaccountably disappeared, viz. *AA* 57, 1942, 183, no. 21, 183, no. 26, and 184, no. 28.

9. The right half of the inscription published by Delacoulonche, *Mémoire*, pp. 114 and 261, no. 65, as from the church of Hagios Mochios, has turned up in the courtyard of the Museum. It records the gift from her private funds of a water conduit by Ammia, the daughter of Claudius Pierion, and her children (Pl. XXXVI a).

10. This Macedonian bomos (Pl. XXXVI b), now in the courtyard of the Museum, seems to have come from Μπραϊνάτες-Λυκοβίστα, from the narthex of the church of the Apostles Peter and Paul. The only publication I know of is in the *Ἑθνικὸς Ὁδηγὸς* 1920-1, vol. 4, p. 18. I believe that Μπραϊνάτες is now Νέα Νικομήδεια, and Λυκοβίστα, Λυκογιάννη.

οἱ σύνεδροι
Κλαύδιον Πλω-
τεῖνον υἱὸν
Κλαυδίου Μέ-
5 νωνος τοῦ Μακε-
δονιάρχου εἰς
παραμυθίαν
τοῦ πατρὸς

10 ἐπιμεληθέν-
τος τῆς ἀναστά-
σεως Ἰουλιανοῦ
Μενάνδρου.

For Claudius Meno, the Macedoniarch, and his son Claudius (Rufrius) Plotinus, see C.F. Edson, *Macedonica III*, *H. Th. Rev.* 41, 1948, 197, where our inscription is mentioned as "missing or destroyed."

11. The five fragments which I have assembled (Pl. XXXVII a) are the *disiecta membra* of the stele published by Woodward in *BSA* 18, 1911-2, 155, no. 20; this was one of the inscribed stones deliberately broken by the occupying forces.

"Notwithstanding the importance of the ancient city which stood at Vodhena," wrote Colonel Leake describing his visit in 1806 (*Travels in N. Greece*, 3. 276), "the Hellenic remains are few... but there are many scattered remains in the town, and among them are some inscriptions of the time of the Roman empire." Leake in fact published only three Greek inscriptions in his third volume, of which one (no. 138) is extant, and of a second (no. 140) only part of one line remains; the third (no. 139) is lost. Leake's search was cursory; there were other inscriptions extant at the time, reported by other travellers. Leake's remarks on the paucity of archaeological remains in Edessa are echoed some 50 years later by Delacoulonche, *Mémoire*, p. 78: "Malgré l'importance politique et religieuse d'Aegées, la ville actuelle de Vodena compte peu de restes antiques... 12 inscriptions, dont la plus ancienne ne semble pas remonter plus haut que l'an 298.. voilà tout ce que l'on a trouvé dans les six mosquées ... et dans les treize églises de Vodena." Only one of these mosques remains, serving as a temporary museum, while all the ancient churches have gone, but, fortunately, some of the inscriptions that were once in the churches are now safely housed in the mosque, where, in many cases, they can be more easily studied than in their former locations.

The total number of inscriptions from Edessa that I know of is about 65; of these some 20 are extant in the mosque-museum, and 15 others are, as far as I know, unpublished. The majority of the inscriptions are funerary, with only two Hellenistic, but there are several dedications to Ma and Zeus Hypsistos, and two ephebic catalogues.

The only inscription of the three reported by Leake that is extant is the ephebic catalogue (no. 138). It used to be in an inaccessible position on the south end of the west wall of the Γραφεῖον of the Bishop, but it is now in the

mosque-museum. I have already published a corrected text, with bibliography, in *BSA* 58,20-2, no. 1. (Pl. XXXVII b).

12. The ephebic catalogue, formerly embedded in the floor of the *ἱερὸν* of Ἀγ. Παρασκευῇ in Edessa (where I first saw it in 1936), and now preserved in the Cami-Museum, was twice published at second hand, first by Duchesne in *Mémoire sur une mission au mont Athos*, 1876, p. 102, no. 135, from a brochure Ἐκθεσις τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν Βοδενῶν διανοητικῆς ἀναπτύξεως, ἐκ τοῦ γραφείου τοῦ Φιλεκπαιδευτικοῦ Συλλόγου Βοδενῶν ὑπὸ Δ.Π., Constantinople, 1874, Boutyras et Cie, and secondly by E. Bormann in *AEMO* 12, 1888, 190-1, no. 8 among the "bisher unbekannte Inschriften" from a copy by Athanas G. Petrov of Vodena, given to Bormann by Professor J. Jireček of Prague, in whose class in the Gymnasium at Sofia Petrov was a pupil. Both editions go back to a common copy as is shown by the mistaken readings ZOM and ΟΥΠΙ in l.1, and TOC in l.3. and by the reference in both to 20 lines that were indecipherable. Actually there seem to be traces of 23 such lines. I give the text of the first seven lines and the last three in full, but in the case of the 23 lines that have been almost completely effaced I do not propose to give isolated traces of letters, but only to note where enough remains to decipher a name or part of a name (Pl. XXXVIII a).

ἔτους ζοσ'. ἀλειφούσης
τῆς πόλεως ν πολιταρ-
χούντων τῶν περὶ .. ελι-
ον Πεδοκαῖον Κάσσαν-
5 δρον ν ἐφηβαρχούντος
Ἰουλίου .ΕΟΡ.ΙΑ ἐφηβοι
οἱ ὑπογεγραμμένοι

Ll. 31-3:

Ἀδρήλιος Παράμονος
Ἀδρήλιος Ζώσιμος
Ἀδρήλιος Ἀμιανός.

L. 8: Φλ. Κλαυ -- AP. L. 9: Ἀδρήλιος L. 10: ΕΦΗΙΟΙ Κάσσανδρος. L. 11: ῥαντος Αἰρ. Πι -- L. 12 Οὔλπιος Αἰρ.- - δωρος. L. 13: Οὔλπιος ΖΟΗΡΟC L. 14: [Ἀδ]ρήλιος ΕΥΛΟ.Η. υἱὸς Αἰρηλ. L. 15: Κρατερὸς CΤΡΑΤ. Ο. ΤΟΥ. L. 16 -- ιος. λειτης. L. 17 Φιλιππο. L. 20: Φιλιππο L. 27: Κάσσανδρος. L. 29: Αἰρηλ. L. 30: [Πα]ραμον --.

L.1. I am certain that the third letter of the date is a square sigma with

a dot inside it, as in the last letter of $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$. Duchesne suggested emending the mu of the copy to a tau or a upsilon. The question arises which era is used here, the provincial, or the Actian. M.N. Tod's view propounded in his three articles on "The Macedonian Era" in *BSA* 23,206-17, 24, 54-67 (our inscription is listed as no. 91 on p. 58), and *Studies Robinson* 2,382-97, is that the unnamed era is usually the provincial, which would date this inscription A. D. 129/30. Fanoula Papazoglou has questioned Tod's view in her article in *Zbornik filozofskog fakulteta* (Beograd) 3,1955, 15-28, where she has argued from a study of letter-forms and other data that in some cases the unnamed era is the Actian or Augustan. If the Actian era were used here, the date would be A.D. 245/6. The letter-forms here do not help; square and uncial sigma appear side by side, ω and Ω ; there are some ligatures e.g. eta-sigma, omicron-sigma, rho-eta, pi-epsilon. The name Οὐλπίος in ll. 12-13 would point to the earlier date, but the frequency of the name Aurelius might suggest the later. The frequency of Macedonian names like Cassander, Philip, Crateros and Paramonos is noteworthy.

Ll. 2-3. The latest study of politarchs is by C. Schuler in *C.Ph.* 55,1960, 90-100; our inscription is listed as no. 27 on p.97, with the date 245/6 (?) L. 6. Professor G. Klaffenbach suggests $[\Gamma]\epsilon\omicron\pi[\gamma]\iota\alpha$.

13. A fragment of another inscription published by Leake (no. 140) has also found a home in the Mosque-Museum (Pl. XXXVIII b). Leake (p. 278) calls it an "elegant epitaph in three elegiac couplets in memory of one Graphicus... The epitaph is inscribed on a sarcophagus standing at a fountain (now dry) called by the Turks the fountain of the Mirror, because one of the lacunaria of a Corinthian ceiling has been placed over it, with the stone set on its edge over the pipe." The latest edition is by Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften*, no. 1772.

The Mosque-Museum also houses two fine dedications to Zeus Hypsistos published by Pelekides in *'Αρχ. Δελτ.*, 8, 1923, 268-9, nos. 1 and 2.

14. Another dedication to Zeus Hypsistos that has found its way into the Mosque-Museum is a marble altar from Sarcovieni, whither it had been taken from Vodena: Delacoulonche, *Mémoire*, pp. 83-4, 240, no. 20. (Pl. XXXIX a).

15. Another stele, with a Thracian rider, has turned up in the Mosque-Museum from Sarcovieni (Pl. XXXIX b). The stone confirms the revised text which I published in *Studies Robinson* 377-8.

16. There is also a fine Hellenistic funerary stele in the Mosque-Museum, published by Plassart in *BCH* 47,1923,186; it has been possible to read more of the names on the stone (Pl. XL a).

Φίλα	Ἐπικράτης	Μένανδρος	Νικάνωρ
Μένωνος	Μενάνδρου	Ἐπικράτους	Ἐπικράτους
		Λ..ΕΑΣ	Φίλα
		Ἐπικράτους	Ἐπικράτους

17. I found in the Mosque-Museum two charred marble fragments (Pl. XLb), all that remains of one of the finest of Hellenistic stelae; when I saw it 30 years ago, it was in the church of St. John the Theologian, destroyed by fire on 12 September 1944, as Makaronas tells us in *Χρον. Ἀρχ.*, 1940-50, no. 86. I republished the text in *BSA* 58,22-3, no. 3, with a photograph of a squeeze. I very much regret that I was unable to photograph this fine stele when it was intact.

King's College,
University of Aberdeen

J.M.R. CORMACK

ΑΙΓΑΙ — ΠΕΛΛΑ — ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ *

Θὰ προσπαθήσω, εἰς τὰ περιορισμένα ὄρια μιᾶς ὁμιλίας τοῦ Συνεδρίου, νὰ σῶς ἐκθέσω τὰ ἀποτελέσματα τῶν ἐκτεταμένων ἀνασκαφικῶν ἐργασιῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ 1966 καὶ ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τὰς τρεῖς διαδοχικὰς πρωτευούσας τῶν Μακεδόνων, τὰς Αἰγὰς ἢ Ἑδεσσαν, τὴν Πέλλαν καὶ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην.

Δὲν θὰ εἶναι τυπικὴ ἀνακοίνωσις τοῦ Συνεδρίου ὥς αἱ ἀνακοινώσεις, τὰς ὁποίας ἤκούσαμεν καὶ θὰ ἀκούσωμεν—ἀποτέλεσμα μελέτης πολλῶν ἐτῶν συνήθως, μιᾶς ζωῆς ὁλοκλήρου εἰς τὰς κορυφαίας περιπτώσεις.

Ἀναφέρεται εἰς ἀνασκαφάς, αἱ ὁποῖαι δὲν ἐτελείωσαν κἄν, ἀπλῶς ἔχουν διακοπῇ ἔνεκα τοῦ Συνεδρίου καὶ πάλιν θὰ ἀρχίσουν μεθαύριον εἰς τὴν Ἑδεσσαν καὶ ἐν συνεχείᾳ εἰς τὴν Πέλλαν καὶ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην, ὅπως καὶ εἰς τὴν Νάουσσαν καὶ ἄλλοι.

Ἐξ ἄλλου ἐθεωρήθη ἀναγκαῖον νὰ γίνῃ προετοιμασία διὰ τὴν ἐκδρομὴν τῶν συνέδρων εἰς τοὺς προαναφερθέντας τόπους, καὶ τοῦτο προσδιορίζει κυρίως τὸν χαρακτήρα τῆς ὁμιλίας μου.

ΑΙΓΑΙ

Ὡς πρὸς τὴν Ἑδεσσαν, κατ' ἀρχὴν δέχομαι τὴν ἰσχύουσαν γνώμην, ὅτι Αἰγαὶ καὶ Ἑδεσσα ταυτίζονται. Γνωρίζω τὰς δυσκολίας τῆς ταυτίσεως. Ἀλλά, ὅσον καὶ ἂν ἐγίνετο διάκρισις μεταξὺ Αἰγῶν καὶ Ἑδέσσης εἰς τοὺς ἀρχαίους χρόνους, κατ' οὐσίαν εἶναι ὁ ἴδιος τόπος, εἰς τὴν μίαν ἀπὸ τὰς τρεῖς ὑποχρεωτικὰς διαβάσεις τοῦ Βερμίου, τὴν βορείαν¹, μεταξὺ τοῦ Καϊμάκ - Τσαλάν, ὅπως ἐλέγετο ἐπὶ τουρκοκρατίας ὁ Βόρας Ἰσως τῶν ἀρχαίων, καὶ τῶν βορείων προπόδων τοῦ Βερμίου. Τὸ Βέρμιον μὲ κατεῦθυνσιν ἀπὸ Βορρᾶ πρὸς Νότον χωρίζει τὴν Μακεδονίαν εἰς τὴν Ἀνω Μακεδονίαν τῶν ἀρχαίων, τὴν λεγομένην σήμερον Δυτικὴν Μακεδονίαν, καὶ τὴν Κάτω ἢ παρὰ θάλασσαν Μακεδονίαν, δηλαδὴ τὴν Κεντρικὴν Μακεδονίαν. Ὑπάρχει διαφορὰ ὕψους μετὰξὺ τῶν, περίπου 500 μ. Εἰς τὴν Ἀνω Μακεδονίαν ἔχομεν

* Τὸ δημοσιευόμενον κείμενον ἐγράφη ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει τῆς ἡχογραφηθείσης ἀνακοινώσεως γενομένης τῇ βοηθείᾳ ἐγχρῶμων εἰκόνων ἀνευ χειρογράφου.

1. Διὰ τὴν τοπογραφίαν τῶν ἀνατολικῶν κλιτύων τοῦ Βερμίου γενικῶς, ἰδὲ Φ. Μ. Πέτσαν, *Ὁ Τάφος τῶν Λευκαδίων*, Ἀθήναι 1966, σ. 5 κἄ.

ὕψόμετρα ὑπὲρ τὰ 600 μ. (π.χ. Φλώρινα 660 μ., Καστοριά 700 μ., Κοζάνη 710 μ.), ἐνῶ εἰς τὴν Κάτω Μακεδονίαν κατερχόμεθα ἀπὸ τὰ 300 μ. περίπου (π.χ. Νάουσσα 360 μ., Ἑδεσσα 320 μ.) ἕως τὰ 100 μ. (π.χ. Βέροια 130 μ.) καὶ ἀκόμη χαμηλότερα εἰς τὸν κάμπον.

Μεταξὺ λοιπὸν τοῦ Βόρα καὶ τοῦ Βερμίου διέρχεται ἡ βορειότερα ἐκ τῶν τριῶν ὑποχρεωτικῶν διαβάσεων τοῦ Βερμίου. Ἡ μεσαία εἶναι ἡ τῆς σημερινῆς Ναούσσης — τῆς Μιέζης, πιστεύω, κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα — ἡ δὲ τρίτη εἶναι τῆς Βεροίας (καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα καὶ σήμερον). Τρία ποτάμια ἀντιστοιχοῦν εἰς τὰς τρεῖς ἀρχαίας καὶ νέας πόλεις, ὥς καὶ εἰς τὰς τρεῖς διαβάσεις, ἐκ τῶν ὁποίων ἡ σπουδαιότερα ἦτο ἡ τῆς Ἑδέσσης καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα, ὥς καὶ σήμερον. Ἡ σημερινὴ κατάστασις δεικνύει ἴσως τὴν ὑπεροχὴν εἰς σπουδαιότητα τῆς βορείας αὐτῆς διαβάσεως καθ' ὅλας τὰς ἐποχάς. Σήμερον διὰ ταύτης διέρχεται ὄχι μόνον μία ἐθνικὴ ὁδός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ σιδηροδρομικὴ γραμμή, ἐνῶ τὴν διὰ Βεροίας διάβασιν χρησιμοποιεῖ μόνον ἐθνικὴ ὁδός, τῆς δὲ Ναούσσης ἡ διάβασις εἶναι καὶ τώρα ἔτι μικροτέρας σημασίας, ὅπως, ὥς φαίνεται, ἦτο καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα.

Ἐδῶ λοιπὸν, εἰς τὴν στρατηγικὴν, σπουδαίαν ἀπὸ συγκοινωνιακῆς καὶ πάσης ἄλλης ἀπόψεως θέσιν, εὐρίσκεται ἡ Ἑδεσσα καί, πιστεύω, αἱ Αἰγαί. Δὲν εἶναι τοῦ παρόντος τὸ θέμα τῆς ταυτίσεως. Ἐχομεν ἀκούσει ἤδη τὸν κ. Hammond νὰ μᾶς λέγῃ ὅτι εἶναι πιθανὸν οἱ βασιλικοὶ τάφοι νὰ εὐρίσκωνται εἰς τὴν Βεργίναν²! Ἡ κ. Φανούλα Παπάζογλου³ μᾶς εἶπε παλαιότερα—ἔσπευσε, διότι τότε ἔμαθεν ὅτι εὐρέθη ὁ θαυμάσιος μακεδονικὸς τάφος μὲ τὴν διώροφον πρόσοψιν εἰς τὰ Λευκάδια — μᾶς εἶπεν ὅτι αἱ Αἰγαί ἴσως εἶναι εἰς τὴν Νάουσσαν. Ἀλλὰ τὸ θέμα, εἵπομεν, δὲν εἶναι τοῦ παρόντος.

Εἰς τὴν ἐπομένῃν εἰκόνα βλέπομεν τὸ «πλατὼ» τῆς Ἑδέσσης. Ἐπιτρέψατέ μου νὰ μὴ ὑμνήσω ἐγὼ τίς «χάρες» του. Ὁ Delacoulonche, ἑκατὸν τόσα χρόνια ἀπὸ τώρα, ἔγραψεν ὅτι, ἂν ἡ Ἀκρόπολις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν εἶναι ὁ ὡραιότερος βράχος τοῦ κόσμου, τὸ «πλατὼ» τῆς Ἑδέσσης εἶναι τὸ θαυμασιώτερον ἐξ ὧν ποτὲ ἔφερον μίαν πόλιν⁴.

Ἐδῶ εἰς τὴν θέσιν τῆς σημερινῆς πόλεως φαίνεται ὅτι ἐξετείνοντο τὰ ἐρείπια τῆς Ἀνω Πόλεως τῆς Ἑδέσσης, τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως, ἀλλὰ ἡ μετέπειτα συνεχὴς ζωὴ τῆς πόλεως συνετέλεσεν, ἀπὸ κοινοῦ μετ' ἄλλων αἰτίων, εἰς τὴν ἐξαφάνισιν τῶν ἀρχαίων λειψάνων. Τὰ οἰκοδομικὰ ὑλικά τὰ χρησιμοποιοθέντα κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα ἦσαν εὐφθάρτα. Εἶναι π.χ. ὁ ἐγχώριος πῳρινὸς λίθος, ὁ ὁποῖος «δουλεύεται μὲ τὸ τσεκούρι», εὐκόλως τεμαχίζεται καὶ

2. Ἰδὲ ἀνακοίνωσιν Ν. G. L. Hammond, ἀνωτέρω, σ. 53 κ.ε.

3. Ἰδὲ Φ. Μ. Πέτσαν, *ἔν. ἀν.*, σ. 8, σημ. 7.

4. Delacoulonche, *Mémoire*, Paris 1858, σ. 8.

φθείρεται μέχρι βαθμοῦ νὰ μὴ ἀναγνωρίζεται, ἐὰν προέρχεται ἀπὸ ἀρχαῖα κτήρια. Τὰ ἀρχαῖα κτήρια δὲν θὰ εἶχον κἂν πωρόλιθον εἰς ὅλον τὸ ὕψος των.

Οἱ Ἑδεσσαῖοι θὰ ἔκαμαν εὐρεῖαν χρῆσιν τῆς μακεδονικῆς ξυλείας, ἡ ὁποία ἦτο χρήσιμος καὶ εἰς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας, πολὺ περισσότερον εἰς τοὺς Μακεδόνας. Θὰ ἔκαμαν ἐπίσης χρῆσιν πλίνθων καὶ κονιαμάτων καὶ ζωγραφιδῶν, ὧν ἐκείνων τῶν τρόπων καὶ ὕλικῶν δομῆς, μὲ τὰ ὁποῖα εἶναι δυνατόν νὰ γίνουσι ὡραῖα ἀνάκτορα, περίφημα ὡς τὰ τοῦ Ἀρχελάου, ἀλλὰ ὅχι ὡραῖα ἐρείπια καὶ πάντως ὅχι ἐρείπια διατηρήσιμα.

Διὰ τοὺς προαναφερθέντας λόγους τὸ «πλατὼ» αὐτὸ τῆς Ἀνω Πόλεως, τῆς Ἀκρας τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἑδέσσης, δὲν θὰ μᾶς ἀπασχολήσῃ σήμερον. Τὰ ἐλάχιστα λείψανα ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος εἰς τὴν Ἀνω Πόλιν δὲν θὰ ἦτο δυνατόν οὔτε νὰ τὰ παρουσιάσωμεν εἰς εἰκόνας οὔτε νὰ τὰ περιγράψωμεν διὰ βραχέων. Εὐρέθησαν τυχαίως κατὰ γενομένας διὰ διαφόρους λόγους σκαφὰς εἰς τὸ παρελθόν, δὲν ἔχουν μελετηθῇ ἐπαρκῶς καὶ δὲν ἔχουν ἀπεικονισθῇ εἰς σχέδια ἢ φωτογραφίας, ἐφ' ὅσον γνωρίζω.

Πρὸς Ἀνατολὰς τῆς νῦν πόλεως ἐκτείνεται ὁ «Λόγγος» τῆς Ἑδέσσης, ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ θαυμασίου, πλουσίου κάμπου, ὁ ὁποῖος ἔδωκεν ἰσως ἀφορμὴν εἰς τὸν μακεδονικὸν μῦθον περὶ τῶν «κῆπων τοῦ Μίδα»⁵. Τῶν κῆπων μὲ τὰ ἐξηκοντάφυλλα ρόδα καὶ ἄλλα ὡραῖα πράγματα, τὰ ὁποῖα οἱ Μακεδόνες δὲν εἶχον ἴδει ποτὲ εἰς τὰ βουνὰ τῆς ἀρχικῆς κοιτίδος των, τῆς Πίνδου, ὅπου θὰ ὑπῆρχον δάση, ἀλλ' ὅχι παχεῖα γῆ κατάρρυτος. Ἐδῶ εἰς τὸν «Λόγγον» λοιπὸν ἐξετείνετο ἡ Κάτω Πόλις⁶.

Ὅχι πάντως εἰς τὴν περιοχὴν, ὅπου τώρα ἡ Δημοσιὰ Ἐπιχειρήσεις Ἡλεκτρισμοῦ (ΔΕΗ) κατασκευάζει τεραστίαν δεξαμενὴν, διὰ νὰ χρησιμοποιοῦσιν τὸ ὕδωρ πρὸς παραγωγὴν ἡλεκτρικῆς ἐνεργείας μετὰ τὴν πτώσιν τῶν καταρρακτῶν, ὥστε νὰ σωθοῦν οὗτοι. Ὑπῆρξε χρήσιμος εἰς τὴν ἀρχαιολογικὴν ἐρευναν τὸ ἔργον τῆς ΔΕΗ εἰς τὸ σημεῖον αὐτό. Ἡ ΔΕΗ διὰ νὰ δοκιμάσῃ τὴν στερεότητα, τὴν ἀνθεκτικότητα καὶ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἐδάφους εἰς τὸν χώρον τῆς ὑπὸ μελέτην δεξαμενῆς ἤνοιξε δεκάδας φρεάτων εἰς βάθος περὶ τὰ 15 μ. Τούτων ἐπωφελήθημεν ἡμεῖς, διότι μᾶς ἐδόθη ἡ εὐκαιρία νὰ διαπιστώσωμεν, ὅτι τὸ ἔδαφος μέχρι τοῦ βάθους τούτου εἶναι ἀδιάφορον ἀπὸ ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἀπόψεως. Εἶναι λευκός, ἄλλοι μαλακός καὶ ἄλλοι σκληρότερος ἰζηματογενὴς βράχος δημιουργηθεὶς ἀπὸ τὰ ἄφθονα νερά τῆς περιοχῆς. Εἶναι ἐντελῶς παρθένον ἀπὸ ἀπόψεως ἀρχαιολογικῶν εὐρημάτων ἔδαφος. Καὶ δὲν ἠρκέσθημεν εἰς τὰς παρατηρήσεις, αἱ ὁποῖαι προήλθον δι'

5. Ἡρόδ. 8, 138.

6. Ἰδὲ κυρίως Σ. Πελεκίδην, Ἀνασκαφὴ Ἑδέσσης, ΑΔ 8, 1923, σ. 265, ὅπου καὶ ἡ πρόσφατος σχετικὴ βιβλιογραφία.

ἡμᾶς ὡς ὑποπροϊόντα τοῦ ἔργου τῆς ΔΕΗ. Ἡ αὐτὴ Δημοσία Ἐπιχειρήσις Ἡλεκτρισμοῦ διέθεσε ποσὸν 100.000 δρχ., διὰ τοῦ ὁποίου ἐξετελέσαμεν τομὰς δοκιμαστικὰς εἰς ὅλην τὴν ἑκτασιν τῆς ὑπὸ μελέτην δεξαμενῆς. Οὕτω ἐβεβαιώθη πέραν πάσης ἀμφιβολίας, ὅτι, μολονότι μεμονωμένον τι λείψανον δὲν ἀποκλείεται, ἡ πόλις πάντως δὲν ἐξετείνεται πέραν τῶν καταρρακτῶν. Ἡ περιοχὴ ἀπὸ τῆς χαράδρας, ὅπου πίπτει ὁ καταρράκτης ὁ λεγόμενος «Ντερέκι», ἕως τὸν λεγόμενον «Διχαλωτὸν» καὶ τὸν ἐν συνεχείᾳ Μέγαν Καταρράκτην, δὲν παρουσιάζει ἐνδιαφέρον.

Τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον ἀρχίζει νοτίως⁷ τῶν καταρρακτῶν καὶ περιορίζεται πρὸς Δυσμὰς τῆς γυναικείας Μονῆς τῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος, ἡ ὁποία ἦτο ἐρείπιον ὅταν τὴν εἶδεν ὁ Delacoulonche⁸, ἀλλ' ἀνεκτίσθη κατὰ τὸ 1865 καὶ ἔκτοτε μεγεθύνεται συνεχῶς εἰς κατασκευάς.

Εἰς τὴν περιοχὴν αὐτὴν παρηκολουθήσαμεν τὸ τεῖχος τῆς Κάτω Πόλεως. Τοῦτο περιλαμβάνει καὶ τὴν κατάβασιν ἀπὸ τὴν Ἄνω Πόλιν, τὸν σημερινὸν λεγόμενον Μέγαν Κρημνόν, ὁφιοειδῆ δρόμον, ὁ ὁποῖος ὁδηγεῖ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐδέσσης εἰς τὸν Λόγγον. Ὁ περίβολος τοῦ τεύχους ἀρχίζει ἐκεῖ που (Σχέδ. Α, ἀριθ. 1, Πίν. ΧΛΙ, ἄνω, εἰς τὸ μέσον, καὶ ΧΛVII β, ἄνω, εἰς τὸ μέσον περίπου).

Ποία ἦτο ἡ κατάστασις εἰς τὴν θέσιν τῶν τειχῶν πρὸ τῆς ἀνασκαφῆς τοῦ 1967 πολὺ ὀλίγοι γνωρίζουν. Μερικοὶ εὐρίσκονται εἰς τὴν αἰθουσαν αὐτὴν. Οὐδὲν λείψανον τεύχους ἐφαίνετο εἰς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ ἐδάφους. Ἀλλ' ὅταν, εἰς τὴν κάπως διαφαινομένην ὡς ὄχθος γραμμὴν τοῦ τεύχους, ἐκάμαμεν μίαν πρῶτην ἀποψίλωσιν τῆς ἡμέρου καὶ περισσότερον τῆς ἀγρίας βλαστήσεως, τότε διεκρίνετο σαφῶς ἡ γραμμὴ τοῦ τεύχους καλυπτομένου ἀπὸ ἀβαθῆ ἐπίχωσιν. Μικρὰ σκαφὴ συνήθως ἥρκει νὰ τὸ βεβαιώσῃ.

Εἰς τὸ σημεῖον τῆς ἀνασκαφῆς τοῦ καθηγητοῦ μου Στρατῇ Πελεκίδη οὐδὲν σχεδὸν διετηρεῖτο εἰς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν. Μόνον ἐν⁹ ἀπὸ τὰ μάρμαρα μὲ τὰς ἀναθηματικὰς εἰς θεὰν Μᾶ ἀπελευθερωτικὰς ἐπιγραφὰς διεκρίνετο μέσα εἰς τὰ ὕδατα τοῦ ποτιστικοῦ ρύακος, τὰ ὁποῖα περιέλουν καὶ βαθμηδὸν ἐκάλυψαν δι' ἰζήματος τὰ ἀρχαῖα λείψανα.

Ἀλλ' ὅταν, ὀλίγον περαιτέρω τῆς ἀνασκαφῆς τοῦ Πελεκίδη, ἐκαθαρίσαμεν τὴν γραμμὴν τοῦ διαφαινομένου τεύχους ἀπὸ τὴν βλάστησιν, ἡμερον («κληματαριὲς ἀναρριχώμενες» κ.τ.τ.) καὶ ἀγρίαν (κισσὸς κλπ.), τὸ ἀποτέλε-

7. Ὁ προσανατολισμὸς εἰς τὸ κείμενον γίνεται χονδρικῶς. Διὰ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν πρβ. Σχέδ. Α.

8. Delacoulonche, *ἔν. ἀν.*, σ. 16.

9. Τὸ ὑπὸ στοιχεῖον Α ἐν Π. Ν. Παπαγεωργίου, Μᾶς ναὸς ἐν Ἐδέσσει Μακεδονίας, *Ἀθηνᾶ* 12, 1900, σ. 70 κέ., πίν. II.

σμα υπήρξεν εκπληκτικόν: τμήμα τείχους λαμπρόν, ὄχι μόνον ρωμαϊκῶν, ἀλλὰ κυρίως προρρωμαϊκῶν χρόνων, σωζόμενον μέχρις ὕψους 6,50 μ. (Πίν. XLVIII). Τὸ ἀποκαλυφθὲν μήκος τοῦ ἐκ πολλῶν δεκάδων μέτρων καλύπτεται ἀκόμη κατὰ μέρη ἀπὸ ἀσβεστιογενὲς ἱζημα, ἐκ ρεόντων ὕδατων, μετὰ σταλακτιτῶν. Ὁ ὄγκος οὗτος εκπλήσσει. Ἐδημιουργήθη ἐντὸς ὀλίγων σχετικῶς αἰώνων, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐγκαταλείψεως τῆς Κάτω Πόλεως μέχρι τῶν ἡμερῶν μας, πιθανώτατα μάλιστα μόνον ἐντὸς μικροῦ μέρους τῆς περιόδου ταύτης, ὅτε ρέοντα ὕδατα ἐσχημάτιζον καταρράκτην ὑπὲρ τὸ τεῖχος.

Πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι δυνατόν νὰ σχετισθῇ ὑπόνομος (Πίν. XLIX), ἡ ὁποία παρατηρεῖται ἀκριβῶς εἰς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο. Εἶναι πιθανὸν δηλαδὴ, ὅτι ὅταν ἐφράχθη ποτὲ ἡ ὑπόνομος, τὰ ὕδατα ἐξέφυγον, ἐκάλυψαν τὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους πέριξ χώρον καὶ σχηματίσαντα μικρὰν λίμνην εὗρον διέξοδον εἰς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο τοῦ τείχους σχηματίσαντα τὸν καταρράκτην, σὺν τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἱζηματογενῆ ὄγκον μετὰ σταλακτιτῶν, ὁ ὁποῖος ἔχει πάχος περὶ τὸ 1 μ. καὶ ἀρκετὰ μέτρα πλάτους.

Ἡ ὑπόνομος, ὥς ἔχει σήμερον, εἶναι ὑστέρων ρωμαϊκῶν χρόνων κατασκευή, ἐπενδεδυμένη διὰ μαρμάρων εἰς δευτέραν χρῆσιν, ἐκ τῶν ὁποίων φαίνονται τινὰ φέροντα ἀνάγλυφον διακόσμησιν ρωμαϊκῶν χρόνων. Αὕτη ἡ ὑστέρων ρωμαϊκῶν χρόνων κατασκευὴ δὲν χρονολογεῖ τὸ τεῖχος, ἀλλὰ μίαν ἐκ πολλῶν παρατηρουμένων ἐπισκευῶν. Τὸ τεῖχος γενικῶς ἔχει ἀναμφισβήτητα προρρωμαϊκὰ χαρακτηριστικά. Ἐπιτρέψατέ μου νὰ περιορισθῶ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος εἰς τὸν ἐπιφυλακτικὸν τοῦτον χαρακτηρισμὸν καὶ νὰ μὴ προβῶ εἰς ἀκριβεστέρας χρονολογήσεις. Τὰ προρρωμαϊκὰ τμήματα διακρίνονται σαφῶς περὶ τοὺς ἱζηματογενεῖς ὄγκους καὶ ἔτι χαμηλότερον, ὅπου ἐσκάψαμεν καὶ ἀπεκαλύψαμεν μέρος τῆς θεμελιώσεως.

Τὰ ἀναφερόμενα εἶναι συνοπτικὴ ἐκθεσις τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἐπιφανειακῶν μᾶλλον ἐρευνῶν τοῦ ἔτους 1967 ἀκόμη. Κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο ἀπεκαλύψαμεν ἐπιφανειακῶς καὶ τὴν ἐξωτερικὴν εἰσοδὸν τῆς Πύλης τοῦ Πελεκίδου καὶ τὸ δωμάτιον Δ¹⁰. Τὸ οἰκοδομικὸν ὕλικόν εἶναι ὁ ἐγγῶριος πῶρος, ἀλλ' ἴσως ὄχι ἐκ τοῦ λατομείου (Πίν. XLIII). Πιθανῶς εἶναι πῶρινον ὕλικόν εἰς δευτέραν χρῆσιν, τεμαχισμένον ἐκ τῶν παροπλίνθων τοῦ ἀρχαίου τείχους ἢ ἄλλων ἀρχαίων κτισμάτων. Ἀρχαιότερον ὕλικόν εἰς δευτέραν χρῆσιν εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἐντειχισμένα μαρμάρινα τεμάχια, τῶν ὁποίων καὶ ἡ πρώτη χρῆσις δὲν εἶναι δυνατόν νὰ ἀναχθῇ εἰς παλαιότερους τῶν ρωμαϊκῶν χρόνους. Ἀπεκαλύψαμεν λοιπὸν καὶ ἡμεῖς κατ' ἀρχὰς ὅσα ἠνάγκασαν τὸν ἀείμνηστον Πελεκίδην νὰ ὀμιλήσῃ μόνον περὶ ρωμαϊκῶν λειψάνων¹¹.

10. Σ. Πελεκίδης, *ἐν. ἀν.*, σ. 259 κέ.

11. Σ. Πελεκίδης, *ἐν. ἀν.*, σ. 264.

Συνηντήσαμεν βεβαίως καὶ τὸ παχὺ στρώμα, τὸ ὁποῖον ἐσχημάτισεν ὑπὲρ τὰ ἀρχαῖα λείψανα τὸ ἱζηματογενὲς ἀσβέστιον συνδέσαν εἰς ἓνα ὄγκον καὶ χάλικας ἢ λίθους εἰργασμένους.

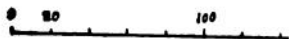
Τὸ φαινόμενον τοῦτο τῆς συμπήξεως παχέων ἱζηματογενῶν στρωμάτων καὶ ὄγκων εἶναι λίαν ἀξιοσημεῖωτον διὰ τὴν Ἑδεσσαν. Εἶναι δυνατόν νὰ παραπλανήσῃ τὸν ἀνασκαφέα, ἀλλ' ἂν ἐκτιμηθῇ δεόντως, ὁδηγεῖ εἰς διδακτικὰς σκέψεις καὶ συμπεράσματα περὶ τοῦ βάθους τῶν ἀρχαιολογικῶν στρωμάτων, περὶ τοῦ πιθανοῦ βάθους τοῦ κλασσικοῦ στρώματος ἰδιαιτέρως, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν βασιλικῶν τάφων παραδείγματος χάριν.

Ἐν ἀκόμῃ διδακτικὸν περιστατικὸν θὰ μᾶς ἀπασχολήσῃ δι' ὀλίγων ἐδῶ, μία ἀκόμῃ περίπτωσις συνεργασίας δυνάμεων τοῦ Θεοῦ (τῶν ὑδάτων) καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου: ὅταν διὰ πρώτην φοράν περιερχόμενος τὴν γραμμὴν τοῦ τείχους εἰσῆλθον εἰς σπηλιάν (Πίν. Lβ), εἶδον λείψανον τοῦ τείχους ἐντὸς τοῦ σπηλαίου (Πίν. La), ἐνῶ ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν διεκρίνετο τότε. Μόνον ὅταν ἐσκάψαμεν ἐκτὸς τῆς σπηλίδος τὸ ἐβεβαιώσαμεν (Σχέδ. Α)¹². Ἴδου τί συνέβη ἐδῶ εἰς διάστημα αἰώνων: Μετὰ τὴν ἐγκατάλειψιν τῆς Κάτω Πόλεως τὰ ρέοντα ὕδατα ἐκάλυψαν τὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους χώρον, ἐξεχειλίσαν καὶ ἐπιπταν καὶ ἐδῶ ὡς μικρὸς καταρράκτης. Σὺν τῷ χρόνῳ ἐδημιούργησαν τὸν ἱζηματογενῆ ὄγκον, ἐντὸς τοῦ ὁποῖου βραδύτερον ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἐλάξευσε τὸ σπήλαιον ἀποκαλύψας οὕτω ἐντὸς τοῦ σπηλαίου τὸ τεῖχος. Ὅταν κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν τρόπον ἔχουν καλυφθῇ τὰ τεῖχη, τί πρέπει νὰ σκεφθῇ κανεὶς διὰ τοὺς τάφους!

Πέραν τοῦ σπηλαίου, εἰς τὴν συνέχειαν τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ τείχους πρὸς Δυσμάς, κατόπιν τῆς ἀποψιλώσεως τοῦ ἐδάφους παρετηρήσαμεν νεωτέρους ἀναλημματικούς τοίχους, οἱ ὅποιοι προφανῶς καλύπτουν τὸ ἀρχαῖον τεῖχος ὀπισθεν αὐτῶν ἢ εἰς μεγαλύτερον βάθος. Εἰς ἓν σημεῖον παρατηρεῖται μικρὸν τόξον δι' ἐναλλασσομένων λίθων καὶ κεράμων (Σχέδ. Α). Εἰς ἄλλο σημεῖον φαίνονται ρωμαϊκοὶ βωμοὶ ἐντειχισμένοι, εἰς δευτέραν χρῆσιν βεβαίως.

Δὲν κατέστη δυνατὴ ἡ παρακολούθησις τῆς γραμμῆς τοῦ τείχους, ἔστω δι' ἀποψιλώσεως τοῦ ἐδάφους μόνον, ἕως τὸ δυτικώτατον ἄκρον τοῦ νοτίου σκέλους, ὅπου τοῦτο συναντᾷ τὸν Κρημνόν. Ὅπωςδὴποτε ἐγινε σαφὲς ὅτι ὁ περίβολος τοῦ τείχους τῆς Κάτω Πόλεως, ὅπως περιλαμβάνει, ὡς εἵπομεν, τὸν Μέγαν Κρημνόν, οὕτω περιλαμβάνει καὶ τὸν Μικρὸν Κρημνόν, τὴν ἐτέραν τῶν δύο ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀνω εἰς τὴν Κάτω Πόλιν κυρίων καταβάσεων, αἱ ὁποῖαι πιθανώτατα ὑπὸ μίαν μορφήν ὑπῆρχον καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα. Ἀντιθέτως τρίτη κατάβασις, ἡ ὁποία ὑπάρχει τώρα νοτίως τοῦ ἐργοστασίου

12. Τὸ σπήλαιον εἶχε σχετισθῇ πρὸς πλησίον ἐπιτύμβιον βωμόν καὶ ἐρμηνευθῇ ὡς τάφος, Delacoulonche, *ἔν. ἀν.*, σ. 16, ὅθεν Δήμιτσας, *ἔν. ἀν.*, σ. 28.



A.M. Κουϊντοπουλος

Τσίτση και δὲν εἶναι βέβαιον ἂν ὑπῆρχε κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα, ὅπως δὴ ποτε μένει ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου τῶν τειχῶν (Σχέδ. Α).

Ἐδῶ τελειώνει ἡ συνοπτικὴ ἐκθεσις τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων τῶν ἐπιφανειακῶν ἐρευνῶν τοῦ 1967 εἰς τὴν περίμετρον τοῦ τείχους τῆς Κάτω Πόλεως. Ἡ ἰδέα ἦτο νὰ παρακολουθήσωμεν τὴν γραμμὴν τῶν τειχῶν καὶ νὰ βεβαιώσωμεν πύλας. Ἡ πύλη κατὰ κανόνα ὁδηγεῖ εἰς σπουδαῖον δρόμον τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὁ σπουδαῖος δρόμος θὰ μᾶς ὁδηγήσῃ εἰς σπουδαῖα κτήρια.

Δὲν ἦτο εἰς τὸ πρόγραμμα νὰ σκάψωμεν εἰς βάθος κατὰ τὸ 1967. Ὡς ἐκ τούτου δὲν ἠλπίζομεν εἰς κινητὰ εὐρήματα. Ἐν τούτοις, ὅπου χάριν τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως τοῦ τείχους ἐφθάσαμεν εἰς κλασσικῶν χρόνων στρώματα, ἔστω τεταραγμένα (Πίν. XLIV), ἤλθον εἰς φῶς κινητὰ εὐρήματα ἀξιόλογα. Μεταξὺ αὐτῶν καὶ θραύσμα μικρογραφικῆς κύλικος, ἀκόμη τοῦ βουαϊδῶνος π.Χ. (Πίν. LIXa), παρέχον ἐλπίδας καὶ ἀρχαϊκῶν στρωμάτων. Ἐπίσης στρωτὴρ λακωνικῆς κεραμώσεως ἀκέραιος, ὁ ὅποιος, καὶ ἐκ τῶν διαστάσεων καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μονογράμματος τοῦ χαραχθέντος πρὸ τῆς ὀπτήσεως, δύναται νὰ ἀναχθῇ εἰς ἑλληνιστικοὺς τοῦλάχιστον χρόνους (Πίν. LIXe). Τὸ μήκος εἶναι ὑπὲρ τὰ 0,90 μ., τὸ πλάτος περὶ τὰ 0,45 μ. Ἐχει τὰς διαστάσεις καὶ γενικῶς τὴν ὕφην καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν κεραμίδων τῆς Πέλλης.

Τὰ προαναφερθέντα δείγματος χάριν κινητὰ εὐρήματα εἶναι καλοὶ προάγγελοι καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτων εὐρημάτων καὶ σπουδαίων κτηρίων καλῶν μακεδονικῶν χρόνων.

Ἄς ἀρχίσωμεν τώρα τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν ἐφετεινῶν ἀνασκαφικῶν μας ἐρευνῶν πάλιν μὲ μίαν ἐπισκόπησιν τοῦ «Λόγγου» τῆς Ἐδέσσης ἐκ τῶν ἄνω πρὸς τὰ κάτω. Ἀπὸ τὸ ὕψος τῆς σημερινῆς πόλεως ἔχομεν σαφὴ εἰκόνα τοῦ τόπου, μὲ τὸν νεοκατασκευασθέντα ἀγωγὸν τῆς ΔΕΗ ἀριστερὰ ὡς κύριον χαρακτηριστικόν του κατὰ τὰ τελευταῖα ἔτη. Ἡ κατασκευὴ τοῦ ἀγωγοῦ ἔδωκεν ἀφορμὴν εἰς τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν παλαιοχριστιανικῆς βασιλικῆς, τὴν ὁποίαν ἀνέσκαψεν ὁ συνάδελφος Ἐφορος τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Ἀρχαιοτήτων κ. Μ. Μιχαηλίδης¹³. Πλησίον τῆς βασιλικῆς φαίνεται ὅτι εὐρίσκεται ἡ ἀνατολικὴ γωνία τοῦ τείχους, τὸ ὅποιον ἀφίνει ἔξω τὴν βασιλικὴν αὐτήν. Ἐκεῖ εἰς τὴν ἀνατολικὴν γωνίαν τοῦ τείχους ὁδηγεῖ σήμερον ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς καθόδου τοῦ Μεγάλου Κρηνοῦ πρὸς Ἀγίαν Τριάδα ἡμιονικὴ ὁδός (Πίν. XLI). Δὲν διεκρίνετο ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕψους τῆς νῦν πόλεως, διότι τὴν ἐκάλυπταν τὰ δένδρα. Διακρίνεται ὁμως τώρα μετὰ τὴν μερικὴν ἀποψίλωσιν τοῦ ἐδάφους, τὴν ὁποίαν ἐνηργήσαμεν ἐν τῇ προσπάθειᾳ νὰ παρακολουθήσωμεν τὴν γραμ-

13. Μ. Μιχαηλίδης, Παλαιοχριστιανικὴ Ἐδεσσα, Ἀνασκαφὴ Βασιλικῆς Α, ΑΔ 23, 1968, σ. 195 κθ.

μήν τοῦ βορειοανατολικοῦ τούτου σκέλους τοῦ τείχους τῆς Κάτω Πόλεως. Δὲν ἀπεκαλύψαμεν σαφῶς τὸ τείχος καίτοι εἰς πολλὰ σημεῖα κατὰ μήκος τοῦ δρόμου ἀνεσκάψαμεν ἐπιφανειακῶς ἐνδιαφέροντα πράγματα (Πίν. ΧΛΙ, ΧΛΙΙΑ-β καὶ ΧΛΙΙΑ). Ἡ γραμμὴ πάντως τοῦ τείχους μέχρι τῆς ἀνατολικῆς γωνίας αὐτοῦ ἀκολουθεῖ χονδρικῶς τὴν κατεύθυνσιν τοῦ δρόμου πρὸς Ἀγίαν Τριάδα.

Ἡ Μονὴ τῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος εἶναι ἐν ἀκόμῃ χαρακτηριστικὸν γνώρισμα τοῦ τοπίου. Εὐρίσκεται καὶ αὕτη ἔξω τοῦ τείχους, ἀλλ' ὅχι εἰς μακρὰν ἀπόστασιν. Πιθανῶς κατὰ τὴν ἀνέγερσίν της ἐχρησιμοποιήθη οἰκοδομικὸν ὕλικὸν ἐξαχθὲν ἀπὸ τὰ τείχη ὡς ἀπὸ λατομείου. Πάντως ἐχρησιμοποιήθησαν, ὡς γνωστὸν¹⁴, ρωμαϊκοὶ ἐνεπίγραφοι βωμοὶ καὶ ἄλλα μάρμαρα με ἀνάγλυφον διακόσμησιν.

Καθὼς βλέπομεν τὸν «Λόγγον» ἀπὸ τὸ ὕψος τῆς νῦν πόλεως Ἐδέσσης, εἰς τὰ πόδια μας ἔχομεν τὸν κρημνόν, ὁ ὁποῖος χωρίζει τὴν Ἄνω ἀπὸ τὴν Κάτω Πόλιν. Εἰς τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ Κρημνοῦ, περὶ τὸ νῦν Μητροπολιτικὸν Μέγαρον, τὴν Παλαιὰν Μητρόπολιν καὶ πλησιέστερα πρὸς τὴν Ἀγίαν Παρασκευήν, εὐρέθησαν πρὸ ἐτῶν, ὡς πληροφοροῦμαι, λείψανα τείχους ἢ τοίχου τῆς Ἄνω Πόλεως, τὰ ὁποῖα ἐκαλύφθησαν πάλιν χωρὶς νὰ δημοσιευθῇ εἰδησις, σχέδιον ἢ εἰκὼν. Ὅπως ὅποτε ὁ Κρημνὸς θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ ἔχη εἰς τὴν κορυφὴν ἢ εἰς τὴν βάσιν του ἐρείπια σπουδαῖα. Ἐν τούτοις οὐδὲν παρουσιάζει ἀξιοπαρατήρητον. Ὅχι μόνον διὰ τοὺς συνήθεις λόγους (ἡ μεταγενεστέρα ζωὴ καταστρέφει τὰ λείψανα τῆς ἀρχαιότητος κλπ.), ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ λόγον, τὸν ὁποῖον ἐτονίσσαμεν ἤδη, θὰ μοῦ ἐπιτρέψετε ὅμως καὶ πάλιν νὰ ἐπαναλάβω: εἶναι αὐτὸ τὸ ὀγκῶδες Ἰζημα, αὐτὸς ὁ ἀσβεστιογενὴς βράχος, τὸν ὁποῖον παρατηροῦμεν εἰς τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ Κρημνοῦ (Πίν. ΧΛVIIα). Τὸ βάθος τοῦ στρώματος αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἀπροσδιόριστον, διάφορον κατὰ τόπους.

Καθὼς κατερχόμεθα τὸν Μέγαν Κρημνόν, δεξιὰ μας ἔχομεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς βράχους, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἐδημιουργήθησαν κατὰ τοὺς τελευταίους αἰῶνας ἀπὸ τὰ διὰ τῶν πόρων τῶν διερχόμενα ὕδατα. Τοῖχοι νεώτεροι ἐκαλύφθησαν ἤδη ἀπὸ τὸ Ἰζημα. Εἰς ἓν σημεῖον τυχαίως ἀπεκαλύφθη καὶ ἀρχαῖος τοίχος, διότι κατὰ τὴν διάνοξιν ἀσβεστολάκκου κατέρρευσε μέρος τοῦ βράχου. Τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο εὐρίσκεται ἀκριβῶς ἐναντι τῆς κυρίας εἰσόδου τοῦ Κανναβουργείου (Πίν. ΧΛΙ ἄνω, παρὰ τὸν λευκὸν οἰκίσκον τοῦ θυρωρείου). Τὸ ἀποκαλυφθὲν λείψανον τοίχου ἔχει τὰ χαρακτηριστικὰ ἀρχαίας τοιχοδομίας. Εἶναι, πρῶτον, τὸ ἰσοδομικὸν σύστημα. Τὸ ὕψος τῶν δόμων εἶναι περὶ τὰ 50 ἐκ., δηλαδὴ τὸ γνωστὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν τάφον τῶν Λευκαδίων κλπ. ὕψος δόμου, ἴσον πρὸς ἀρχαῖον πῆχυν με πόδα 32 ἐκ., δηλαδὴ τὸν ἀναφερθέντα χθὲς

14. J. M. R. Cormack, *Inscriptions from Macedonian Edessa and Pella*, *Studies D. M. Robinson*, σ. 374 κέ.

ἀπὸ τὸν κ. Μπακαλάκη (ἀνωτ., σ. 178). Εἶναι λείψανον ὥραιας, ἐπιμελοῦς κατασκευῆς. Ἀποκλείονται καὶ οἱ ρωμαϊκοὶ χρόνοι. Πιθανώτατα εἶναι ἡ ἀπόληξις εἰς τὸν βράχον τοῦ νοτιοανατολικοῦ σκέλους τοῦ τείχους τῆς Κάτω Πόλεως ἢ μέρος τῆς διαμορφώσεως ἢ καὶ ὀχυρώσεως τῆς ἀναβάσεως ἀπὸ τὴν Κάτω πρὸς τὴν Ἄνω Πόλιν.

Πλησίον εἶναι ἡ περιοχὴ, ὅπου τοποθετεῖται κατ' εἰκασίαν τὸ ἀρχαῖον θέατρον, παρὰ τὸ νῦν ἐκκλησιδίου τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἀθανασίου¹⁵. Εἰς τὰς ἐπιφανειακὰς σκαφικὰς ἐρεῦνας μας ἐδῶ, μεταξὺ ἄλλων εὐρημάτων, εἶχομεν καὶ πωρίνην πλίνθον, ἐπὶ τῆς ὁποίας σώζεται χαραγμένον τὸ γράμμα Α, πιθανώτατα σημεῖον ἀρχαίων οἰκοδόμων (Πίν. LIXδ)¹⁶. Ἡ πλίνθος εἶναι ἐντοιχισμένη κατὰ ὑστέραν χρῆσιν εἰς λείψανον τοίχου παλαιότερου τοῦ νῦν ἐκκλησιδίου καὶ τοῦ μεγαλυτέρου του μονοχώρου ναοῦ.

Αἱ ἀβαθεῖς δοκιμαστικαὶ τομαὶ εἰς τὴν περιοχὴν δὲν ἀπεκάλυψαν ἀρχαῖα λείψανα κατὰ χώραν. Διότι ἐκτὸς τῆς βλαστήσεως, τῶν νερῶν κλπ., ὅλα τὰ ἀπορρίματα τῆς Ἑδέσσης ἐπὶ αἰῶνας ρίπτονται ἐδῶ καὶ πιθανώτατα ἐσχημάτισαν ἐπὶ χῶσιν βάθους πολλῶν μέτρων. Αἱ βαθύτεραι τομαὶ μας εἰς βάθος μέχρι 4 καὶ 5 μ. δὲν ἐφθασαν εἰς ἀρχαῖον στρώμα. Θὰ συνεχισθοῦν ὅπωςδήποτε εἰς βάθος ἱκανὸν νὰ βεβαιώσῃ ἂν ὑπάρχῃ ἡ δὲν ὑπάρχῃ ἐδῶ τὸ θέατρον ἢ ἄλλα σπουδαῖα λείψανα.

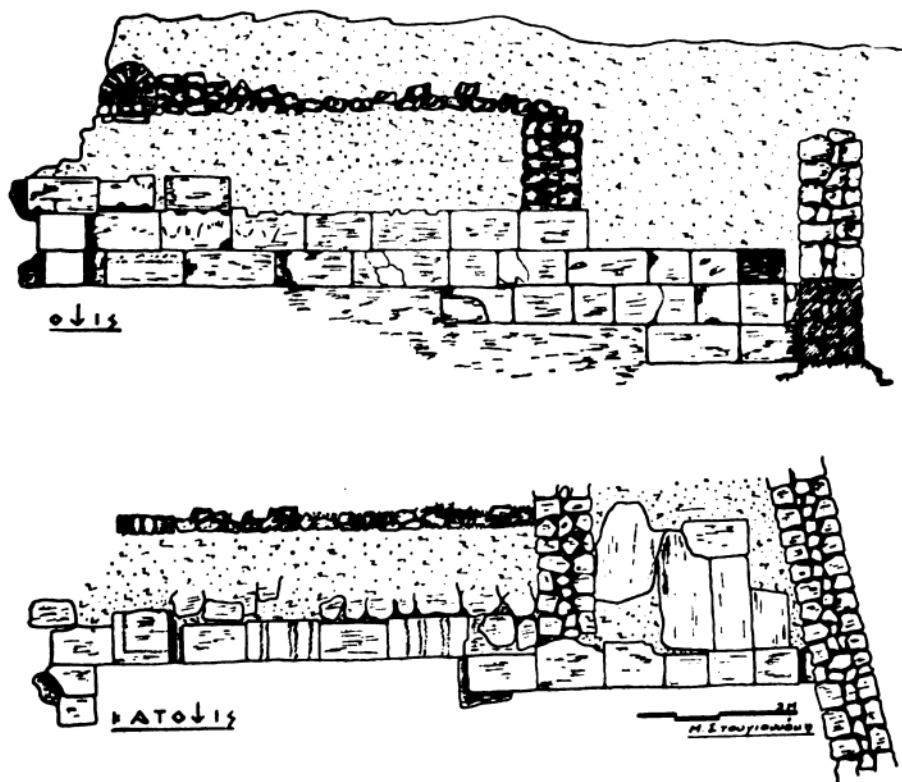
Ἀμέσως κάτω ἀπὸ τὸ ἐκκλησιδίου τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἀθανασίου, εἰς τὸ σημεῖον ὅπου ἀπὸ τοῦ Μεγάλου Κρημνοῦ ἡ ὁδὸς διχάζεται πρὸς Ἀγίαν Τριάδα ἀφ' ἑνὸς καὶ Ἀγίον Νικόλαον ἀφ' ἑτέρου, ἡρευνήθησαν ἐπιφανειακὰ λείψανα (Εἰκ. 1 καὶ Πίν. XLIIα), τὰ ὅποια ἐτόνιζεν ἡ παρουσία διασπάρτων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους μαρμαρίνων ἀρχιτεκτονικῶν μελῶν κλπ. Μεταξὺ αὐτῶν καὶ κάτω τμήμα ἀρραβδώτου κίονος ἐκ μαρμάρου ἐρυθρωποῦ φέρον ἐπιγραφὴν ἀπελευθερωτικὴν παιδίσκης, τῆς ὁποίας τὸ ὄνομα εἶναι Ἐπίκτησις, ὑπὸ τύπον ἀναθέσεως εἰς θεὰν Νέμεσιν ἐν τῷ ΑΥ ἔτει.

Τὰ ἀποκαλυφθέντα δι' ἀβαθοῦς σκαφῆς, ἀριστερὰ τῷ κατερχομένῳ τὴν ὁδὸν, λείψανα ἀνάγονται εἰς διαφόρους χρόνους (Εἰκ. 1). Ἀπεκαλύφθησαν ἐν μέρει τμήματα ἀρχαίου τείχους ἢ τοίχου, τοῖχοι μεταγενέστεροι βαίνοντες λοξῶς πρὸς τὰ ἀρχαῖα λείψανα καὶ μεταξὺ αὐτῶν δύο κεραμοσκεπεῖς τάφοι ρωμαϊκῶν χρόνων. Περαιτέρω πρὸς τὴν κατωφέρειαν, μεταξὺ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων τοίχων ἀπεκαλύφθη ἐρειπιῶν, εἰς τὸν ὅποιον διακρίνονται μαρμάρινα ἀμφικιόνια διλόβων παραθύρων βυζαντινοῦ κτηρίου.

15. A. Struck, *Maked. Fahrten, II, Maked. Niederlande*, Sarajevo 1908, σ. 63, 4, προχείρως ἔδωκε. Στουγιαννῆκη, *Ἑδέσσα ἢ Μακεδονικὴ ἐν τῇ Ἱστορίᾳ*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1933, σ. 284, σημ. 6.

16. Διαστάσεις τῆς ἀνω ἐπιφανείας τοῦ λίθου ὡς ἔχει : 1,10 X 0,50 μ. Τοῦ γράμματος ὄψος 0,16 μ., πλάτος βάσεως 0,18 μ. Πρβ. *Balkan Studies* 4, 1, σ. 168, πίν. XII, 2.

Περαιτέρω πρὸς Ἀνατολὰς ἐπιφανειακά λείψανα, ἀποκαλυφθέντα ἐν μέρει δι' ἀποψιλώσεως τοῦ ἐδάφους καὶ ἀβαθοῦς σκαφῆς, παρουσιάζουν τὴν περιέργον συναδέλφωσιν στοιχείων τῆς φύσεως καὶ ἔργων τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, περὶ ἧς ἐγινεν ἐπανειλημμένως λόγος. Ὁ βράχος (Πίν. ΧΛΙ, κέντρον) φέρει Ἰχνη λατομίας καὶ κοίτην τοίχου, τοῦ ὁποίου σώζονται κατὰ χώραν μέρη στοίχων, ἐνῶ οἱ ἄρμοι τῶν ἐλλειπόντων στοίχων ἀφησαν Ἰχνη ἐπὶ ἰζήματος,



Εἰκ. 1. Κάτωις καὶ ὄψις ἀρχαίων καὶ μεταγενεστέρων λειψάνων τοῦ «Λόγγου» (ἀριθ. 3 ἐν Σχεδ. Α καὶ Πίν. ΧΛΙα).

τὸ ὁποῖον ἀποτελεῖ νῦν ἐπικάλυψιν κατακορύφου παρειᾶς τοῦ βράχου (Πίν. ΧΛΙ, δεξιὰ, ἀρ. 6 ἐν Σχεδ. Α).

Μερικὰ ἀπὸ τὰ ἐπιφανειακά καθαρίσματα ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς πρὸς Ἀνατολὰς ὁδοῦ ἀπεκάλυψαν κατασκευάς, τῶν ὁποίων εἶναι δύσκολον ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος νὰ καθορισθῇ ἡ φύσις καὶ ἡ χρονολογία (Πίν. ΧΛΙ, κάτω ἀριστερά, ΧΛΙβ καὶ ΧΛΙβ). Εἶναι πιθανὸν ὅτι ὑπὸ τὰ φαινόμενα μέρη, τὰ ὁποῖα ἀποτελοῦν νεωτέρας ἐπισκευὰς ἢ διαρρυθμίσεις, σώζονται λείψανα τῶν ἀρχαίων κατασκευῶν.

Τούτο έβεβαιώθη διά τομής εις βάθος παρά την ανατολικήν γωνίαν του περιβόλου του τείχους, τὸ ὁποῖον ὅμως ἐδῶ ἐλιθολογήθη εἰς βάθος, ὥστε ἡ διατήρησις του εἶναι πτωχή (Πίν. LI). Ὅπωςδήποτε θὰ ἐπιχειρήσωμεν νὰ βεβαιώσωμεν τὴν ανατολικήν γωνίαν καὶ ἀντίστοιχον πιθανῶς πύργον του τείχους, ἂν μὴ καὶ πύλην κατὰ τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο, γειτνιάζον ὡς προανεφέρθη πρὸς τὴν ἀνασκαφείσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ κ. Μιχαηλίδου παλαιοχριστιανικὴν βασιλικήν.

Τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τοῦ τείχους ἀμέσως ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς γωνίας πρὸς Νότον ἠμπόδιζον κτήματα ἰδιωτῶν, τὰ ὁποῖα δὲν ἄφιναν διέξοδον διὰ τὴν ἀπόρριψιν τῶν χωμάτων τῆς ἀνασκαφῆς. Οὐχ ἦττον δι' ἀποσιλώσεως τοῦ ἐδάφους καὶ ἀβαθῶν τομῶν ἐβεβαιώσαμεν καὶ ἐδῶ τὴν γραμμὴν τοῦ τείχους, ἡ ὁποία φαίνεται τώρα ὡς ὑψηλὸς δυχθὸς διαχωρίζων δύο ἀνδхра (ἀριθ. 11 καὶ 12 ἐν Σχέδ. Α).

Ἀποκαλυπτική ὑπῆρξεν ἡ ἐν πολλοῖς γενομένη τὸ 1967 καὶ ὁλοκληρωθεῖσα τὸ 1968 ἀνασκαφὴ εἰς τὴν περιοχὴν ὀρθογωνίου πύργου (Πίν. XLV - XLVI) μετὰ πύλης, ἡ ὁποία μεταγενεστέρως ἐτείχισθη. Ὁ πύργος εἶναι σαφῶς προρωμαϊκός, ὡς καὶ μέρος τοῦ τείχους πρὸς Βορρᾶν τοῦ πύργου, τὸ ὁποῖον ἀπεκαλύφθη καὶ ἐσωθεν (Πίν. XLIV). Τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τῆς κατασκευῆς μαρτυροῦν τὰ μεγέθη τῶν λίθων, ὁ πῆχυς τῶν 50 ἐκ. περίπου, ἡ περιτένεια κλπ. Βεβαίως παρουσιάζονται μέρη ρωμαϊκῶν ἐπισκευῶν καὶ μάλιστα ὁστέρων χρόνων, εἰς τὰς ὁποίας ἐγένετο καὶ χρήσις χονδροῦ κονιάματος ὡς συνδετικῆς ὕλης, τὸ ὁποῖον οἱ τεχνῖται ὀνομάζουν «χάρτζι». Ἡ ἀρχαία κατασκευὴ σώζεται μέχρι θυρίδος τοῦ πύργου εἰς τὸ ὕψος τοῦ δαπέδου του, φραχθείσης καὶ ταύτης μεταγενεστέρως (Πίν. XLVI, ἄνω, εἰς τὸ μέσον).

Τὸ κέντρον τοῦ βάρους τῆς ἀνασκαφικῆς μας ἐρεῦνης πάντως πίπτει εἰς τὴν περιοχὴν τῆς νοτίας Πύλης, τῆς ἐν μέρει ἀνασκαφείσης ὑπὸ τοῦ Πελεκίδη. Τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ «Βαθέος Δρόμου» καὶ τῆς Πύλης τείχος ἐλιθολογήθη, φαίνεται, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνασκαφὴν τοῦ Πελεκίδη (Πίν. XLIIIβ). Ὅσα ἀπεκάλυψεν ὁ Πελεκίδης εἶχον ταφῆ καὶ πάλιν, κατὰ τὰ διαρρεύσαντα ἔκτοτε 45 περίπου ἔτη πλήρους ἐγκαταλείψεως. Εὐλόγως εἰς τὴν νέαν αὐτὴν ἐπίχωσιν οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον εὐρέθη πλέον τῶν γνωστῶν ἐνεπιγράφων μαρμάρων μὲ τὰς ἀναθηματικὰς εἰς τὴν θεὰν Μᾶ ἐπιγραφάς¹⁷. Ἡ ἀποκάλυψις των ἐκ νέου εἶναι σημαντικὸν κέρδος διὰ τὴν ἐρευναν. Ἀπεκαλύψαμεν ἐπίσης τὰ χαράγματα καὶ τὰ μονογράμματα (Πίν. LIXβ-γ) ἐπὶ λίθων τῆς Πύλης. Πάντα

17. Π. Ν. Παπαγεωργίου, *ἐν ἀν.*, σ. 65 κέ., Σ. Πελεκίδης, *ἐν ἀν.*, σ. 265 κέ. Ναὺς τῆς θεᾶς πάντως δὲν ἀπεκαλύφθη ἐδῶ οὔτε τὸ 1898 οὔτε τὸ 1922-3. Τὴν «πρόχειρον ὑπόθεσιν» ἀπέρριψεν ἤδη ὁ Πελεκίδης (*ἐν ἀν.*, σ. 259 κέ.). Τὴν ἐπαναφέρει ὁ J. M. R. Cormack, *ἐν ἀν.*, σ. 374.

ταῦτα εἶναι δυνατόν τώρα νὰ ἀπεικονισθοῦν δεόντως καὶ νὰ μελετηθοῦν ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει τῶν σημερινῶν δεδομένων τῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐπιστήμης.

Ἄλλὰ τὸ μέγα κέρδος τῆς νέας ἀνασκαφῆς εἶναι ἄλλο.

Ἐπροχώρησεν εἰς πλάτος πέρα τῆς Ἰσῆς πρὸς τὸ πλάτος τῆς Πύλης ζώνης τοῦ Πελεκίδη καὶ διεπιστώθησαν οὕτως, ὅπισθεν τῶν μεταγενεστέρων κατασκευῶν (Πίν. LII, LIII καὶ LV), σπουδαιότατα λείψανα προρρωμαϊκῶν χρόνων. Ὁ Πελεκίδης εἶχεν ἰδεῖ μέρη τῶν κατασκευῶν τούτων ἀριστερὰ τῆς εἰσερχομένης (Πίν. LIV), ἀλλὰ δὲν ἤρκεσαν, φαίνεται, διὰ νὰ τὸν πείσουν νὰ τὰ χαρακτηρίσῃ ἀδιστακτικῶς ὡς ἔργα προρρωμαϊκά, καλῶν μακεδονικῶν χρόνων. Ὁ Πελεκίδης διετύπωσεν ἐν γένει ἐπιφύλαξιν, ἂν ὑπάρχουν λείψανα δυνάμενα νὰ χαρακτηρισθοῦν ἀρχαιότερα τῆς ρωμαϊκῆς ἐποχῆς¹⁸. Ὁμιλεῖ ἐπίσης περὶ κλίμακος εἰς τὴν ἀριστερὰ τῆς εἰσερχομένης πλευράν¹⁹, ἀλλὰ δὲν ἐβεβαιώθη αὕτη ἀπὸ τὴν ἀνασκαφὴν μας. Ἴσως ἦτο ἀπλῶς βαθμιδωτὴ ἢ διάταξις τῶν σωζομένων τότε λειψάνων. Ἡμεῖς τὰ εὗρομεν κατεστραμμένα περισσότερον ἀπὸ τοὺς προηγηθέντας ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν ἔρευναν τοῦ τόπου (πρβ. π.χ. Εἰκ. 2 πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶ 12, 1900, σ. 65 κέ., πίν. 1, κάτω).

Ἀντὶ κλίμακος ἡμεῖς ἀπεκαλύψαμεν τὸ σημεῖον συναντήσεως τοῦ ἀπὸ ΝΔ ἔρχομένου ἀρχαίου τείχους πρὸς τὸν πύργον καὶ τὴν ἀντίστοιχον πύλην. Τὸ σημεῖον συναντήσεως δὲν δηλοῦται εἰς τὸ ἐδῶ δημοσιευόμενον προσωρινὸν σχέδιον τῆς κατόψεως (Σχέδ. Β). Ὁ πύργος ἐξωτερικῶς εἶναι ὀρθογώνιος (Πίν. LVII), ἐνῶ ἔσωθεν σχηματίζει κυκλικὴν αὐλὴν τῆς πύλης (Πίν. LVI καὶ LVIII). Εἶναι θαυμασία ἡ διατήρησις τῆς ἰσοδομικῆς ἐξωτερικῆς κατασκευῆς (Εἰκ. 3 καὶ 4 καὶ Πίν. LVII), ἐνῶ ὁ τοῖχος τῆς ἐσωτερικῆς αὐλῆς εἶναι κατεσκευασμένος κατὰ περίτεχνον τεχντροπίαν. Αὕτη γενικῶς θεωρεῖται ἑλληνιστικῶν χρόνων, ἀλλὰ δὲν ἀποκλείεται τὸ παράδειγμά μας νὰ εἶναι ἐν ἀπὸ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα τοῦ εἴδους (Εἰκ. 5)²⁰.

Εἰς τὴν περίοδον τῶν κατασκευῶν τούτων ἀνήκει καὶ τὸ γνωστὸν μονόγραμμα (Πίν. LIXβ), καὶ ἕτερον, τὸ ὁποῖον ἀπεκαλύψαμεν, ἐφωτογραφήσαμεν (Πίν. LIXγ) καὶ ἐσχεδιάσαμεν (Εἰκ. 2), ὥστε εἶναι δυνατόν ἀμφότερα νὰ μελετηθοῦν τώρα ἐπὶ νέων βάσεων, μολονότι δυσκόλως ἐρμηνεύονται²¹.

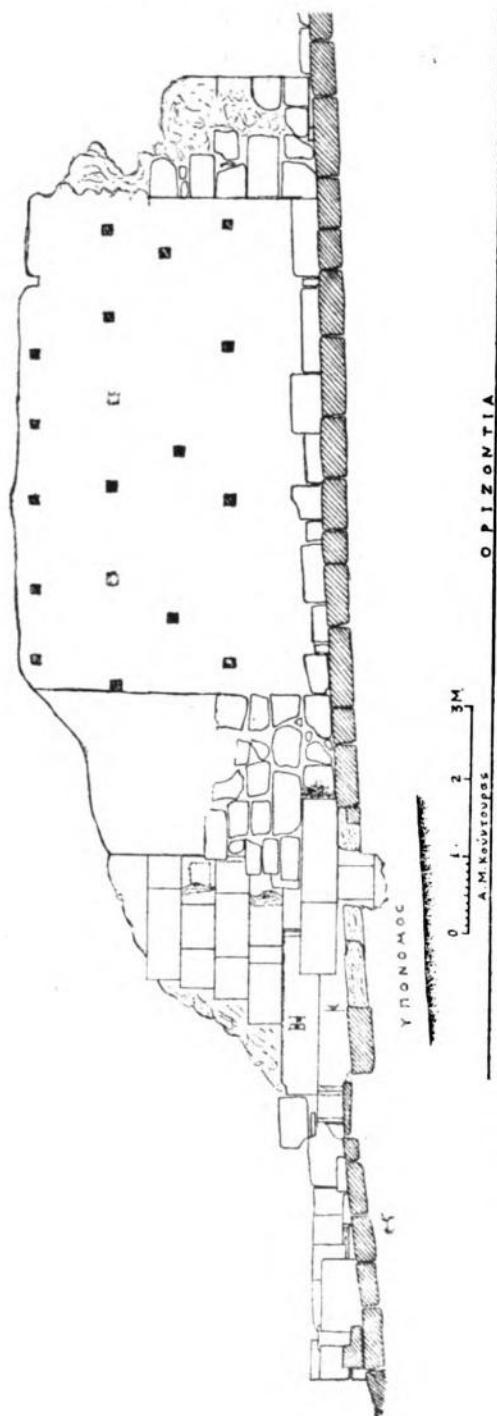
Ἡτύχησαμεν νὰ ἔχωμεν καὶ νέας ἐπιγραφὰς κατὰ τὰς ἐπιφανειακὰς καὶ ἀνασκαφικὰς ἐρεῦνας τῶν δύο ἐτῶν. Εἶναι ἐνδιαφέρουσαι μολονότι

18. Σ. Πελεκίδης, *ἐν. ἀν.*, σ. 264.

19. Σ. Πελεκίδης, *ἐν. ἀν.*, σ. 261.

20. Εἶναι παραλλαγὴ τῶν ψευδοισοδόμων ὀρθογωνίων συστημάτων τῶν καταχωριζομένων παρὰ τοῦ Α. Κ. Ὁρλάνδου, *Τὰ Ὑλικά Δομῆς*, 2, Ἀθῆναι 1958, σ. 230 κέ., εἰκ. 187 καὶ 190.

21. Τελευταίως Σ. Πελεκίδης, *ἐν. ἀν.*, σ. 260.



Είκ. 2. Όψεις της δυτικής παρειάς της νοτίας πόλης και τομή της ύπνομου.

δὲν λύουν τὰ μεγάλα προβλήματα μας. Ἀξιολογώτερα ἐκ τῶν νέων ἐπιγραφῶν εἶναι ἡ ἐν μέρει διατηρουμένη καὶ σώζουσα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἑδέσσης²². Θὰ προτιμήσω ἐδῶ νὰ παρουσιάσω ἐν ἐπιτύμβιον ἀνάγλυφον ἐνεπίγραφον, τὸ ὁποῖον δὲν ἀπαντᾷ εἰς τὸ σοβαρὸν ἐρώτημα ἂν Αἰγαί εἶναι ἡ Ἑδέσση, μᾶς διηγεῖται ὅμως ἱστορίαν ὃχι μόνον διασκεδαστικὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδακτικὴν.

Τὸ ἀνάγλυφον (Πίν. LX) παριστᾷ ἅμαξαν τετράτροχον συρομένην ἀπὸ τέσσαρα ἵπποειδή, ἡμιόνους μᾶλλον. Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης κάθεται ἀνὴρ φέρων χιτῶνα καὶ ἐπενδύτην χειριδωτὸν μετὰ καλύμματος τῆς κεφαλῆς. Ἡ θέσις τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ ἐπιβάτου τῆς ἀμάξης δηλοῖ ὅτι οὗτος ἠνιοχεῖ. Δὲν εἰκονίζονται ἀναγλύφως ἡνία, πιθανῶς ἐδηλοῦντο γραπτῶς. Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης, ὀπισθεν τοῦ ἀναβάτου, εἰκονίζονται σκηνὴ καὶ ἐφόδια. Σπουδαῖαν θέσιν εἰς τὴν παράστασιν κατέχουν χοῖρος ὀρθίος προβαδίζων καὶ ἕτερος ὀκλαδὸν κείμενος. Αἱ διαφοραὶ εἰς τὴν παράστασιν τῶν δύο χοίρων σημαίνουν ἴσως ὅτι ὀπισθεν εἰκονίζεται ὁ αὐτὸς προβαδίζων χοῖρος νεκρὸς ἤδη, ὥς ἐξάγεται ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος:

*Χοῖρος, ὁ πᾶσι φίλος, τετράπους νέος, ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι.
Δαλματῆς δάπεδον προλιπὼν δῶρον προσενεχθεὶς
καὶ Δυρράχιν δὲ ἐπάτησα Ἀπολλωνίαν τε ποθήσας
καὶ πᾶσαν γαίην διέβην ποσί, μούνος ἄλιπτος.*

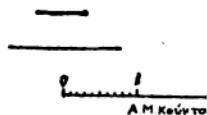
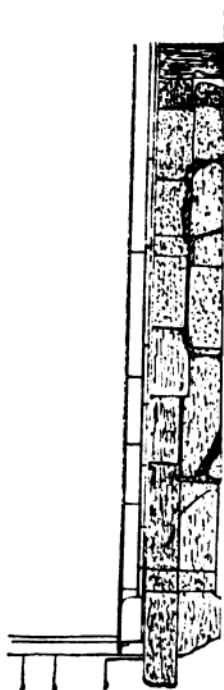
5. *Νῦν δὲ τροχοῖο βίη τὸ φάος προλέλοιπα,
Ἡμαθίην δὲ ποθῶν κατ.δεῖν φαλλοῖο δὲ ἄρμα,
ἐνθάδε νῦν κεῖμαι τῷ θανάτῳ μηκέτ' ὀφειλόμενος.*

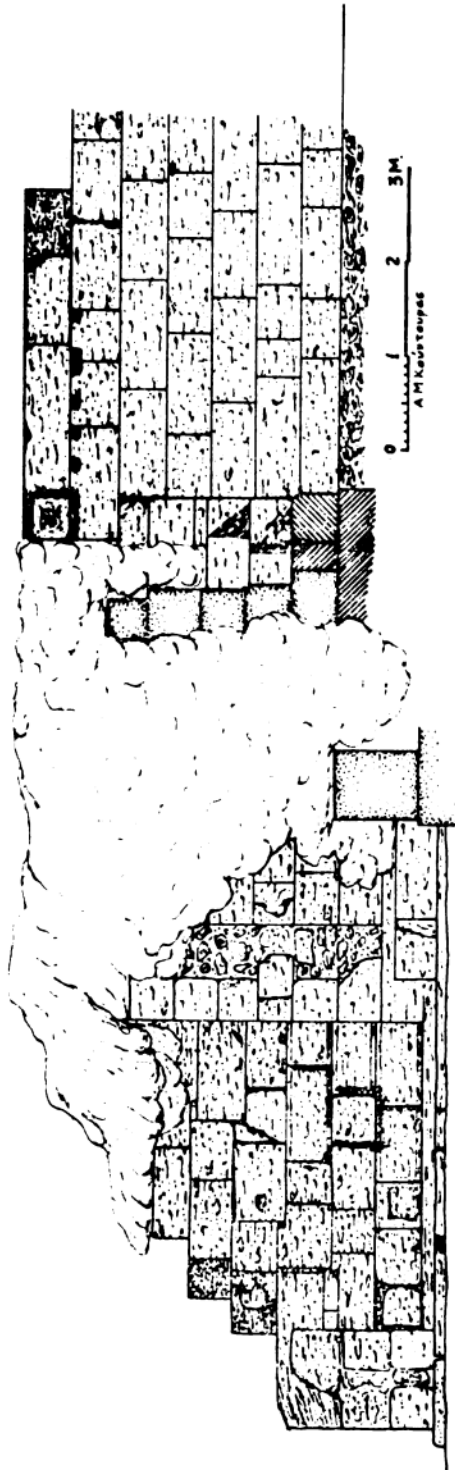
Τὸ ἐπίγραμμα εἶναι ἑμμετρον καίτοι δὲν εἶναι ἄψογον ἀπὸ ἀπόψεως μετρικῆς. Εἶναι εὐανάγνωστον καὶ εὐνόητον γενικῶς. Ὁ στίχος 6 ὑπαινίσσεται φαλλοφόρον ἄρμα διονυσιακῆς πομπῆς. Ἀξιοσημείωτος εἶναι ἡ διαδρομὴ, τὴν ὁποῖαν ὁ χοῖρος «διέβη ποσί, μούνος ἄλιπτος». Εἶναι σαφὲς ἡ διαδρομὴ τῆς Ἑγνατίας ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ τὰς δύο εἰς τὴν ἀδριατικὴν ἀκτὴν ἀφετηρίας αὐτῆς, τὸ Δυρράχιον καὶ τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν. Συνήθως μᾶς διαφεύγει ἡ σημασία τῆς διαδρομῆς ταύτης, σπουδαιοτάτης ἀρτηρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων.

Μὲ τὴν διασκεδαστικὴν περιπέτειαν τοῦ ἐκ Δαλματίας χοίρου τελειώθουν ὅσα ἡδυνάμεθα νὰ εἴπωμεν ἐπιτροχάδην διὰ τὰ πρῶτα ἀποτελέσματα τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν τῆς Ἑδέσσης, τὰ ὁποῖα θὰ ἴδωμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τόπου μεθαύριον²³.

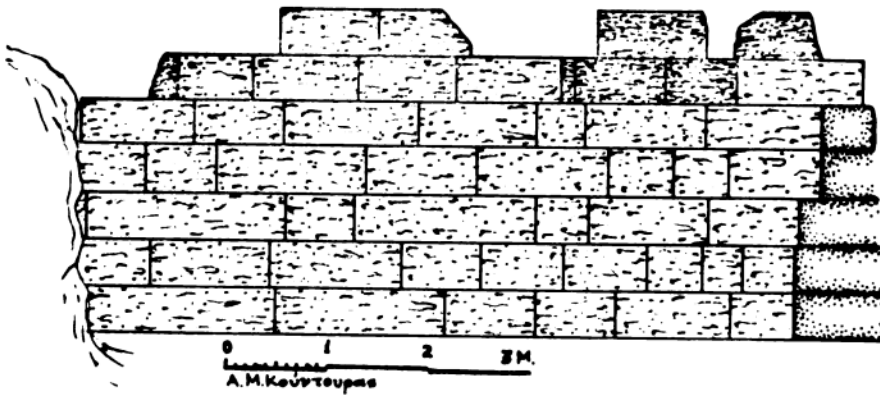
22. Ἰδὲ ΑΔ (ὕπὸ ἐκτύπωσιν).

23. Τὰς ἀνασκαφὰς τῆς Ἑδέσσης παρηκολούθησε συνεχῶς μὲν ἡ ἐπιστημονικὴ

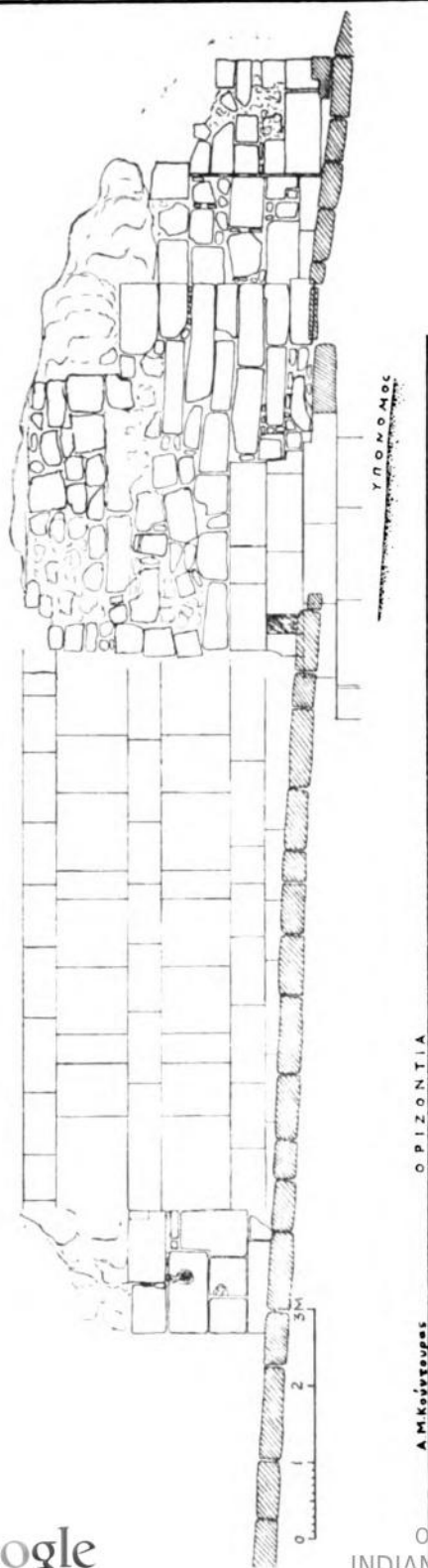




Εικ. 3. Όψεις ανατολική του νοτίου πύργου.



Εικ. 4. Όψις δυτική τοῦ νοτίου πύργου.



Εικ. 5. Όψεις της αρχαίας αύλης της νοτίας Πύλης (ἀριστερά) και μεταγενεστέρων ἐπισκευῶν (δεξιά).

ΠΕΛΛΑ

Τώρα θά παρακαλέσω νά ἐπιτρέψετε μίαν ὑπόμνησιν μόνον τῶν δσων ἐκάμαμε κατὰ τὰ τελευταῖα χρόνια εἰς τὴν Πέλλαν. Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἀναφέρω μίαν πρῶτην προσπάθειαν διαρρυθμίσεως τοῦ χώρου τῶν λεγομένων Λουτρῶν τοῦ Μ. Ἀλεξάνδρου. Ἐγινε πέρυσι περίφραξις καὶ μερική ἀποξήρανσις τῆς περιοχῆς. Ἡ ἀποξήρανσις, ὅταν ὁλοκληρωθῇ, θά ἐπιτρέψῃ διὰ συστηματικῆς ἀνασκαφῆς ἀποκάλυψιν σωζομένων πιθανῶς λειψάνων. Μετὰ τὴν μελέτην τῶν λειψάνων θά εἶναι δυνατὴ ἡ ὀριστικὴ διαρρύθμισις τοῦ χώρου ἀπὸ ἀρχαιολογικῆς καὶ τουριστικῆς ἀπόψεως.

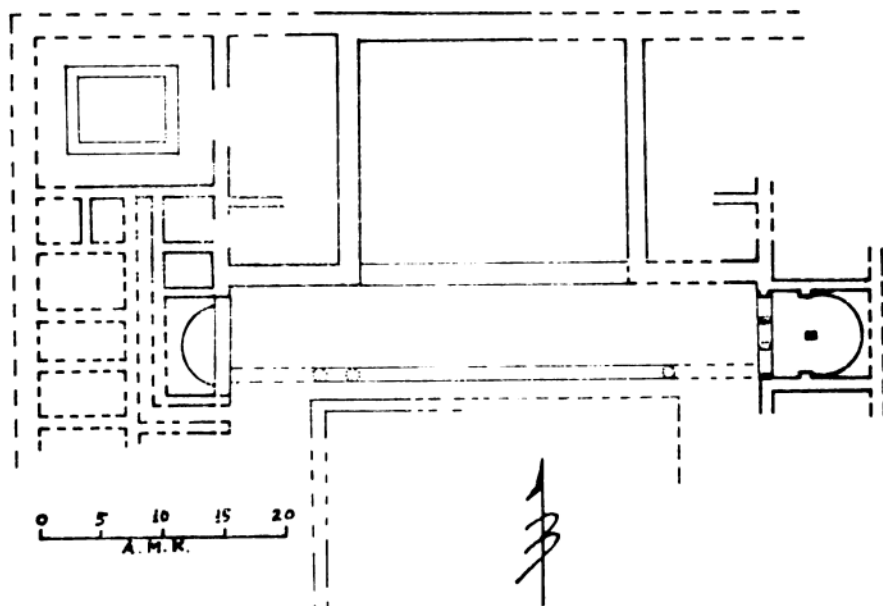
Εἰς τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν τῆς Πέλλης ἐγινε περιορισμένη ἀνασκαφὴ ἐφέτος. Θά συνεχισθῇ μετὰ τὸ τέλος τοῦ Συνεδρίου. Ἀνεσκάφη αὐτὸν τὸν μῆνα χώρος, τοῦ ὁποῖου ἡ ἀνασκαφὴ εἶχεν ἀρχίσει τὸ 1962²⁴ καὶ ἔκτοτε δὲν ἐπαυεμένη. Ἀπεκαλύφθησαν τότε αἱ θέσεις δύο πεσσοκίωνων ἰωνικῶν ἐν μέσῳ παραστάδων καὶ εὐρέθησαν κατὰ χώραν μὲν μία βάσις πεσσοκίονος καὶ μία βάσις παραστάδος, ἐντὸς τῆς ἐπιχώσεως δὲ τὰ ἐπίκρανα ἀμφοτέρων τῶν παραστάδων²⁵. Τὰ λείψανα ταῦτα εἶχον ἐρμηνευθῇ τότε ὑπὸ τοῦ Χ. Μακαρόνα ὡς πρότυλον χωρὶς νὰ σχετισθοῦν πρὸς ὁμοίαν διάταξιν εἰς τὸ ἕτερον ἄκρον τοῦ ἐπιμήκου χώρου. Τοῦτο διότι δὲν κατενοήθη τὸ μεγαλειῶδες σχέδιον τοῦ ἀνακτορικοῦ συμπλέγματος, εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον εἶναι δυνατόν νὰ περιλαμβάνεται ναὸς ἢ ἱερὸν ὁ,τιδήποτε, ἐνῶ ἡ ἔνεκα τῶν σχετικῶν ἐνδείξεων ὑπόθεσις ναοῦ δὲν ἐρμηνεύει τὸ σύνολον τῶν ἀποκαλυφθέντων λειψάνων τοῦ ἀνακτορικοῦ, ὡς ἐξακολουθῶ νὰ πιστεύω, συμπλέγματος. Ἀκριβῶς ἡ ἀνακτορικὴ φύσις καὶ ἡ ἀνάλογος κλίμαξ τῶν ἀποκαλυπτομένων κατασκευῶν εἰς τοὺς ἀνασκαφικοὺς τομεῖς II καὶ III μᾶς ἐμποδίζει ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος νὰ κατανοήσωμεν τὰ σχετικῶς ὀλίγα λείψανα, τὰ ὁποῖα ἀπεκαλύφθησαν μέχρι τοῦδε.

Ἦδη συνεχισθείσης τῆς ἀνασκαφῆς πρὸς Ἀνατολὰς εἰς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο διεπιστώθη πλήρως ἡ ἀντιστοιχία τοῦ ἀψιδωτοῦ τούτου χώρου πρὸς ὁμοίον του κατὰ τὸ δυτικὸν ἄκρον. Ἡ ἀντιστοιχία εἰς τὰς λεπτομερείας δὲν

βοηθῶς δ. Ἀλίκη Στουγιαννάκη, διὰ μικρὰ δὲ χρονικὰ διαστήματα ἡ Ἐπιμελήτρια κ. Εὐγενία Γιούρη καὶ ὁ Ἐπιμελητὴς κ. Γ. Δεσποίνης. Τὰ δημοσιευόμενα σχέδια ἐξετελέσθησαν ἀπὸ τὸν κ. Ἀργύριον Κούντουραν, πλὴν τοῦ σχεδίου τῆς Εἰκ. 1, τὸ ὁποῖον ὀφείλεται εἰς τὴν δ. Μαρίναν Στουγιαννάκη. Αἱ φωτογραφαί τῶν Πινάκων XLI-XLV, XLVIII-LVII καὶ LIX-LX ὀφείλονται εἰς τὸν κ. Σπύρον Τσαβδάρου, τῶν δὲ Πινάκων XLVI-XLVII, LI καὶ LVIII εἰς τὸν κ. Κωνσταντῖνον Μακρόπουλον.

24. *ΑΔ* 18, 1963, Β, Χρονικά, σ. 205.

25. *ΑΔ*, ἐν. ἀν., πίν. 240α, 243α-γ καὶ 244α-β.

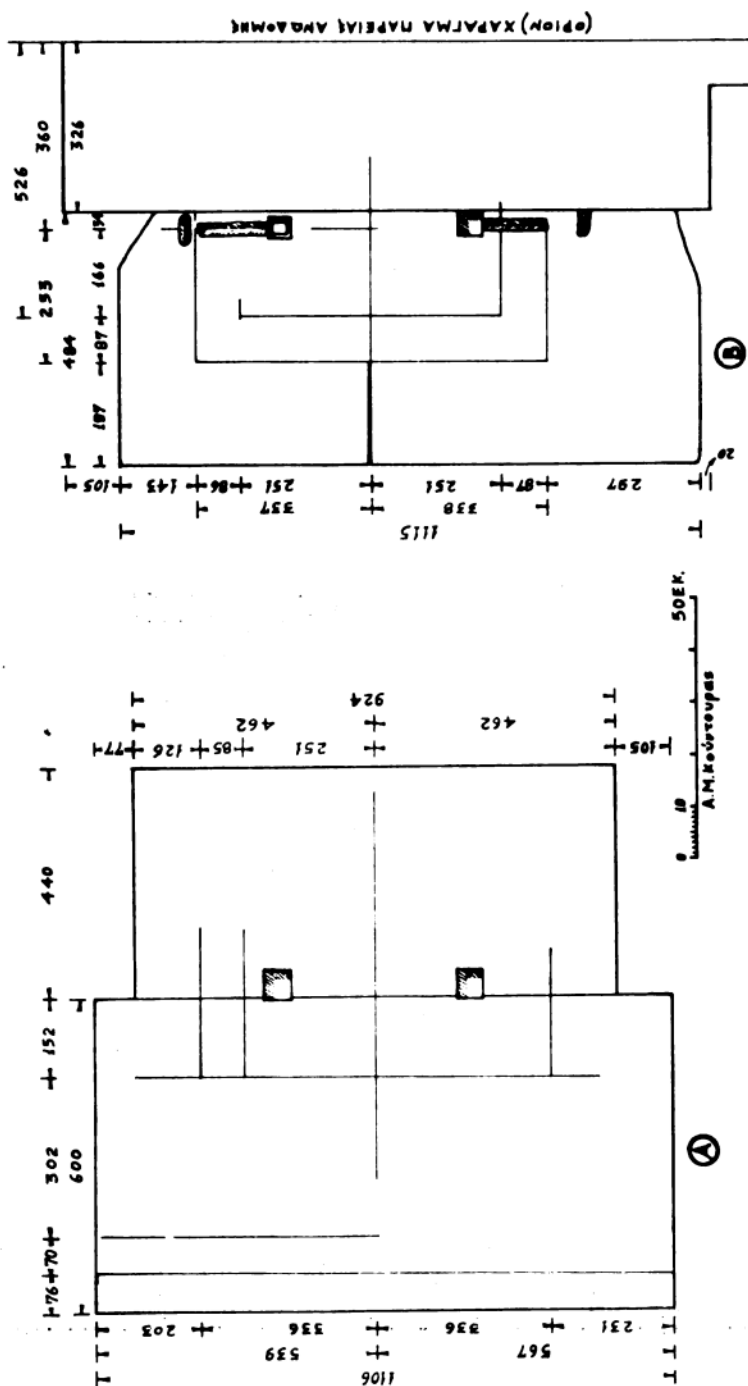


Εἰκ. 6. Ἀνασκαφή Πέλλης 1968, κάτωσις.

βεβαιοῦται, διότι τὰ λείψανα εἰς τὴν δυτικὴν πλευρὰν ἐλιθολογήθησαν ἀπὸ τοὺς περιοίκους μέχρι θεμελίων. Τῶν ἀνασκαπτομένων νῦν λειψάνων παρέχεται ἐδῶ ἀκριβές, ἀλλ' ὅπωςδήποτε προσωρινὸν διάγραμμα κατόψεως (Εἰκ. 6) ²⁶.

Εἰς τὸν τομέα Ι ἐγένετο ἐναρξίς ἀνασκαφῆς ἐφέτος χωρὶς νὰ ἔχωμεν εἰσέτι ἀξιόλογα ἀποτελέσματα.

26. Παρέχονται ἐπίσης ἐνταῦθα λεπτομερῆ σχέδια μὲ τὰ παρατηρηθέντα χαράγματα, συνδέσμους κλπ. α) τοῦ νοτίου περσσοκίονος καὶ τῆς βορείας παραστάδος (Εἰκ. 7) καὶ β) τῶν νῦν ἀποκαλυφθεισῶν ἐσωτερικῶν παραστάδων (Εἰκ. 8).



Εικ. 8. Σύνδεσμοι και χαράγματα επί τοῦ στυλοβάτου τῶν θωπευτικῶν παραστάδων.

ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ

Ἀπὸ τὰς πολλὰς, κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον σωστικὰς, ἀνασκαφικὰς ἐργασίας ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ πρέπει νὰ περιορισθῶ νὰ ἀναφέρω δι' ὀλίγων τὰ ἀποτελέσματα τῶν ἐκτεταμένων ἀνασκαφῶν α) εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἀγορὰν καὶ β) εἰς τὸ ἀνακτορικὸν σύμπλεγμα τοῦ Γαλερίου.

Ἐχουν ἤδη δημοσιευθῇ ἐκθέσεις μὲ τὰ ἀποτελέσματα παλαιότερων τοῦ 1965 ἀνασκαφῶν εἰς τὸν χώρον τῆς Ἀγορᾶς²⁷. Κατὰ τὰ δύο τελευταῖα ἔτη 1966 - 1967 ἀπεκαλύφθη κατὰ μέγα μέρος ἡ ὑπαιθρος πλατεῖα τοῦ Forum, τὰ λείψανα τῶν στοῶν πρὸς Ἀνατολὰς καὶ πρὸς Νότον αὐτῆς, ὡς καὶ ὑπόγειος στοὰ (cryptoporticus) ὑπὸ τὴν νοτίαν διπλὴν στοάν. Ἀνοίγματα πρὸς τὸ Forum κατὰ κανονικὰ διαστήματα εἰς τὴν νοτίαν πλευρὰν ἔδιδον φῶς καὶ ἀέρα εἰς τοὺς χώρους τῆς ὑπογείου στοᾶς. Αἱ λεπτομέρειαι τῆς κατασκευῆς καὶ αἱ διαστάσεις φαίνονται εἰς τὸ σχέδιον τομῆς (Εἰκ. 9).

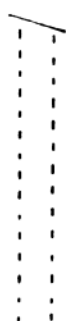
Εἰς τὸ βόρειον τμήμα τῆς ἀνοικτῆς πλατείας δὲν διετηρήθησαν λείψανα τῆς μνημειακῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ τόπου. Τὸ πλακόστρωτον κατεσκευάσθη κατόπιν ἰσοπεδώσεως δι' ἐκσκαφῶν εἰς τὰ βόρεια καὶ ἐπιχώσεων εἰς τὰ νότια. Κατεσκευάσθη δὲ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρθένου ἐδάφους εἰς τὴν ΒΔ γωνίαν τοῦ σκάμματος, ὅπου ἐγινε δοκιμαστικὴ τομὴ ἐκταθείσα ἐν συνεχείᾳ μέχρι τῆς νοτίου πλευρᾶς τοῦ Forum. Οὕτως εἰς μὲν τὴν ΒΔ γωνίαν ἐβεβαιώθησαν ὀλίγα λείψανα θεμελίων προγενεστέρων κτηρίων κατὰ χώραν (μὲ μολυβδοχοημένους συνδέσμους κλπ.), πρὸς Νότον δὲ διεπιστώθη ἐπίχωσις βαθεῖα. Ἐντὸς τῆς ἐπιχώσεως ταύτης παρατηρήθη τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸν παράδοξον: νεώτερα εὐρήματα πρὸς τὸ βάθος, ἀρχαιότερα πρὸς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν. Τοῦτο ἐξηγεῖται ἀπὸ τὴν προαναφερθεῖσαν ἐργασίαν ἰσοπεδώσεως τῆς πλατείας δι' ἐκσκαφῶν εἰς τὰ βόρεια καὶ ἐπιχώσεων πρὸς τὴν κατωφέρειαν.

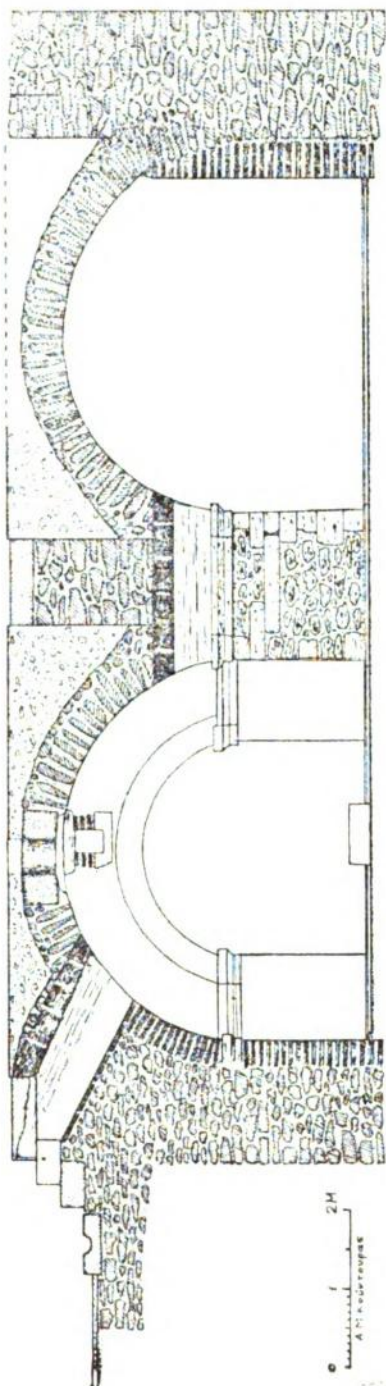
Ἐκτὸς τῶν ὑπὸ τὸ πλακόστρωτον κατὰ χώραν ἀρχαιοτέρων αὐτοῦ λειψάνων εὐρέθησαν καὶ κινητὰ εὐρήματα, κυρίως ὅστρακα, τὰ ὅποια εἶναι δυνατόν νὰ ἀναχθοῦν εἰς ἑλληνιστικούς καὶ ἔτι παλαιότερους χρόνους. Ἐκ τῶν κινητῶν εὐρημάτων ἰδιαίτερος ἀξιόλογος εἶναι λίθινος (ὄχι μαρμάρινος) Ἀτλας εὐρεθεὶς ἐντοιχισμένος ὡς οἰκοδομικὸν ὕλικόν εἰς λείψανον τοίχου ὑπὸ τὸ πλακόστρωτον²⁸. Αἱ συνθῆκαι τῆς εὐρέσεως ἐν συνδυασμῷ πρὸς τὸ ὕλικόν καὶ τὴν τεχνοτροπίαν τοῦ ἀγάλματος δηλοῦν ἑλληνιστικούς χρόνους, πιθανῶς δὲ ὁ Ἀτλας ἀνήκεν εἰς πλησίον κτήριο ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὕλικου.

Σχετικὰ πρὸς τὴν Ἀγορὰν τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης εἶναι σπουδαῖα θέματα,

27. Ἰδὲ παραπομπὰς εἰς *Μακεδονικά* 7, 1967, σ. 269, σημ. 1.

28. Ἰδὲ *ΑΔ* 22, 1967, Χρονικά σ. 386, *Μακεδονικά* 9, 1969, σ. 150, πίν. 47.





Εικ. 9. Τομή του κρυπορτίκιου. Ἀριστερὰ ἄνω, τὸ πλακόστρωτον τῆς πλατείας, ὁ μαρμάρινος ἀνοικτὸς ὁχετὸς καὶ αἱ τρεῖς μαρμάριναι βαθμίδες. Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνωτέρας βαθμίδος ἔβαιον οἱ κίονες τῆς ἐξωτερικῆς κιονοστοιχίας τῆς νοτίας στοᾶς τοῦ Forum, ἐνῶ τῆς ἐσωτερικῆς κιονοστοιχίας οἱ κίονες ἔβαιον ἐπὶ τῶν μεταξὺ τῶν δύο καμαρών ὀγκωδῶν πεσσῶν. Μεταγενέστεραι τροποποιήσεις καὶ προσθήκαι ἐγένοντο κυρίως διὰ τὴν μετατροπὴν τῆς κατασκευῆς εἰς δεξαμενὴν ὕδατος.

δπως ἡ θέσις τῆς προκατόχου τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης Θέρμης ²⁹, ἡ θέσις τῆς στοᾶς τῶν Incantadas ³⁰ καὶ ἡ τοπογραφία γενικῶς κατὰ τοὺς ρωμαϊκοὺς καὶ βυζαντινοὺς χρόνους (χαλκευτικὴ στοᾶ, μεγαλοφόρον, Καταφυγὴ κλπ.) ³¹. Ὡς πρὸς τὴν Θέρμην πιστεύω ὅτι τὸ πολιτικὸν καὶ θρησκευτικὸν κέντρον αὐτῆς δὲν ἀπέχει ἀπὸ τῆς θέσεως τῆς ρωμαϊκῆς Ἀγορᾶς. Καὶ ἡ Θέρμη καὶ ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη τοῦ Κασσάνδρου πρέπει νὰ ἀνεπτύχθησαν εἰς τὸν κατωφερῆ, ἀλλ' ὅπωςδήποτε ὁμαλὸν χῶρον μεταξὺ τοῦ λιμένος ἀφ' ἑνός (ἀνέκαθεν οὐχὶ μακρὰν τοῦ σημερινοῦ) καὶ τῆς φύσει ὀχυρᾶς θέσεως τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης ³². Εἰς πλεῖστα σημεῖα τοῦ περιβάλλοντος τοῦ τείχους τῆς πόλεως παρὰ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν παρατηροῦνται, ἐλάχιστα γνωστά, λείψανα τειχῶν ἰσοδόμου τοιχοδομίας καὶ ἄλλα δι' ὧμων πλίνθων κατεσκευασμένα, δυνάμενα νὰ ἀναχθοῦν τοῦλάχιστον εἰς τοὺς πρώτους ἑλληνιστικοὺς χρόνους τῆς πόλεως τοῦ Κασσάνδρου.

Εἰς τὴν περιοχὴν τοῦ Γαλεριανοῦ συμπλέγματος κτηρίων ἐγιναν ἀνασκαφαὶ κυρίως α) εἰς τὴν νῦν πλατεῖαν Ναυαρίνου κατὰ τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ Ὀκταγώνου καὶ τοῦ ἀνακτόρου λωρίδα, ἡ ὁποία ἀνεσκάφη, καὶ β) κατὰ μῆκος τῆς νῦν ὁδοῦ Δημ. Γούναρη ἥτοι κατὰ τὴν προέκτασιν πρὸς Νότον τοῦ ἄξονος τῆς ἀψίδος τοῦ Γαλερίου, ὁ ὁποῖος, ὡς γνωστὸν, διέρχεται διὰ τοῦ κέντρου τῆς ἀρχικῆς (νοτίας) εἰσόδου τῆς Ροτόντας τοῦ Ἀγίου Γεωργίου.

Κατὰ τὴν ἀνασκαφείσαν τὸ 1965 πρὸς τὸ ἀνάκτορον πλευρὰν τοῦ Ὀκταγώνου ἀπεκαλύφθησαν βυζαντιναὶ ἐπεκτάσεις, προσθήκαι καὶ διαρρυθμίσεις ³³.

Σπουδαιότερα καὶ διαφωτιστικώτερα διὰ τὸ σύνολον τοῦ Γαλεριανοῦ συμπλέγματος εἶναι τὰ ἀποκαλυφθέντα κατὰ μῆκος τῆς ὁδοῦ Δημ. Γούναρη. Εἰς μὲν τὸ νότιον ἄκρον τῆς ἐρευνηθείσης ζώνης, παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Αἰμιλιανοῦ Γρεβενῶν, ἀπεκαλύφθη τὸ ψηφιδωτὸν δάπεδον ἀψίδος παλαιότερον διαπιστωθείσης καὶ σχεδιασθείσης κατόπιν ἐπιπολαίας σκαφῆς ³⁴. Ἡ ἀψὶς ἔχει πλάτος μεγαλύτερον τῆς νῦν ὁδοῦ Δημητρίου Γούναρη, ὅθεν δὲν ἀπεκαλύφθη τὸ ἀνατολικὸν ἄκρον τῆς. Ἀξιοσημείωτον εἶναι πάντως ὅτι ὁ προσανατολισμὸς τῆς ἔχει βάσιν τὸν προαναφερθέντα ἄξονα τῆς ἀψίδος τοῦ Γαλερίου.

29. Βιβλιογραφία εἰς *Μακεδονικά* 7, 1967, Χρονικά Ἀρχαιολογικά, σ. 287 κέ., ἀριθ. 22 καὶ 83.

30. *Μακεδονικά*, ἔν. ἀν., σ. 296, ἀριθ. 56.

31. *Μακεδονικά*, ἔν. ἀν., σ. 286 κέ., ἀριθ. 20, 57 κ.ά.

32. Ἴδὲ χάρτην Γ. Ι. Θεοχαρίδου, *Τοπογραφία καὶ Πολιτικὴ Ἱστορία τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης κατὰ τὸν ΙΔ' αἰῶνα*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1959, ἐν τέλει τοῦ βιβλίου.

33. Ἴδὲ νῦν *ΑΔ* 21, 1966, Β, Χρονικά, σ. 331 κέ., καὶ τὰ Χρονικά τοῦ προσεχοῦς (ὑπὸ ἐκτύπωσιν) τόμου τοῦ *ΑΔ*.

34. *ΑΔ* 20, 1965, Β, Χρονικά, σ. 408, σχέδ. 1, δεξιά.

Ἡ ὁδὸς Δημ. Γούναρη ἐσχεδιάσθη ἀπὸ τὸν Γάλλον ἀρχιτέκτονα Hébrard, εἰς ὃν ὀφείλεται τὸ σχέδιον πόλεως τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης, μὲ βάσιν τὸν ἄξονα τῆς ἀψίδος τοῦ Γαλερίου, ὁ ὁποῖος ἐλήφθη καὶ ὡς ἄξων τῆς ὁδοῦ. Ἐπικειμένης τῆς κατασκευῆς τῆς νεωστὶ διανοιγείσης πλήρως ὁδοῦ Δημ. Γούναρη μὲ τὰς γνωστὰς συνεπείας (ἐκσκαφαὶ διὰ μηχανικῶν ἐκσκαφέων χάριν ἰσοπεδώσεως καί, τὸ χειρότερον, χάριν ὑπονόμων, ἠλεκτρικῶν καὶ τηλεφωνικῶν καλωδίων κλπ.) δοκιμαστικὴ σκαφικὴ ἔρευνα ἐκρίθη σκόπιμος καὶ ἔργον προνοίας πρὸς προστασίαν καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων λειψάνων καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων τοῦ Δήμου καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἀπὸ περιπετειᾶς ἐκ τῶν ὑστέρων ἐπεμβάσεων τῆς Ὑπηρεσίας. Οὕτω ἐγένετο τομὴ κατ' ἄξονα τῆς ὁδοῦ εἰς δύο σημεῖα: α) πρὸς Βορρᾶν τοῦ προαναφερθέντος ψηφιδωτοῦ δαπέδου καὶ β) εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν ὁδῶν Πρίγκηπος Νικολάου καὶ Ἰω. Μιχαήλ τμήμα τῆς ὁδοῦ Δημ. Γούναρη.

Μᾶλλον ἀξιόλογα εἶναι τὰ ἀποτελέσματα εἰς τὸ δεύτερον σημεῖον. Ἀπεκαλύφθησαν καλῶς διατηρούμενα λείψανα σπουδαίας κατασκευῆς μὲ ἰδιόρρυθμον κάτοψιν (Σχέδ. Γ). Εἶναι προσανατολισμένον τὸ κτήριο μὲ βάσιν τὸν προαναφερθέντα ἄξονα τοῦ Γαλεριανοῦ συμπλέγματος, διὰ τὸ ὅποιον εἶχομεν νέον φῶς καὶ εἰς τὴν περιοχὴν τοῦ Ἰπποδρόμου, εἰς δύο οἰκόπεδα, ὅπου ἀπεκαλύφθησαν σημαντικὰ λείψανά του ³⁵.

Αὐτὰ δι' ὀλίγων εἶναι τὰ ἀποτελέσματα τῶν προσφάτων ἀνασκαφῶν εἰς τὰς τρεῖς διαδοχικὰς πρωτευούσας τῶν Μακεδόνων: τὴν Ἐδεσσαν (Αἰγός), τὴν Πέλλαν καὶ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην.

Ἡ Μακεδονία ἐνδιαφέρει ὄχι μόνον καθ' ἑαυτήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς μητρόπολις τοῦ ἑλληνιστικοῦ κόσμου, ἐν συνεχείᾳ δὲ ὡς σπουδαῖον μέρος τοῦ ρωμαϊκοῦ κράτους καὶ τῆς βυζαντινῆς αὐτοκρατορίας. Ἡ γενομένη ἀπὸ τὸν Γαλέριον μεταφορὰ εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην τῆς πρωτευούσης τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ ρωμαϊκοῦ κράτους ὑπῆρξεν ἐν πρώτῳ βῆμα εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ ἐξελληνισμοῦ τοῦ ρωμαϊκοῦ τούτου κράτους. Ὑπῆρξε σταθμὸς εἰς τὴν παγκόσμιον Ἱστορίαν καὶ ὄχι μόνον εἰς τὴν Ἱστορίαν τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. Ὅρθως ὠρίσθη ὡς ὄριον τῆς περιόδου, τὴν ὁποίαν καλύπτει τὸ Συμπόσιόν μας μὲ θέμα τὴν Ἀρχαίαν Μακεδονίαν.

Γενικὴ Διεύθυνσις
Ἀρχαιοτήτων καὶ Ἀναστήλασεως

Φ. Μ. ΠΕΤΣΑΣ

35. Δημοσιεύονται εἰς τὰ Χρονικά τοῦ ΑΔ καὶ εἰς τὰ Μακεδονικά 9, 1969 Χρονικά Ἀρχαιολογικά.

ΤΡΙΑ ΥΠΟΓΕΙΑ ΤΑΦΙΚΑ ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗΜΑΤΑ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΔΥΤΙΚΗ, ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ,

Οἱ τρεῖς κατωτέρω περιγραφόμενοι τάφοι ἀπεκαλύφθησαν μεμονωμένως καὶ κατὰ καιρούς, ἐντὸς ὧς πάντοτε τῆς τελευταίας διετίας.

Οἱ δύο ἀνήκουν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν κατηγορίαν. Εὐρέθησαν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν (Βέροϊαν), ἀνήκουν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐποχὴν (ὕστερους ἑλληνιστικούς χρόνους), παρουσιάζουν τὴν ἰδίαν κατασκευὴν (ὕπόγειοι, λαξευτοὶ εἰς τὸν μαλακὸν βράχον, ἐπικεχρισμένοι δι' ἄμμοκονιάματος), ἔχουν ἐν γενικαῖς γραμμαῖς τὴν αὐτὴν διάταξιν (ὕποτυπώδη δρόμον, κυρίως θάλαμον καί, τὸ σπουδαιότερον, δεξιᾷ τῷ εἰσερχομένῳ πλευρικὸν δωματίον, σπάνιον¹ διὰ τὴν ἐποχὴν τῶν χαρακτηριστικῶν κατὰ τὸ πρότυπον τῶν μεγάλων μυκηναϊκῶν τάφων).

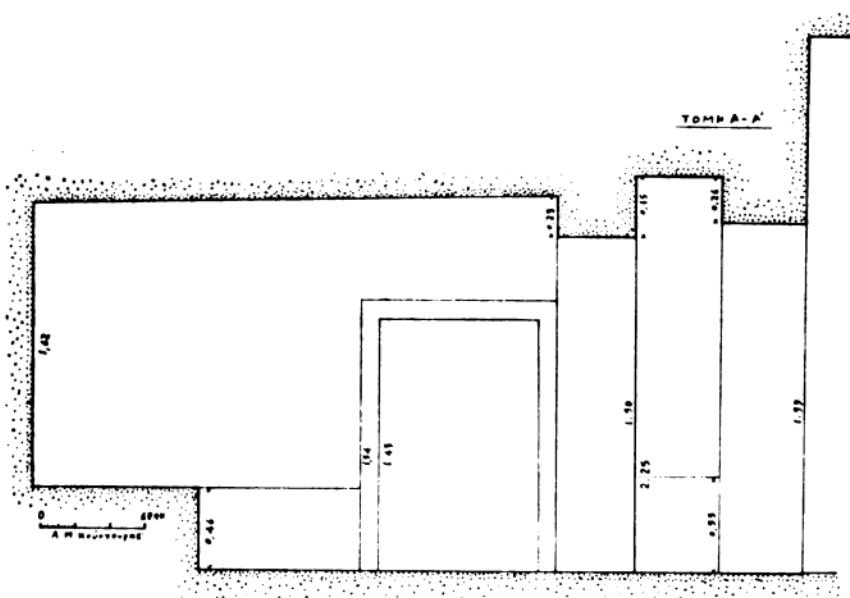
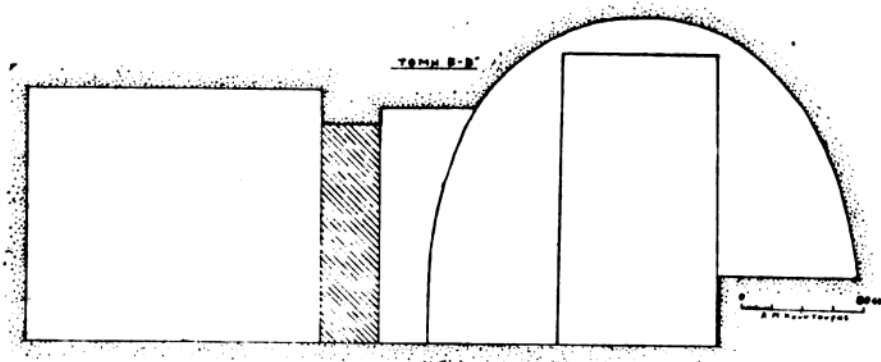
Ὁ τρίτος τάφος ἀπεκαλύφθη νοτίως τοῦ χωρίου Αἰανὴ τοῦ Νομοῦ Κοζάνης καὶ ἀνήκει εἰς τοὺς ὕστερους ρωμαϊκοὺς χρόνους. Εἶναι κτιστός, μονοθάλαμος μετὰ δρόμου, χρησιμεύοντος κατὰ τὸ πρὸς βορρᾶν διὰ καμάρας ἐστεγασμένον τμήμα του ὡς προθαλάμου, καὶ φέρει πλουσίαν ἐπένδυσιν διὰ πολυχρῶμων μαρμαρίνων πλακῶν.

Χωροῦμεν νῦν εἰς τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῶν τάφων τῆς πρώτης κατηγορίας.

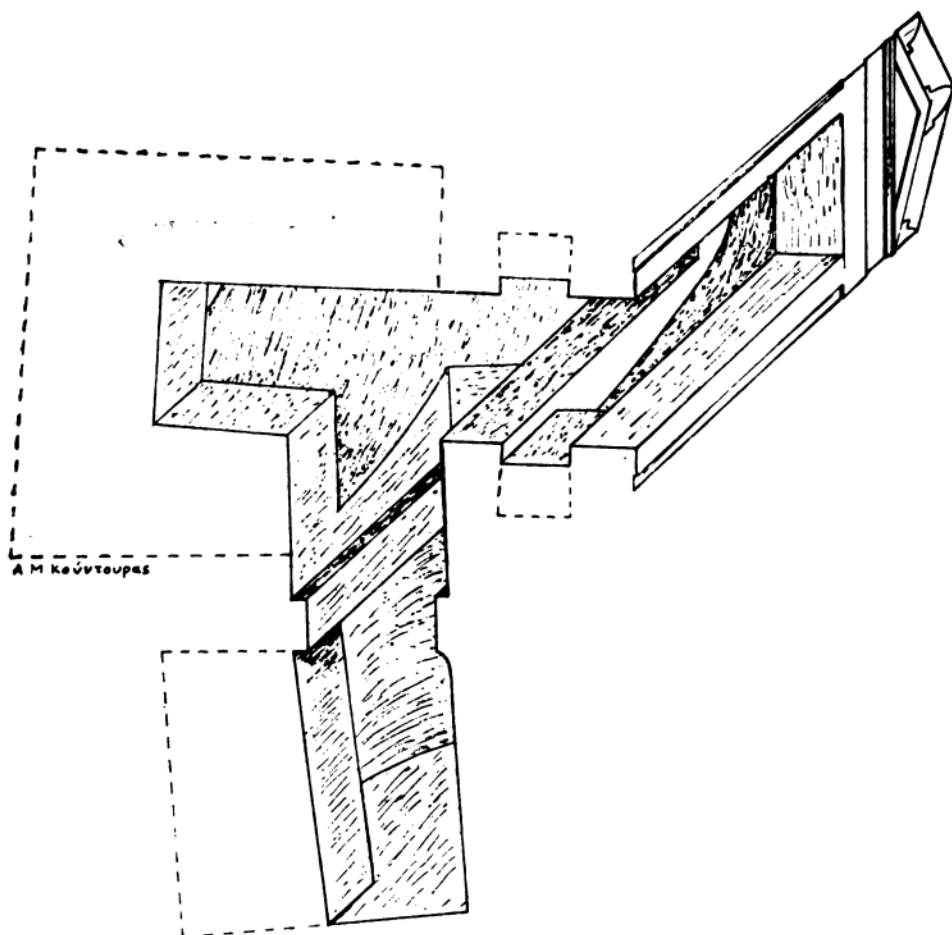
1. Τάφος ἐν τῷ Συνοικισμῷ Κάτω Πρασίνου Κήπου (Εἰκ. 1-3)

Οὗτος, πλευρῆς κυρίως θαλάμου ± 3 μ., ἀπεκαλύφθη τυχαίως κατὰ τὸ θέρος τοῦ ἔτους 1966 ἐντὸς τοῦ οἰκοπέδου Μερκουρίου Χατζημαμόγλου καὶ ἡρευνήθη ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ὑπηρεσίας. Ἀπέχει περὶ τὰ τριακόσια μέτρα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπὸ Θεσσαλονίκης εἰσόδου τῆς πόλεως καὶ εἶναι ἐσκαλισμένος εἰς τὸν μαλακὸν βράχον. Ἡ μικρὰ ἀπόστασις τοῦ τάφου τοῦτου ἀπὸ ἐτέρων λαξευτῶν, κιβωτισχῶν καὶ πιθοειδῶν καθιστᾷ πιθανὴν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ὅτι οὗτος δὲν εἶναι μεμονωμένος ἀλλ' ἀνήκει εἰς νεκροταφεῖον, χρησιμοποιοῦμενον ἀπὸ αἰώνων. Ἡ εἰσοδὸς του εὐρίσκεται πρὸς ἀνατολάς. Τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ μαλακοῦ βράχου μορφούμενον θύρωμα ἐκοσμεῖτο λαξευτῶς δι' ἐπιστυλίου, ἀετώματος καὶ ἀκρωτηρίων (Εἰκ. 3) καὶ ἐφράσσετο διὰ μεγάλων γωνιολίθων. Ὁ δρόμος, τὸν ὅποιον φέρει ὁ τάφος οὗτος, κατ' ἀπόκλινιν πρὸς τὸν ἐπόμενον, παρουσιάζει ἐκατέρωθεν κόγχας, τρε-

1. Ἡ συνάδελφος δ. Χ. Κουκούλη μὲ διεβεβαίωσεν, ὅτι εἰς τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν ὑπάρχει λαξευτὸς τάφος μετὰ πλευρικοῦ δωματίου, εὐτελεστέρας ὧς κατασκευῆς.



Εικ. 2. Τομὲς κατὰ πλάτος καὶ κατὰ μήκος τοῦ τάφου τῆς Εικ. 1.



Εἰκ. 3. Ἰσομετρικὴ τομὴ τοῦ τάφου τῆς Εἰκ. 1.

πομένας ἄνω εἰς καμάραν (Εἰκ. 1). Ὁ νεκρικός θάλαμος εἶχε ὑπερυψωμένον, λαξευτὸν εἰς σχῆμα Π, τρίκλινον (Εἰκ. 1-2), ἐν ᾧ ὁ πλευρικός θάλαμος λαξευτὴν κλίνην κατὰ τὴν δυτικὴν τοῦ πλευράν. Τοιχοποιία ἐκ μικροτέρων γωνιολίθων ἐκλείει τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο θαλάμων ὀρθογώνιον ἀνοιγμα (Εἰκ. 1). Ὁ κυρίως θάλαμος καλύπτεται διὰ καμάρας (Εἰκ. 2), τῆς ὁποίας ἡ γένεσις εὐρίσκεται εἰς τὸ ὕψος τῶν κλινῶν. Ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἐσωτερικὸν τοῦ δρόμου καὶ τοῦ κυρίως θαλάμου φέρει ἐπίχρισμα, ὁ πλευρικός θάλαμος παρουσιάζει ἀκατέργαστον τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῶν τοίχων καὶ παντελῆ ἔλλειψιν κονιάματος. Ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικλίνου τοῦ πρώτου θαλάμου ἐκείντο οἱ σκελετοὶ δύο νεκρῶν καὶ ἅπαντα τὰ κτερίσματα, ὧν τὰ σπουδαιότερα εἶναι τὰ ἑξῆς: Τεμάχια τριῶν εἰδωλίων μόσχων, φερόντων εἰς τινα σημεῖα γραπτὴν ὑποδήλωσιν τῶν λεπτομερειῶν. Μελαμβαφῇ ἄγγεῖα, λύχνοι τοῦ πρώτου ἡμίσεος τοῦ 2ου π.Χ. αἰῶνος², σιδηρὰ στλεγγίς εἰς τεμάχια, περόνη καὶ βελόνη χαλκῆ κ.ἄ. Ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης τοῦ δευτέρου θαλάμου περισυνελέγησαν ἥλοι σιδηροῖ καὶ τεμάχια ξύλου, ὑπολείμματα τῶν ξυλίνων φερέτρων.

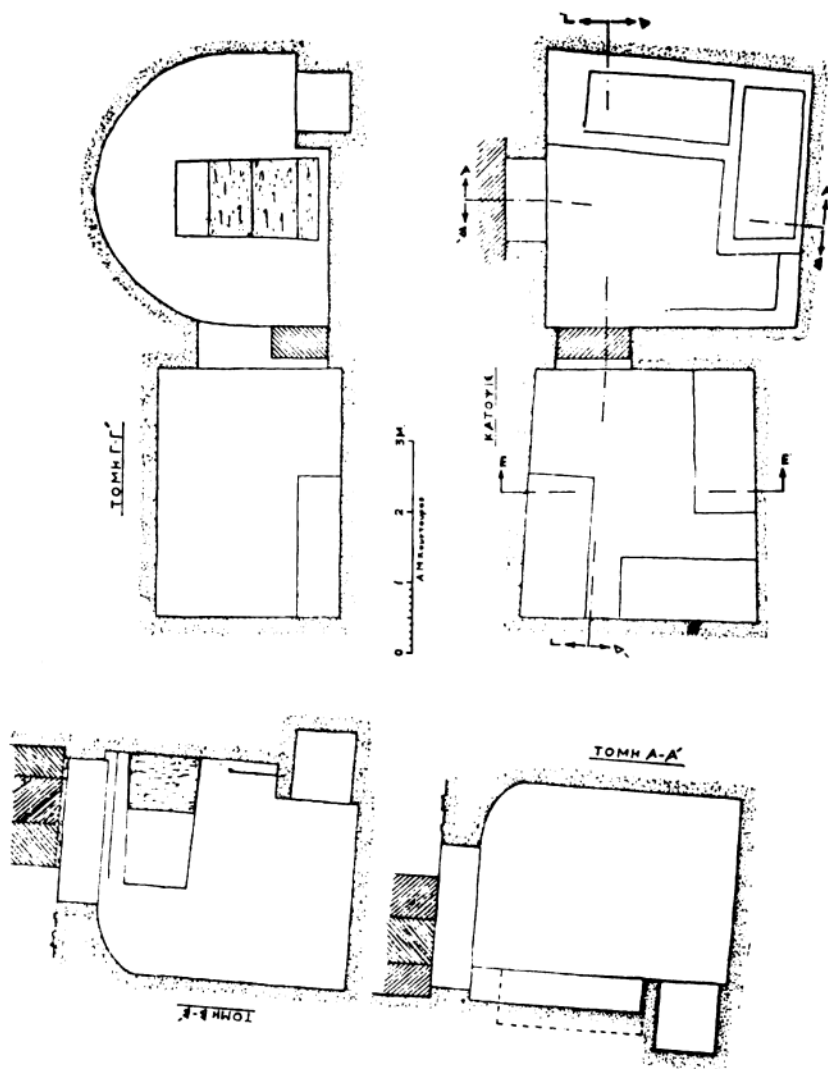
2. Τάφος ἐν τῷ συνοικισμῷ Καλλιθέας (Εἰκ. 4-5 καὶ Πίν. LXI-LXII)

Τὸν Σεπτέμβριον τοῦ ἔτους 1967, κατὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ Δήμου τότε γινομένης ἐκσκαφικᾶς ἐν τῷ συνοικισμῷ Καλλιθέας ἐργασίας διὰ τὴν τοποθέτησιν ὕδραγωγῶν σωλῆνων ἀπεκαλύφθη ἐν μέσῃ ὁδῷ³ ἕτερος ὑπόγειος λαξευτὸς εἰς τὸν μαλακὸν βράχον τάφος, μετὰ πλευρικοῦ ἐπίσης δωματίου. Ἡ εἰσόδος τοῦ εὐρίσκεται πρὸς ἀνατολὰς. Τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ μαλακοῦ βράχου μορφούμενον θύρωμα ἐκοσμεῖτο λαξευτῶς δι' ἐπιστυλίου, ἀετώματος καὶ ἀκρωτηρίων καὶ ἐφράσσετο διὰ τεσσάρων ἐπιμήκων γωνιολίθων (Εἰκ. 5 καὶ Πίν. LXI). Διὰ μεγάλων γωνιολίθων, μετακινηθέντων νῦν τὸ πλεῖστον, ἐφράσσετο ἐπίσης καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο θαλάμων ὀρθογώνιον ἀνοιγμα (Εἰκ. 4 καὶ Πίν. LXII).

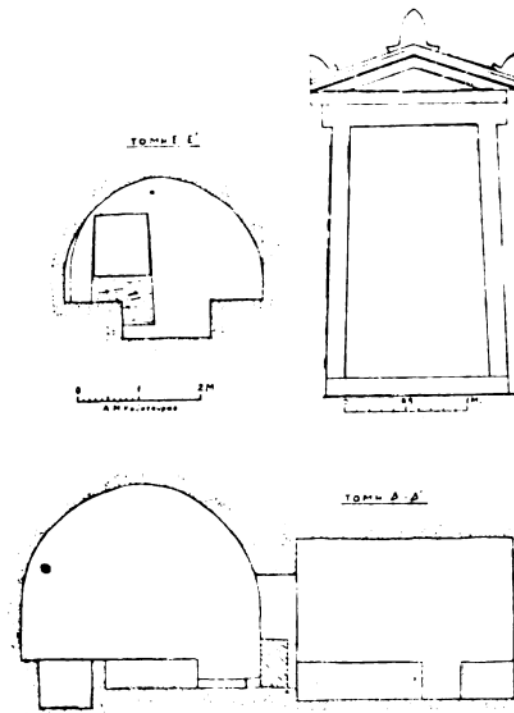
Ὁ κυρίως θάλαμος, ὁ καὶ μεγαλύτερος (πλευρᾶς 3. 70 μ.), φέρει καμάραν, ἐν ᾧ ὁ μικρότερος (πλευρᾶς 3.20 μ.), ὁ πλευρικός, ἐπίπεδον ὀροφήν. Δύο κάθετοι πρὸς ἀλλήλας λαξεύται εἰς τὸν βράχον σαρκοφάγοι (Εἰκ. 4 καὶ Πίν. LXII) ἔφερον κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τοὺς νεκροὺς τοῦ πρώτου θαλάμου. Ὁ πλευρικός θάλαμος φέρει τρεῖς νεκρικός κλινάς. Αἱ ἐσωτερικαὶ ἐπιφάνειαι τοῦ τάφου ἔφερον ἐπίχρισμα διὰ κοινοῦ ἄμμοκονιάματος, ἐν ᾧ αἱ παραστάδες καὶ τὰ ἀνώφλια τῶν θυρῶν ἐκαλύπτοντο διὰ μαρμαροκονίας.

2. Διὰ παρόμοιον ἴδε *Athenian Agora* IV (R. Howland) Pl. 47 no. 600.

3. Εἰς τὴν ἐνθερμον συμπαραστάσιν τοῦ τ. Νομάρχου Ἡμαθίας κ. Ἀνδ. Κανελλοπούλου ὀφείλομεν τὴν δυνατότητα πλήρους ἀνασκαφῆς, διατηρήσεως καὶ διασφαλίσεως τοῦ τάφου.



Εικ. 4. Βέροια. Ὑπόγειος λαξευτὸς τάφος μετὰ πλευρικοῦ δωματίου ἐν τῇ συνοικισμῷ Καλλιθέας. Κάτωρις καὶ τομαὶ Α-Α', Β-Β' καὶ Γ-Γ'.



Εἰκ. 5. Τομαὶ Δ-Δ', Ε-Ε' καὶ τὸ θύρωμα τοῦ τάφου τῆς Εἰκ. 4.

Ὁ τάφος εὐρέθῃ σεσυλημένος. Πλὴν εὐαρίθμων τινων ἀγγείων καὶ ἐνὸς λύχνου τοῦ τελευταίου τετάρτου τοῦ 2ου π.Χ. αἰῶνος⁴, περισυλλεγόντων ἐκ τοῦ δαπέδου, οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἐσημειώσαμεν. Παρατηρήθη παντελὴς σχεδὸν ἑλλειψις ὀστέων. Τέφρα καὶ μέλανα χώματα εἰς τινα σημεῖα μαρτυροῦσι περὶ καύσεως καὶ θυσίων.

Ἀμφότεροι οἱ τάφοι, τοὺς ὁποίους περιεγράψαμεν, εἶδομεν, ὅτι φέρουσι τὸ σπάνιον διὰ τὴν ἐποχὴν των χαρακτηριστικὸν τοῦ πλευρικοῦ δωματίου. Σύνδεσις των μετὰ τοῦ ἀνωτάτου μυκηναϊκοῦ παρελθόντος θὰ ἦτο λίαν παρακεκινδυνευμένη. Δυνάμεθα ὁμῶς νὰ ἰσχυρισθῶμεν, ὅτι ἀποτελοῦσι μακρυνοὺς προδρόμους τῶν συνήθων κατὰ τὸν δεῦτερον καὶ τρίτον μετὰ Χριστὸν αἰῶνα συνθετωτέρων τάφων. Νεώτεραι ἀνασκαφαὶ ἴσως φέρωσιν εἰς φῶς τοὺς ἑλλείποντας συνδετικούς κρίκους πρὸς γεφύρωσιν τοῦ χρονικοῦ χάσματος.

3. Τάφος ἐν Αἰαντῇ Κοζάνης (Εἰκ. 6-7)

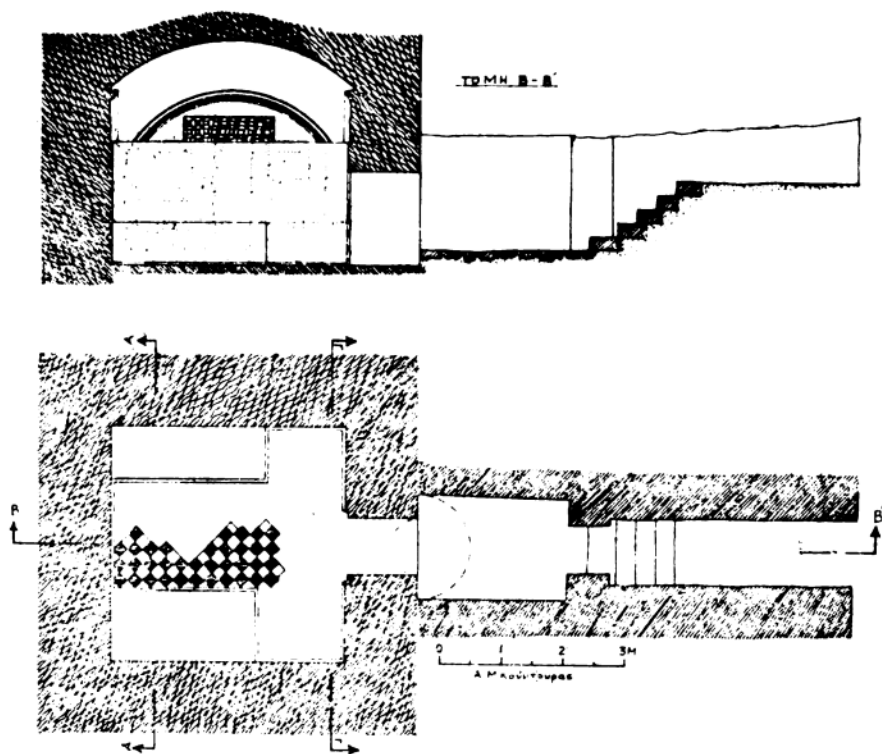
Ὁ τρίτος τάφος ἀπεκαλύφθη περὶ τὰ δύο χιλιόμετρα νοτίως τοῦ χωρίου Αἰαντῇ, ἐπὶ τοῦ λοφίσκου τοῦ Ἁγίου Μηνᾶ, καὶ ἀνήκει εἰς τοὺς ὀστέρους ρωμαϊκοὺς χρόνους. Πρόκειται περὶ ὑπογείου κτιστοῦ οἰκοδομήματος, σπανιωτάτου⁵, τοῦλάχιστον ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, διὰ τὴν ἐποχὴν εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν ἀνήκει.

Ἀποτελεῖται ἐκ τοῦ κυρίως θαλάμου καὶ ἐξ ἐνὸς δρόμου (Εἰκ. 6). Ὁ θάλαμος εἶναι τετραγώνου κατόψεως, πλευρᾶς 3.80 μ. καὶ ὕψους ἀπὸ τοῦ δαπέδου μέχρι τοῦ κλειδίου τοῦ τρούλλου, δι' οὗ καλύπτεται, 3.60 μ. Ὁ δρόμος ἔχει μῆκος 7.10 μ. καὶ ἐχρησίμευεν κατὰ τὸ πρὸς βορρᾶν διὰ καμάρας ἐστεγασμένον τμήμα του, τὸ «ἐπικολλώμενον» ἐπὶ τῆς προσόψεως τοῦ τάφου, ὡς προθάλαμος. Ἡ πρὸς νότον κειμένη τοξοειδὴς δι' ὀπτοπλίνθων εἴσοδος τοῦ τάφου εὐρέθῃ ἐσφραγισμένη διὰ λίθων. Διὰ λίθων ἐπίσης ἐσφραγισμένη ἦτο καὶ ἡ εἴσοδος τοῦ προθαλάμου. Ὁ δρόμος, ὅστις ἔφερε πέντε λιθίνας βαθμίδας, καὶ ὁ προθάλαμος ἦσαν ἐκτισμένοι δι' ἀργολιθοδομῆς μετ' ἀσβεστοκονιάματος, ἐν ᾧ ὁ κυρίως θάλαμος δι' ἀργολιθοδομῆς μετὰ παχέος ἀσβεστοκονιάματος καὶ ὀπτοπλίνθων, πλεοναζόντων κυρίως κατὰ τὸν τρούλλον.

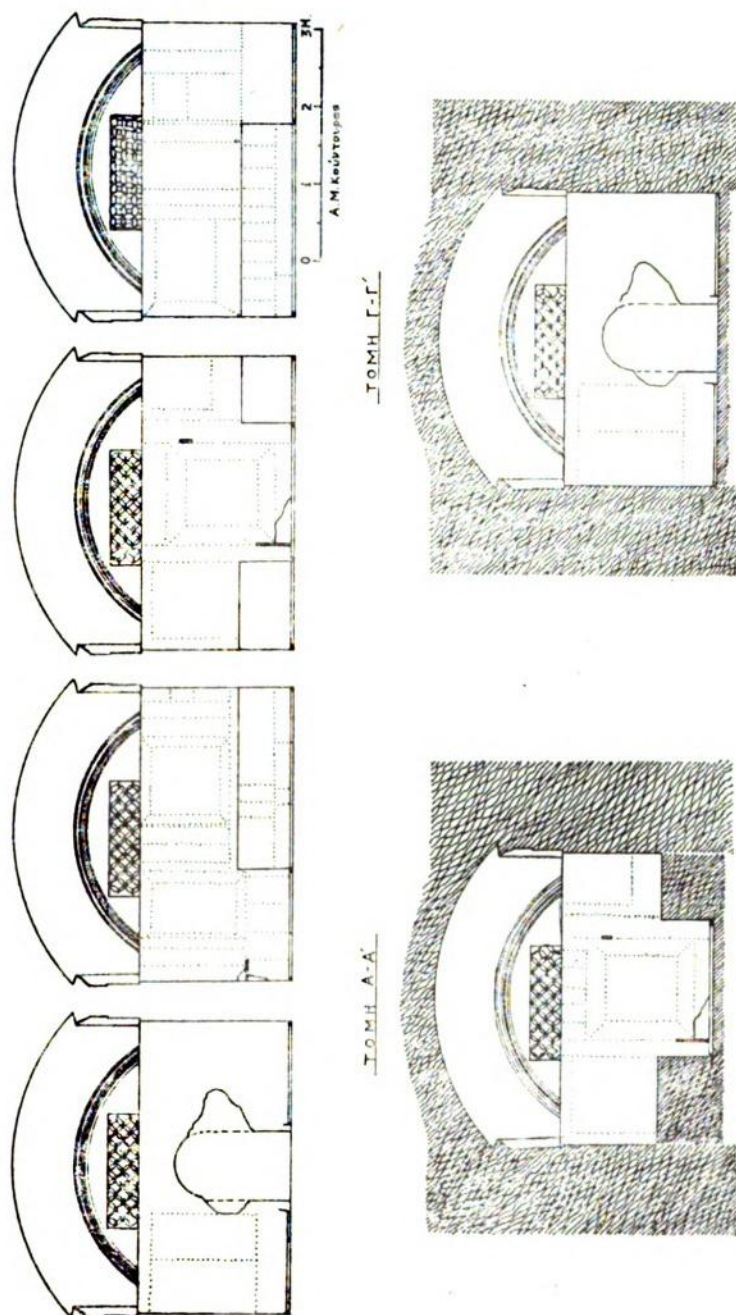
Εἰς τὸ ἐσωτερικὸν τοῦ ὁ τάφος ἦτο πλουσίως διακεκοσμημένος. Τὸ δάπεδον ἔφερεν ἀβακωτὸν κόσμημα ἐκ λευκῶν καὶ μελάνων μαρμαρίνων πλακιδίων (Εἰκ. 6). Οἱ τοῖχοι μέχρις ὕψους δύο μέτρων ὀρθομαρμάρωσιν

4. Διὰ παρόμοιον ἴδε *Athenian Agora* ἔ. ἀ. pl. 50 no. 683.

5. Ἡ ἐν τῇ ὑπ. ἀρ. 1 ὑποσημείωσει συνάδελφος μοὶ ἀνεκρίνωσεν, ὅτι αὕτη προσωπὴς ἀνέσκαψεν ἐν τῇ περιοχῇ Καβάλας παρόμοιον τάφον, μικροτέρων ὁμῶς διαστάσεων καὶ ἐντελεστερῶν ὕλικῶν.



Εἰκ. 6. Αἶανη Κοζάνης. Ὑπόγειον ταφικὸν οἰκοδόμημα. Κάτωψις καὶ τομὴ κατὰ μῆκος.



Εἰκ. 7. Τομαὶ καὶ ἀναπτύγματα τῶν ἐσωτερικῶν ἐπιφανειῶν τοῦ ταφικοῦ οικοδομήματος τῆς Εἰκ. 6.

ἐκ πολυχρώμων πλακῶν (πρασίνων, ἐρυθρῶν, μελαινῶν, λευκῶν, φαιῶν, τῶν πλείστων μετὰ φλεβώσεων). Ἐπένδυσιν διὰ μαρμάρου ἔφερον καὶ αἱ δύο κτισταί, ὕψους 0.65 μ. κλίvai. Τὰ ἄνω μέρη τῶν τοίχων τοῦ θαλάμου καὶ ὁ τροβῆλος ἐκαλύπτοντο ὑπὸ παχέος στρώματος ἀσβεστοκονίας. Ἐπὶ τοῦ στρώματος τούτου καὶ εἰς ἐκάστην τῶν τεσσάρων ἐπιφανειῶν τῶν τοίχων ὑπῆρχε πλαστικός διάκοσμος, συμπληρούμενος δι' ἐγχαράξεων (Εἰκ. 7). Εἰς τὸν ἔναντι τῆς εἰσόδου τοῖχον, κάτωθι τοῦ τροβήλου, ὑπάρχει τόξον, χορδῆς μήκους 3 μ. καὶ ὕψους 0.80 μ., στεφόμενον ὑπὸ πλαισίου, διηρημένον εἰς τέσσαρας κοίλας ταινίας, ἀποληγούσας εἰς ὀξείας ἀκμὰς. Εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ τυμπάνου, ὀρθογώνιον πλαίσιον, πληρούμενον ὑπὸ ἐγχαράκτου κοσμήματος τεμνομένων κύκλων.

Ὁ τάφος, δυστυχῶς, εὑρέθη σεσυλημένος. Πλὴν τῶν τεμαχίων πολυχρώμων πλακῶν ἐκ μαρμάρου, περισυλλεγέντων μεταξὺ τῶν γεμισμάτων, συνελέξαμεν θραύσματα ὑάλου, ὀστρακα ἀπροσδιόριστα, ὀστεινὴν περόνην, χαλκοῦν ἔλασμα, μικρότατον ἔλασμα χρυσοῦ, προερχόμενον ἐξ ἐπενδύσεως ἀντικειμένου ἐκ φθαρτῆς ὕλης, κλπ.

Τὸ ταφικὸν τοῦτο οἰκοδόμημα δὲν εἶναι μεμονωμένον ἐν Αἰανῇ. Κατὰ τὰς ἐφετεινὰς ἀνασκαφὰς ἀπεκαλύφθη περὶ τὰ ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα μέτρα πρὸς τὰ βορειοανατολικά του ἕτερος τάφος, διαφόρου τύπου καὶ πολὺ μικρότερων διαστάσεων, ἐπιμήκης (2.70×1.82 μ.), ἐστεγασμένος διὰ καμάρας, φέρων θύραν μετὰ παραστάδων καὶ ἀνωφλίου κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολικὴν στενὴν του πλευρὰν καὶ κόγχην κατὰ τὴν δυτικὴν του καὶ διαιρούμενος διὰ δύο καθέτων πλακῶν εἰς δύο ἄνισα μέρη, σχηματίζων οἶον προθάλαμον καὶ κυρίως θάλαμον ἐν μικρογραφίᾳ. Ἐπίσης ἦλθεν εἰς φῶς περὶ τὰ ἑκατὸν μέτρα νοτίως τοῦ μεγάλου τάφου βαλανεῖον μήκους 23 καὶ πλάτους 21 μ. καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέσον τῆς ἀποστάσεως ταύτης τρίτος τάφος, μικρὸν ἐπίσης διαστάσεων, ἡμικατεστραμμένος.

Φαίνεται, ὅτι ἐν τῇ περιοχῇ τῆς σημερινῆς Αἰανῆς ἤκμασε κατὰ τοὺς ὑστέρους ρωμαϊκοὺς χρόνους σημαίνουσα πόλις, κοσμουμένη διὰ λαμπρῶν κτηρίων.

Γενικὴ Διεύθυνσις
Ἀρχαιοτήτων καὶ Ἀναστηλώσεως

ΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΗ Κ. ΑΝΔΡΕΙΩΜΕΝΟΥ

TOWARDS RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TOWN PLANNING OF ROMAN THESSALONIKI¹

In the past several attempts have been made with varying results to reconstruct the town planning of Thessaloniki as it was in ancient times. O. Tafrali was the pioneer in the field and for all its shortcomings, his *Topographie de Thessalonique*² is still a fundamental work for anyone engaged in studying the ancient city. His work illustrates the limitations of the literary approach especially with a site like Thessaloniki where such evidence is largely hagiographical and very uneven in quality. E. Hébrard was the first to excavate in the city and was responsible for elucidating the relationship between the Arch of Galerius and the Rotunda (the present church of St. George).³ Further archaeological research was carried out in this quarter of the city by E. Dyggve who was thus able to determine the approximate position of the Palace to the south of the present Odos Egnatias.⁴ Apart from smaller excavations conducted by S. Pelekidis in the Agora,⁵ the Serapeion,⁶ and the Nymphaeum⁷ near Agia Sophia, and by M. Kalligas in the vicinity of Agia

1. My thanks are due to the following for assistance in the preparation of this paper: Professor G. Bakalakis, Professor Ch. Bouras, Professor J. M. R. Cormack, Mrs. A. Drosoyanni, Professor R. M. Harrison, Dr. J. W. Hayes, Miss S. Korti, Basil Laourdas, Dr. P. Mackay, Ch. Makaronas, J. Morganstern, Dr. P. O'Sullivan, Dr. P. Petsas, Dr. J. A. Richmond, Dr. R. Schlüter, Professor G. Theocharides, R. A. Tomlinson, J. Touratsoglou, Professor R. de Valera, and Mrs. F. Zappeiropoulou. I am particularly grateful to my former teachers Dr. W. H. Plommer and Professor R. E. Wycherley, and also to Professor C. F. Edson for his generosity in allowing me to consult parts of his forthcoming publication of the inscriptions of Thessaloniki.

2. Paris, 1913.

3. "Les Travaux du Service archéologique de l'Armée d'Orient à l'Arc 'de Galère' et à l'église St-Georges de Saloṇique," *BCH* 44, 1920, pp. 5-40, pls I-VIII. See also the brief report of sondages made in the area to the south of Odos Egnatias in the centre of the city in *BCH* 44, 1920, pp. 403-5.

4. Dyggve published several reports of a preliminary nature, the most basic one being: "Kurzer vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen im Palastviertel von Thessaloniki," in *Laureae Aquincenses Val. Kuzsinszky dicatae, Dissert. Pannonicae*, 2, 10, Budapest 1941, vol. 2, pp. 63-71 (referred to below as Dyggve 1941), and the latest useful one: "La région palatiale de Thessalonique," *Acta Congressus Madvigiani* (1954), 1, Copenhagen 1958, pp. 353-365, (incorporating work done in 1952-3; referred to as Dyggve 1958)

5. *BCH* 45, 1921, p. 541, and also *BCH* 48, 1924, p. 498, and *AA* 9, 1924-5, p. 121.

6. *BCH* 45, 1921, p. 540; 46, 1922, p. 527; 48, 1924, p. 497; *AA* 37, 1922, p. 242.

7. *BCH* 46, 1922, p. 527.

Sophia,⁸ and apart from chance finds,⁹ this was all the archaeological evidence that H. von Schoenebeck had on which to base his plan published in 1939.¹⁰ He was obliged in the main to rely on plans made before the Great Fire of 1917, whereas now we have much more evidence from excavation,¹¹ which does, however, show that von Schoenebeck was correct as far as the chief alignments of his plan are concerned. It would appear though that he was mistaken in his interpretation of these alignments.

In the southern part of the city, one can see that the streets are laid out parallel to the line of the sea shore (Fig. 1). Their alignment departs noticeably from that of the northern streets, and that it did so in the Roman period as far north as where the church of Agia Sophia now stands is shown by a detail on a recent plan of the environs of the church by Mrs Ph. A. Drososyan (Fig. 2).¹² The first thing to notice is a building of the early fourth century (A-A', B-B', Γ-Γ') that runs in an alignment parallel with the sea shore, and secondly a fifth century church following the line of Odos Egnatias.¹³ Thus as late as the early fourth century, and doubtless in the centuries up to that date, the alignment of the streets with the sea was effective as far inland as

8. *ΙΑΕ*, 1936, 111-18; 1938, 67-75; 1939, 73-84; 1940, 23-7; 1941-44, pp. 42-52.

9. *BCH*, *Chroniques des Fouilles*, 1920-39, *passim*. In particular note (1) *BCH* 48, 1924, pp. 497-8, *ΑΔ* 9, 1924-5, p. 121 (fragments of sculpture and an inscription found on Odos Olympou); (2) *BCH* 57, 1933, p. 279 (an early imperial building near the Vardar Gate); (3) *BCH* 63, 1939, p. 315, and *ΑΔ* 55, 1940, cols 265-6, and Abb. 71-3, cols 261-2 (a statue of Augustus found to the west of the Dioikitirion).

10. "Die Stadtplanung des römischen Thessalonike," *Bericht über den VI Internationales Kongress für Archäologie*, Berlin 1939, Abb. 1, p. 481.

11. See especially: Χρονικά 'Αρχαιολογικά by Ch. Makaronas, *Μακεδονικά* 1, 1940, pp. 463-77; 2, 1953, pp. 592-610; and by Ph. Petsas, *Μακεδονικά* 7, 1967, pp. 285-90, Πίνακες 3-14.

12. *ΑΔ* 18, 1963, Χρονικά, Σχέδ. 1, p. 237.

13. This is the most convenient name to describe the principle street of the city which has been variously described as ἡ λεωφόρος (by the Byzantines, J. Cameniata, *De excidio Thessalonicensi*, ch. 9, ed. Bonn, p. 500; G. Palamas, *Homily XLIII*, Migne, *P.G.*, 151, col. 544), Cande Yol (by the Turks, G. Theoharides, *Τοπογραφία καὶ πολιτικὴ ἱστορία τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης κατὰ τὸν ΙΔ' αἰῶνα*, Thessaloniki, 1959, p. 11), ὁ φαρδύς (by Greeks in the late Turkish period, Theoharides, *loc. cit.*, and A. Vacalopoulos, *A History of Thessaloniki*, Thessaloniki, 1963, p. 16) and Rue du Vardar (by Franks: K. Baedeker, *Konstantinopel und Kleinasien*, Leipzig, 1905, plan between pp. 64 and 65). The present name is a misnomer based on the assumption that the ancient Via Egnatia ran through the centre of the town. Ch. Makaronas has clearly demonstrated in: "Via Egnatia and Thessalonike," *Studies Presented to D.M. Robinson I*, St Louis, 1951, pp. 380-8, that this was not the case and that the Via Egnatia by-passed Thessaloniki.

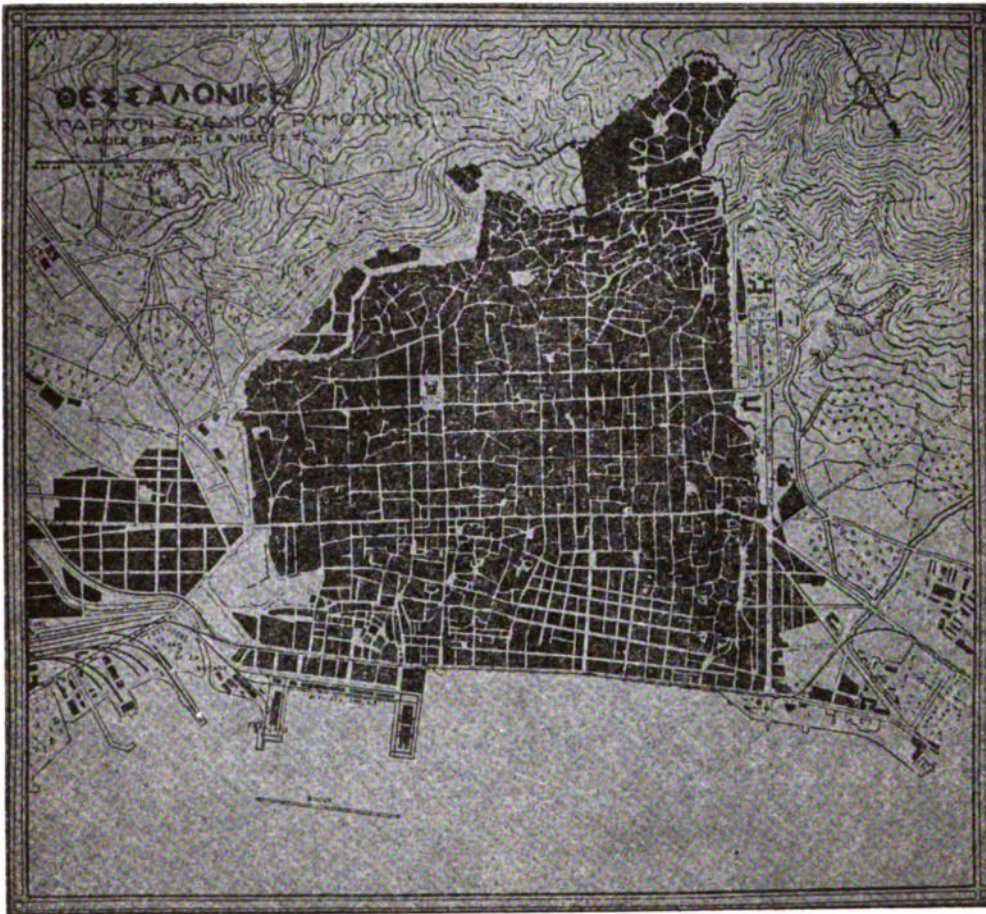


Fig. 1.

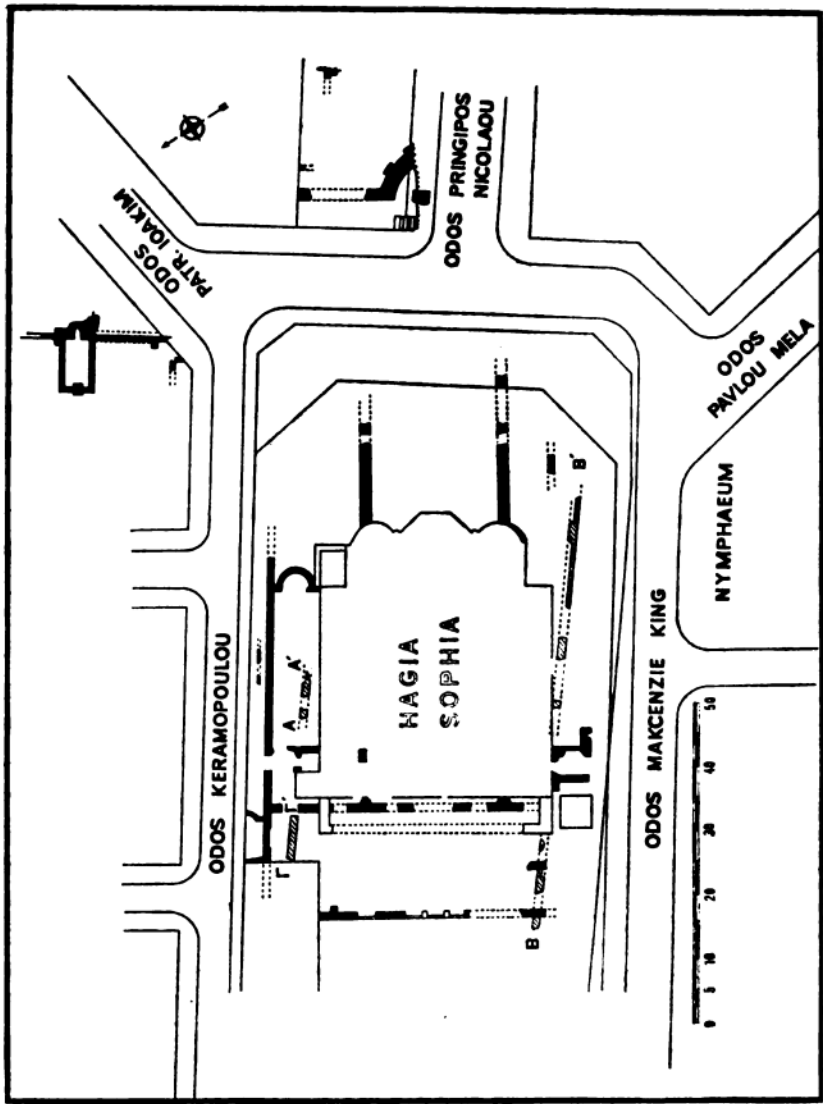


Fig. 2.

Agia Sophia, but by the time the fifth century basilica was built, the Odos Egnatias alignment had taken over as the predominant one.¹⁴

In the part of the city north of Odos Egnatias the surface of a Roman street has been found in the course of two separate excavations on Odos Agiou Nikolaou. The marble slabs that formed its surface were first discovered in G. Soteriou's excavation of the basilica of St Demetrius.¹⁵ A further stretch of the same street to the north was found a few years later by G. Soteriou and S. Pelekanidis.¹⁶ The evidence of this street, of the Roman Forum,¹⁷ and of other smaller excavations¹⁸ shows that the streets of the Roman period in that area had the same alignments as did the streets before 1917 (Fig. 1) and for that matter as they do today.¹⁹ It should be borne in mind that this alignment diverged from that of the streets in the southern part of the city by the sea.

How can one explain such planning on two different alignments? *It can* be explained by natural phenomena, by the employment of two principles observed by von Gerkan, that seaports were usually built following the line of the seafront²⁰ and that main streets follow contour lines.²¹ For the

14. It might be argued that owing to the progressive silting up of the Thermaic gulf the shape of the sea shore at Thessaloniki may have altered (The question of silting in the Gulf is discussed by A. Struck, *Makedonische Fahrten II, Die Makedonischen Niederland, Zur Kunde der Balkan Halbinsel, Reise und Beobachtungen*, Heft 7, Sarajevo, 1908, pp. 95-8. His plan on p. 96 is reproduced by E. Oberhummer in *RE* XIX, col. 345, s.v. Pella. See, though, C.F. Edson, *Cl. Phil.* 50, 1955, p. 187, n. 77). There is evidence, however, to show that the line of the shore at Thessaloniki did not change, at least between the 4th century A.D. and the 17th century, for the Turkish traveller Evliya (c.1611-c.1669) says concerning this part of the city: "It would be difficult to pace out the section from the Calamaria tower along the sea shore outside the wall, because the sea beats up against that side." (I am grateful to Dr Pierre Mackay for permission to quote from his translation of Evliya).

15. *Ἡ Βασιλικὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, Athens, 1952, pp. 35 and 85, *Εικ.* 1, p. 34.

16. "Ανασκαφὴ βορείως τῆς Βασιλικῆς Ἁγίου Δημητρίου, Θεσσαλονίκης," *ΠΑΕ*, 1959, p. 38, and *Εικ.* 1, p. 39.

17. *ΑΔ* 18, 1963, *Χρονικά*, pp. 196-9, *Σχέδ.* 1. and *ΑΔ* 19, 1964, pp. 329-31, *Σχέδ.* 1.

18. Including a brick-vaulted structure on Odos Sokratous, *ΑΔ* 18, 1963, *Χρονικά*, p. 247, *Σχέδ.* 8, p. 248; a cistern at the junction of Odos Anchialou and Odos K. Palaiologou, *ΑΔ*, 18, 1963, *Χρονικά*, p. 246, *Σχέδ.* 7, p. 247, and *Πίλ.* 276 β; and the Exedra on Odos Egnatias, *Archeologia Classica* 13, 1961, pp. 68-9, *tav.* XXVIII, 2.

19. Discounting of course the diagonal streets.

20. *Griechische Städteanlagen*, Berlin/Leipzig, 1924, p. 81.

21. *Op. cit.* p. 79. Cf. R.E. Wycherley, *How the Greeks built Cities*, 2nd ed. London, 1962, p. 31.

southern streets do appear to follow the line of the shore whereas the ground begins to rise much more perceptibly at Odos Egnatias, and east-west streets to the north of it tend to keep to much the same level for most of their length. A purely "natural" explanation, though, is not sufficient, for the normal idea in Greek cities²² was to apply a single grid to the whole site even when more diversity might have been more convenient.²³ The only other place I know where one gets a divergence similar to that obtaining in Thessaloniki is in the plan of Miletus²⁴ where it has been thought that the deviation of the southern quarter from the northern implies a later extension of the original plan.²⁵ This too is surely the explanation of the divergence of alignments in Thessaloniki, namely that not only was the southern part by the coast planned first²⁶ as one might expect, but also the northern part was a later extension and hence planned second.²⁷

In establishing the relative chronology of the planning of various parts of the city, there is yet a third planning period²⁸ to be considered, namely the complex comprising the Palace,²⁹ the Arch of Galerius,³⁰ the Rotunda³¹ and

22. I have made the assumption here that the planning of Thessalonica was not Roman, but that this assumption is a valid one will emerge from the argument.

23. Cf. Wycherley, *op. cit.* p. 32.

24. G. Kleiner, *Die Ruinen von Milet*, Berlin, 1968, Abb. 14 (after von Gerkan, *op. cit.* Abb. 6). But cf. also Cyrene: S. Stucchi, *Cirene 1957-1966*, Tripoli, 1967, p. 41.

25. By E. Fabricius in *RE IIIA*, col. 1996, s.v. Stadtebau der Griechen, and by M. Mayer *RE XV*, col. 1635-6 s.v. Miletos. Von Gerkan, however, says (*op. cit.* p. 41) that Miletus was planned at one and the same time though the southern part was only settled in subsequent centuries. But neither he (p. 120), nor R. Martin, *L'Urbanisme dans la Grèce antique*, Paris, 1956, can give satisfactory explanation for the divergence of the quarters. The arguments of F. Koepp in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 188, 1926, pp. 315-6, to the effect that, the evidence from the Temple of Athena notwithstanding, the differences of alignment are due to an enlargement of the fifth century city in Hellenistic times, still holds good.

26. No. 1 on Fig. 3. Fig. 3 is basically von Schoenebeck's plan (see n. 10 above).

27. No. 2 on Fig. 3.

28. No. 3 on Fig. 3.

29. See n. 4 above

30. Discussed with regard to its relationship with other buildings by Hébrard (see n. 3 above) and Dyggve 1941 and 1958. There is a new study of the Arch itself by Ch. Makaronas: *Τὸ Θριαμβευτικὸ τὸξο Θεσσαλονίκης*, Thessaloniki 1969, and yet another one by H.P. Laubscher is promised. There is a brief treatment by H. von Schoenebeck, "Die zyklische Ordnung der Triumphalreliefs am Galeriusbogen in Saloniki," *Byz. Zeitschr* 37, 1937, pp. 361-71.

31. In addition to the articles cited in notes 3 and 4, cf. E. Dyggve, "Recherches sur le Palais impérial de Thessalonique," *Studia Orientalia I. Pedersen dicata*, Copenhagen, 1953, pp. 59-70.

the Hippodrome,³² that straddles Odos Egnatias. These are built at right angles to that street and have nothing to do with the earlier southern alignment. The palace has fairly obvious connections with the Palace of Diocletian at Split in its Octagon,³³ but whether it has more in common, perhaps being based on a *castra stativa* as well,³⁴ it is too early to say as there is more of the Palace being found all the time and one must await further developments. There is no doubt, however, as to the date of the planning of this complex; it is generally agreed to have been carried out in the years around A.D. 300.

Is it possible to be equally precise about the dating of the other two planning periods? Could they be respectively (1) Therme³⁵ and (2) the foundation of Thessaloniki in c. 316 B.C.? It is just possible that there could have been a regular street plan as early as Therme is supposed to have first existed³⁶—there was one at Old Smyrna in the seventh century B.C.,³⁷ and a regular plan could of course have been laid out at any time after a fire, as occurred at Olbia at the end of the sixth century B.C.³⁸ Although our knowledge of early townplanning is limited, regular planning appears to be the exception rather than the rule at the period when Therme was presumably founded and it seems more likely that the first planning period is to be associated with the foundation of Thessaloniki³⁹ and that the second period is a later extension.

32. As well as Dyggve 1941, see now *AA* 18, 1963, Χρονικά pp. 244-6, 4 and 5, and Πίτν. 276a.

33. For the Octagon see Ch. Makaronas, "Τὸ ὀκτάγωνον τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης" *ΠΑΕ* 1950, pp. 303-21, and M. Karamanoli-Siganidou, *AA* 20, 1956.

34. I am grateful to Professor Ch. Bouras for this suggestion.

35. Thessaloniki is of course the most probable site of Therme, as has been argued persuasively by C.F. Edson, in *Cl. Phil.* 42, 1947, pp. 100-4. G. Bakalakis' article, "Therme-Thessaloniki," *Antike Kunst*, Beiheft 1, 1963, pp. 30-4, Tafeln 17-18, is of interest since it refers to the archaic temple that stood near the present Odos Krystali. This temple is evidence for some sort of archaic settlement in the vicinity, probably that of Therme.

36. Therme was founded either by Corinth, Eretria, or Chalcis (G.L.F. Tafel, *De Thessalonica ejusque agro*, Berlin, 1839, p. 7). It is tempting to follow B.V. Head who, in his *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Macedonia etc.*, London, 1879, p. xxviii, connects a series of coins without legends but bearing a type of a Pegasus (Uncertain Towns, Nos 3-13, pp. 136-8) found at or near Thessaloniki, with Therme "supposing that city to have been a colony of Corinth" (I am grateful to Professor Edson for telling me of the existence of these coins). If Therme was a Corinthian colony it would probably have been founded c.600 B.C. under Periander, and if it was Eretrian or Chalcidian it would have been founded earlier.

37. *BSA* 43-44, 1958-9, pp. 14-15. Cf. also plans cited by Stucchi *op. cit.* p. 41.

38. *RE* XXVII, 2, col. 2422.

39. Cf. Wycherley, *op. cit.*, p. 35, "in the mass-production of new Hellenistic cities

When could this later extension have taken place? An inscription⁴⁰ would lead us to believe that there was a gymnasium existing to the north of the extension at least as early as 95 B.C. The extension too must have been in existence at that time for there would have been no point in putting a gymnasium so far north if (2) was still unoccupied. The extension must therefore be dated to before 95 B.C. and to some time after 316 B.C. Can one get any closer to the date? I think perhaps one can. The Serapeion,⁴¹ well within (2), seems as far as one can tell to have been on the same alignment⁴² as the rest of the northern extension and to have existed in the reign of Philip V, as an inscription shows.⁴³ Could he have been responsible for the second period of planning? His interest in the city is attested by further epigraphic evidence,⁴⁴ and if we have to choose an individual who was in a position to order an extension between 316 and 95 B.C., Philip seems as suitable a candidate as any.

Thus, if one postulates a Hellenistic planning of the city, and at two periods at that, things begin to fall into place. A regular plan of the kind we see in (1)—a grid pattern aligned with the sea—is just what one might expect to have been constructed in the late fourth century B.C.⁴⁵ As for (2), apart from the Serapeion going back to Philip V, there is an inscription that obviously refers to the Agora⁴⁶ in the north of (2) and found in it, dated to 60 B.C.,

in Asia which took place under Alexander and his successors, the chess-board plan was normal..."

40. C.F. Edson, *Inscriptiones Graecae* X, fascicule 1, (forthcoming) No. 4. Ch. Makaronas, *ΕΦΣΠΘ* 6, 1948, pp. 293-300, *Elk.* 1. opp. p. 294, and also *Μακεδονικά* 2, 1951, pp. 608-9, *Χρον. 'Αρχ.*, No. 29. Cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Epigr.*, 1949, No 92. The inscription was found a little to the north-west of the north door of the basilica of St. Demetrius, i.e. near the site of the Stadium of the Roman period (cf. A. Xyngopoulos, *Συμβολαί εἰς τὴν τοπογραφίαν τῆς βυζαντινῆς Θεσσαλονίκης*, Thessaloniki, 1949). Stadia and gymnasia could occur together, as one might expect (cf. Wycherley, *op. cit.*, p. 156), and one assumes that this was the case in Thessaloniki.

41. Discovered in 1921 (*BCH* 45, 1921, p. 540; *AA* 37, 1922, p. 242) while laying out *Odos Dioikitiriu*.

42. It is so aligned on von Schoenebeck's plan, *op. cit.*, Abb. 1, p. 481.

43. *I.G.* X, 1, No. 3. It is dated to 187 B.C. and has already been published by S. Pelekides, *Ἀπὸ τὴν Πολιτεία καὶ Κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης*, *Παράρτημα ΕΦΣΠΘ* 2, 1934, pp. 5-23, and discussed by C.B. Welles in *AJA* 42, 1938, pp. 249-251.

44. *I.G.* X, 1, No. 25. Cf. Edson, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 51, 1940, p. 126, n.5.

45. Cf. n.39 above, and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

46. *I.G.* X, 1, No. 5. Found in a private house on *Odos Olympou* (*AA* 9, 1924-5, p. 121, *BCH* 49, 1924, p. 498).

which would be difficult to explain, if, like von Schoenebeck, one were to say that the planning of the city was Augustan.⁴⁷

A brief reference to Thessaloniki by Diodorus Siculus⁴⁸ would not suggest that public architecture in the Hellenistic period was in any way out of the ordinary—he makes the young man Andriscus claim that there was treasure buried at Thessaloniki “in the middle of the exedra in the colonnade opposite the palace,” (although one wonders whose palace this was; was it that of Philip V? He spent a long time at Thessaloniki just before his death). The Hellenistic plan, or rather plans, of the city were presumably retained in the Roman period,⁴⁹ but again there is very little in the way of literary evidence. Cicero, who spent some of his exile in Thessaloniki, mentions the Quaestorium⁵⁰ and also refers to the inhabitants seeking refuge from invading Thracians in the citadel and carrying out restoration work there.⁵¹ The municipal emperor cult seems to have begun very early. In addition to inscriptions relating to a temple of Julius Caesar,⁵² a priestess of Augustus,⁵³ and a priest of the cult of Hadrian,⁵⁴ there are two finds of sculpture which may give an indication as to the site of the temple of the imperial cult. In 1957 was

47. Von Schoenebeck, *op. cit.*, p. 480, rightly criticised by F. Castagnoli, *Ippodamo da Mileto e l'urbanistica a pianta ortogonale*, Rome, 1956, p. 77, n. 20, and by Theodorides, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 12. My hypothesis, while fitting the known facts, is at the mercy of any new evidence from (2) on Fig. 3 which might date its planning to before 316 B.C. Should this happen, one must still retain the principle of two planning periods, but push period (1) back to Therme, possibly to the Persian wars. We know that the Persians visited Therme (Herodotus VII, 124, 128, 183) though we do not hear of any violence being offered to the city. Professor Bakalakis has suggested to me that his Ionic temple (n. 35) might have been destroyed during the Persian wars and even if this destruction did not happen on the Persians' march to Greece, it could well have occurred on their way back in retreat. If the temple was destroyed then, the rest of the city could hardly have escaped. It could thus have been replanned according to Hippodamian principles, as was the northern part of Miletus after the Persian wars. The second period of planning to the north would thus directly correspond with the Hellenistic southward extension of Miletus.

48. XXXII, 15, 2. My thanks are due to Professor Edson for this reference.

49. R. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

50. *Pro Cn. Plancio*, 41.

51. *De prov. cons.*, 2.

52. C.F. Edson, *Macedonica II, State Cults of Thessalonica*, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 51 1940, p. 132.

53. L'Abbé Duchesne, *Mémoire sur une mission au Mont Athos*, *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 86, Paris, 1876, p. 53.

54. P. Papageorgiou, *Θεσσαλονίκης κατασφραγισμένον βιβλίον ἀνοιχθέν*, Samos, 1907, p. 3 (cited by Tafrafi, *Topographie*, p. 136).

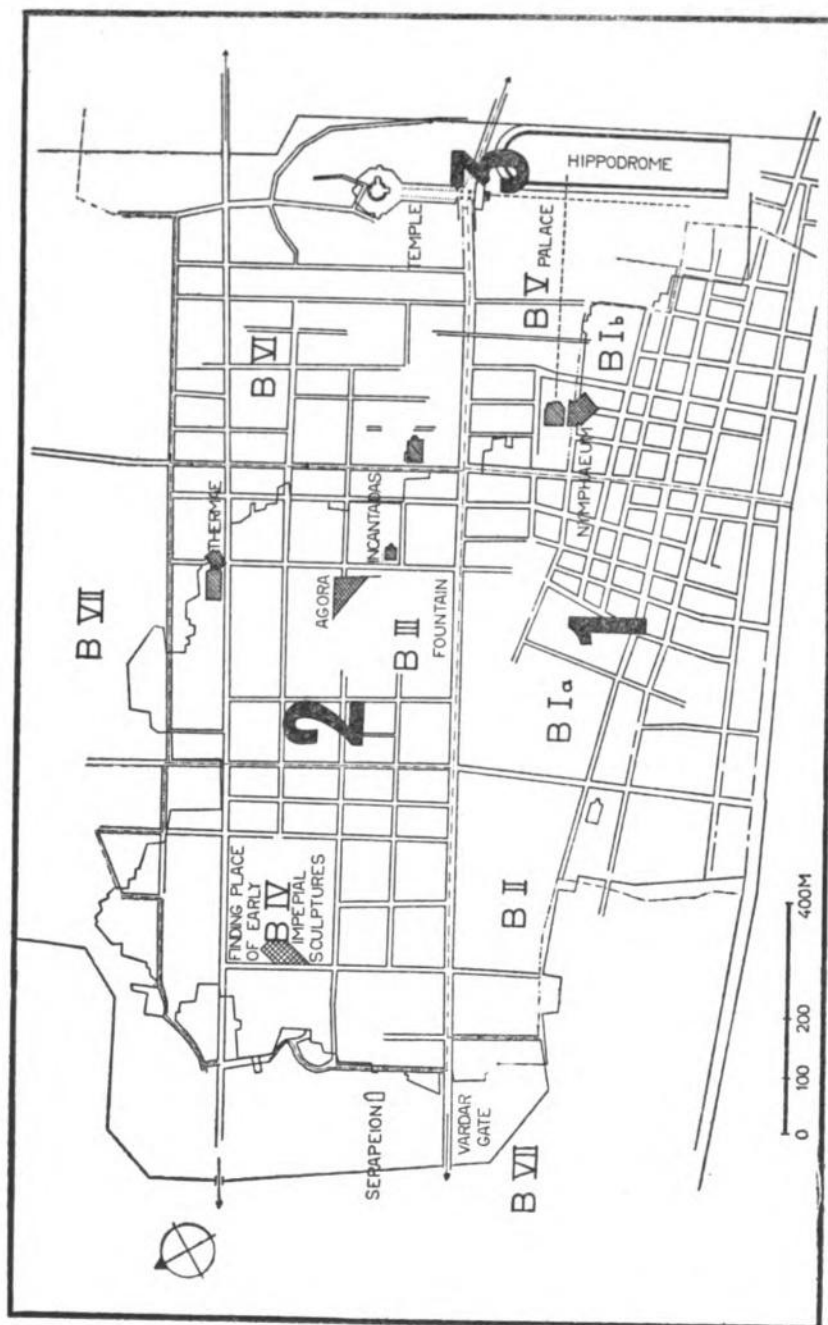


Fig. 3.

found a headless and armless statue of an emperor on Odos Stratigou Doumbiotou,⁵⁵ in the area in which a statue of Augustus had been found in 1939.⁵⁶ It seems possible that the municipal emperor cult was situated in that part of the city during the early empire.⁵⁷

An outstanding feature of the Roman period is the building activity that went on in Antonine and Severan times in Thessaloniki. The epigraphical evidence reinforces this impression.⁵⁸ C.F. Edson has been able to show with practical certainty that the Roman gate formerly standing in the west of the city should be dated to around A. D. 150.⁵⁹ L. Guerrini has satisfactorily dated the *Incantadas*,⁶⁰ wherever they were, and the *exedra* on Egnatias⁶¹ to the Antonine period. J.W. Hayes has examined some of the pottery from the stoas of the Agora and finds it consistent with an Antonine or Severan date for

55. *BCH* 81, 1958, p. 759.

56. *BCH* 63, 1939, p. 315 (cf. *BCH* 78, 1954, fig. 36, p. 139), *AA* 55, 1940, cols 265-6, Abb. 71-3, cols 261-2, *Μακεδονικά* 1, 1940, p. 476, *Εκκ.* 8, p. 474. I do not know whether the area marked F.O. FRUEHKAISERZEITL. PLASTIK on von Schoenebeck's plan (see Fig. 3 Here: FINDING PLACE OF EARLY IMPERIAL SCULPTURES) is meant to refer to the findspot of the fragments of the Augustus statue. If it is, it is too far south. If it is not, the question arises as to what it *does* refer to. As far as one is aware, there is no published material that fits von Schoenebeck's description apart from the Augustus fragments. *BCH* 57, 1933, p. 279 refers to fragments of sculpture found in connection with an early imperial building at the wall near the Vardar Gate, but that is quite obviously not meant.

57. As suggested in *BCH* 81, 1958, p. 759.

58. I am grateful to Professor Edson for this information. See *I.G.* X, 1, No. 15 (a hitherto unpublished letter of Antoninus Pius to the city found in the Serapeion), and No. 36 (an Ionic epistyle found on the Acropolis, discussed by J. Mordtmann in *AM* 16, 1891, p. 368).

59. Prosopographically, in *I.G.* X, 1. This gate was actually just inside the Vardar Gate, which the Byzantines called Χρυσή Πύλη, Golden Gate (*Anonymus Vaticanus* I, Migne, *P.G.*, 116, col. 1180; J. Cameniata, *op. cit.*, (n.13), c. 40, ed. Bonn. p. 544; Eustathius, *De Thessalonica a Latinis capta narratio*, chs 74-5, ed. Bonn, p. 451). It was destroyed in 1874 (Duchesne, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8), but was mentioned by most of the early travellers who visited Thessaloniki, including F. de Beaujour, *Tableau du Commerce de la Grèce*, Paris, 1800. pp. 32-33, and E.M. Cousinéry, *Voyage dans la Macédoine*, 1, Paris, 1831, pp. 25-27. Cousinéry published an engraving of the gate, as did L. Heuzey and M. Daumet, *Mission Archéologique de Macédoine*, Paris, 1876, p. 272, pl. 22 bis. The latter of these two illustrations, the only extant ones as far as one can discover, is reproduced in Tafrali, *Topographie*, fig. 10, p. 105, and both are reproduced, after a fashion, in A. Letsas, *Ἱστορία τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης* 1, Thessaloniki, 1961, pp. 124 and 125, *Εικόνες* 62 and 63.

60. "Las Incantadas" di Salonicco," *Archeologia Classica*, 13, 1961, pp. 40-70, plates XIII-XXVIII. For a full bibliography to 1930, see *Mon. Piot* 31, 1930, p. 51.

61. Guerrini, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69, tav. XXVIII, 2. Cf. Theodorides, *op. cit.* (n.13) pp. 16-17.

B.C. A.D.									
	5	4	3	2	1	1	2	3	4
Serapeion				—	—	—	—	—	—
Temple of the Imperial Cult					—	—	—	—	—
North Agora				—	—	—	—	—	—
Antonine/Severan remodelling							—	—	—
Galerian building								—	—
Exedra							—	—	—
Vardar Gate							—	—	—
Constantinian bldg								—	—
Nymphaeum								—	—
Palace								—	—
Arch of Galerius								—	—
Rotunda								—	—
Hippodrome								—	—
Galerian walls								—	—
Theodosian walls									—

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

their construction.⁶² There is a parallel for large scale planning elsewhere in Macedonia at this period. At Philippi, for example, the two temples which stand facing each other in the north-west and north-east corners of the Forum⁶³ and on whose alignment the rest of the Forum depends were built between 161 and 175 A.D.⁶⁴

At Thessalonica the alignments had been imposed long before, as we have seen, but by the time of the Antonine/Severan redevelopment of the Agora in the north of the city, it was strictly speaking a Roman Forum rather than a Greek Agora and as such, one might expect it to have had a temple—a Capitulum—dominating one end in the Roman manner.⁶⁵ Such a temple could have been at the west end of the Forum (the east end being taken up by the Odeum and accompanying buildings⁶⁶) and if the cryptoporticus found in 1929, 150m. north of the church of Panagia ton Chalkeon,⁶⁷ indicates that the long axis of the Forum was east-west, then this could be the answer. A temple up the hill to the north, however, would have been much more imposing and impressive, rather in the manner of the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste,⁶⁸ or the Forum at Brescia which ascended in a series of steps towards the Capitulum.⁶⁹ If, as L. Guerrini suggests, the Incantadas belong to some sort of Forum complex,⁷⁰ their position “near the main street”⁷¹ i.e. near Egnatias, would suggest that the long axis of the whole Forum complex was north-south, a possible indication of a temple to the north. It is of course impossible to determine at present where the Capitulum at Thessaloniki was situated, but the possibility that it had one should be borne in mind.

University College, Dublin

MICHAEL VICKERS

62. I am grateful to Dr Hayes for this information.

63. P. Collart, *Philippes, Ville de Macédoine*, Paris, 1937, p. 341, and pl. XLIV.

64. *Ibid.* p. 345.

65. Or perhaps two as at Philippi and elsewhere.

66. *BCH* 45, 1921, p. 541; *AA* 18, 1963, Χρονικά, pp. 196-9; 19, 1964, Χρονικά, pp. 329-331; *BCH* 89, 1965, p. 801, fig.3, p. 803, figs 4-6, p. 804; *Ἀρχαιολογική* 61, February/March 1967, pp. 92-3.

67. Originally described in *BCH* 53, 1929, p. 509, under the heading *Antiquités byzantines* as “une grande citerne couverte, dont les voûtes à cerceau sont soutenues par des piliers massifs de pierre bien équarrie”, and shown by A. Xyngopoulos in *Ἑλληνικά* 13, 1954, pp. 334-5, to be in fact Roman.

68. F. Fasolo, G. Gullini, *Il Santuario della Fortuna Primigenia a Palestrina*, Rome, 1953.

69. Drawn in section by G. Cherubini in *Museo bresciano illustrato*, Brescia, 1838, tav. I.

70. *Op. cit.*, pp. 45-48.

71. W.M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, London, 1835, vol. iii, p. 245.

THE CHALCIDIC COINAGE: EPILOGUE

Some years ago the silver coinage of the Chalcidic mint at Olynthus was collected and published in a catalogue arranged by sequence of dies and their combinations (*Excavations at Olynthus*, IX, *The Chalcidic Mint*, etc., Baltimore, 1938). The coinage was divided into twenty-four groups dated between 432/1 and 348 B.C. When the greater part of the work was in press, I received a photograph of a hitherto unknown tetradrachm struck by dies which had been classified in Group J (*op. cit.*, pp. 38-39, No. 43), except that the reverse bore the signature of Leades, a magistrate whose issues constituted Group P, separated from J by twenty-five years (*ibid.*, pp. 62-64). This was duly reported in the *addenda ultima* of *Olynthus* IX (p. xxviii). Recently the coin in question passed into the collections of the American Numismatic Society in New York, and, thanks to the kindness of Miss Margaret Thompson, I was able to photograph it in Los Angeles (Pl. LXIII) together with a second tetradrachm, also in the collections of the Society, which in *Olynthus* IX had found its natural place among issues signed by the magistrate Leades (Group P, No. 94a, on p. 63; here Pl. LXIV; twelve specimens of this combination were recorded). The lettering of the magistrate signature in No. 94a is perhaps hasty and careless, but the surface of the flan beside the signature is smooth and compact, and the letters were clearly engraved on the die which struck the reverse of the coin (Pl. LXVa). I illustrate the details of the inscription at a high degree of magnification (Pl. LXVb-LXVII). Of the initial epsilon the two lower horizontals hardly appear (Pl. LXVb). The like is true of the middle horizontal of the epsilon after lambda (Pl. LXVIa). The tip of the alpha which follows epsilon is nicked and the top of the delta is gone (Pl. LXVIb). The third epsilon has its three horizontals, but lacks part of its vertical (Pl. LXVIIa). The omicron of the final pair of letters is simply a small boss and the top of the sigma is missing (Pl. LXVIIb). The lettering of the inscription is careless and die-maintenance is deplorable, but there is nothing strange, nothing irregular.

The like can not be said of the magistrate signature on the reverse of No. 43 of Group J (Pl. LXVIIIa). The surface of the flan in the area of the signature is quite different. It is very rough over the whole exergue, indeed has the appearance of a friable granulation, and the underside of the cithara has been contoured with a grooved tooling. The appearance of the exergue is in part due to the desire to conceal the technique used to put the magistrate's signature

on the coin and in part to the detail of the technique itself. It is apparent that the letters of the signature are the result of tooling the metal this way and that way to work them up from the surface of the flan. Highly magnified details of the letters of the inscription make all this clear. In Pl. LXVIII b notice the depression which surrounds the initial epsilon and the long groove behind the letter. The pi and the iota of the preposition disintegrate under magnification (Pl. LXIX a), as does the epsilon after lambda (Pl. LXIX b) and the alpha which follows (Pl. LXX a) and the delta (Pl. LXX b), though in both cases enough metal has been moved to make the lines of the letters reasonably firm. This is not the case with epsilon after delta (Pl. LXXI a) nor with omicron (Pl. LXXI b), though the right side of that letter shares the advantage of the extensive depressed area around the moderately firm lines of the sigma (Pl. LXXII). It should now be clear to all, as it was to me and to the late E.T. Newell when shortly after the publication of *Olynthus IX* the coin was briefly in our hands, that the Leades signature on this coin is indeed the result of tooling the metal to work the letters up from the surface of the flan, is in fact a modern addition to an ancient coin. There is no reason here to bring Groups J and P closer together and they may stand as arranged in *Olynthus IX*.

This can not be said of Group S, the issues of which were signed by Archidamus, and Group V, which has the signature of Ariston. In 1961 Margaret Thompson published a Chalcidic tetradrachm with a unique reverse: between the uprights of the cithara a tripod like the tripod in the same position on the punch-dies of Group M, and in the exergue the signature of the magistrate Archidamus (*Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, The Burton V. Berry Collection*, I, No. 25). Miss Thompson noted, rightly, I think, that the obverse of the Berry coin was struck by A83 of the Olynthus series (*Olynthus*, IX, p. 82) where the die is documented by a single coin once in the Empedocles collection at Athens and now of whereabouts unknown—unhappily, for on the Empedocles coin A83 was used with a punch-die which bore the signature of the magistrate Ariston. The fact that a punch-die signed by Archidamus and one signed by Ariston share the same anvil-die is of course reasonable evidence that the magistrates must be placed in contiguous positions in the series. The fact that the obverse of the Berry coin lacks die-flaws which appear on the obverse of the Empedocles coin, shows, as Miss Thompson observed, that Archidamus preceded Ariston in the magistrate series. Finally, the tripod between the uprights of the cithara on the Berry coin suggests to me as it did to Miss Thompson that the pair of magistrates Archidamus and Ariston should indeed be placed close to Group M (*Olynthus*, IX, pp. 51-55), the last of the pre-magistrate groups, where all the punch-dies have

a tripod between the uprights of the cithara. The complexities of the die-couplings between Group M and Group N signed by the magistrate Asclepiodorus make it clear that the issues of Asclepiodorus must follow immediately those of Group M, for anvil-dies A53 and A54 are coupled with punch-die P74 of Group M and with punch-die P75 signed by Asclepiodorus (*ibid.*, plate XII). Furthermore, all the combinations of Asclepiodorus are interconnected and one punch-die is used with as many as four anvil dies, phenomena which suggest an intense activity of coining without long duration. Therefore, relying on the tripod on the reverse of the Berry coin, I now propose to introduce the magistrates Archidamus and Ariston into the series immediately after Asclepiodorus. It may be noted that A56 of Asclepiodorus (*ibid.*, plate XII) gives a stylistic connection with the heads on the obverses of the coins of Archidamus (*ibid.*, plate XIV) and also with heads on anvil-dies of Ariston (for example, A82-A83, *ibid.*, plate XVII). In *Olynthus* IX it was noted (p. 110) that one of the anvil dies of the magistrate Straton (A58, *ibid.*, plate XIII) was particularly close in style to two of the anvil-dies of Ariston (A79-A80, *ibid.*, plate XVI), but the true significance of the similarity was not allowed to prevail. Now that Ariston becomes the third magistrate and Straton the fourth, the very like styles of their obverse dies are no longer an anomaly.

The changes necessitated in the Chronological Table in *Olynthus*, IX, p. 141, are these:

Group M	ca. 383-379
Group N Asclepiodorus	379-ca. 376
Group O Archidamus	ca. 376-ca. 373
Group P Ariston	ca. 373-ca. 370
Group Q Straton	ca. 370-ca. 367
Group R Leades	ca. 367-ca. 364
Group S Timarchus	ca. 364-ca. 361
Group T Polyxenus	ca. 361-ca. 358
Group U Olympichus	ca. 358-ca. 355
Group V Annicus	ca. 355-ca. 352
Group W Eudoridas	ca. 352-ca. 350
Group X Dicaeus	ca. 350-ca. 348

The new order of the magistrates results in a date for Ariston eighteen years earlier than the date proposed for him in *Olynthus* IX and a date for Archidamus twelve years earlier. Straton, Leades, Timarchus, and Polyxenus are now six years later and Olympichus and Annicus are three years

later than the dates once proposed for them. The first magistrate and the last two remain unchanged. All this will necessitate some changes in the details of interpretations made in *Olynthus*, IX, pp. 156-160, but not perhaps too much.

University of California
Los Angeles

PAUL A. CLEMENT

THE COINAGE OF MACEDONIAN REPUBLICS, 168-146 B.C.

Despite the short duration of independence of the four republican districts of Macedonia, their characteristic issue of silver tetradrachms is one of the commonest varieties of ancient coinage, known,—and this issue, together with related coinages, is of exceptional importance as evidence for the history of Macedonia in the middle of the second century B.C., since the texts of our literary sources for the period are in hopelessly fragmentary condition. Only the late epitomizer Zonaras preserves anything like a connected account of events, and he is as often tantalizing as informative. Hugo Gaebler's intensive study of the coinages of Macedonia, published at the beginning of this century, provided many fixed points for the subsequent historical literature on Macedonia, and his judgements are behind most modern interpretations of second century events.¹ In recent years, however, the work on other coinages has called some of Gaebler's numismatic evidence into question, and it was partly to explore certain problems raised by Margaret Thompson's study, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*,² that I began a re-examination of the various issues of coinage in Macedonia from the founding of the republics in 167 to the establishment of a permanent Roman province in 146 B.C. The earliest coinage I have considered, an issue which is in a sense outside the limits I have announced, is the bronze which Gaebler assigned to Metellus Macedonicus, and to his successor Mummius. This has been the subject of a separate article, in which the tentative conclusion reached is that the quaestor Gaius Publilius, who uses slightly modified types inherited from the semi-autonomous bronzes issued under the Antigonid monarchy, was quaestor for Aemilius Paulus during the first year of his *imperium* in Mace-

1. *Die Antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands, Vol. III:1, Makedonia und Paeonia* (Berlin, 1906); also "Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens, III: Makedonien im Aufstand unter Andriskos," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 23 (1902), pp. 141-167. P. R. Franke, in "Literaturüberblicke der griechischen Numismatik; Makedonien," *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 7 (1956), pp. 105-138, noted that Gaebler's arguments had gone essentially unchallenged for fifty years. Gaebler's 1906 corpus, especially the section from p. 53 to p. 69, is so essential a reference for all parts of this study that it would be otiose to make individual references. All varieties of coinage mentioned here will be found described in detail in Gaebler.

2. American Numismatic Society. Numismatic Studies No. 10 (New York, 1961).

donia, and that Lucius Fulcinnius succeeded Publilius, and served under Paulus during the part of a second year before the declaration of Macedonian independence in the winter of 167.³

The first of the true republican types was issued by the 4th district, virtually equivalent in its boundaries with Upper Macedonia. At least one of the varieties, with the head of a helmeted goddess on one side, and the Dioscuri on horseback on the other, was modelled on a Roman type. Another resembles a variety of the semi-autonomous Antigonid types. The date of this 4th district coinage has been arbitrarily postponed by a misreading of two sources on the history of Macedonia. Livy, in describing the terms and intent of the Roman settlement of Macedonian affairs, makes it clear that the Senate proposed to forbid the exploitation of all the old royal properties and monopolies, including mines, forests, and apparently even the salt trade. Later on he quotes the amended regulations which reserved to the Macedonians the necessary right to work and trade in salt and industrial metals, though gold, silver and naval timbers remained under prohibition.⁴

The stated prohibition against the mining of gold and silver, which is specifically justified in the terms of the settlement—"ubi in medio praeda administrantibus esset, ibi numquam causas seditionum et certaminis de fore" (Livy 45.18.5.)—has been extended by modern commentaries to include a prohibition against striking coins, but there is not even a suggestion of this in Livy's text, and such a prohibition would have been a pointless infringement of the liberties that the Roman Senate claimed to offer.⁵ The types of the 4th district follow naturally on certain of the types used by the quaestor Publilius, and the issue probably began soon after the grant of independence.

3. MacKay, "Bronze Coinage in Macedonia, 168-166 B. C.," *American Numismatic Society. Museum Notes* 14 (1968), pp. 5-13. This article includes a consideration of the Silenus mask issue of bronze coinage, which consists (exclusively?) of overstrikes on the quaestorial bronze. See also Gaebler, "Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens," pp. 157-159.

4. Livy 45.18.3-5, the original Senate proposal; Livy 45.29.11-14, the amended version. Tenney Frank, *Roman Imperialism* (New York, 1914), p. 210, gives the best explanation of the clause concerning salt. Cicero, *De Lege Agraria* II. 50, suggests that the royal properties remained intact as public land to his day. There seems no reason to doubt that the republican districts, though forbidden to exploit them, retained formal title to them until 146. I know of no evidence to support a suggestion that the king's land was considered Roman property during the period of Macedonian independence.

5. The essential consideration in the freedom of the Macedonians, as the Romans saw it, was the absence of continuing Roman interference in the internal affairs of the four republican districts once they had been constituted. This is specifically noted, again in connection with the mines, "nam neque sine publicani exerceri posse; et ubi publicanus esset, ibi aut ius publicum vanum aut libertatem sociis nullam esse" (Livy 45.18.4).

No Antigonid types can definitely be assigned to the region reserved to the 4th district, and perhaps this new issue of bronze coinage was partly a celebration of Upper Macedonia's lingering separatism. More probably, however, it was simply the logical result of the economic division of Macedonia. The 4th district alone issued bronze because the 4th district alone mined adequate amounts of copper. They did not have enough to make a mint pay, however, since the issue lasted only a short time, probably less than a year, since there are very few examples of the coinage preserved, and no changes of monogram to distinguish periods of issue.⁶

The really significant minting activity in republican Macedonia did not begin until 158 B.C., or even 157. It was made possible by a relaxation of the Roman restrictions on economic activity, but it was not a prohibition against coining that was lifted, it was the prohibition against the mining of silver. The significant phrase in the chronicle of Cassiodorus is quite clear. The entry for the year 158 runs, "metalla in Macedonia reperta",—the mines in Macedonia were discovered or reopened.⁷ These mines were among the royal monopolies, proverbial for their wealth, which the Senate had shut down because it feared the inability of the fledgling republican districts to digest so rich a diet. After ten years of virtually uneventful stability, however, it was entirely in keeping with the principles of the declaration of Macedonian liberties that the Senate should lift the prohibition. It should be noticed here that there is every reason to believe that the republican districts were reasonably stable and successful. Despite modern statements that they passed through twenty years of unrelieved strife and disorder, there is only evidence for two, or perhaps three outbreaks in a period of almost twenty years, and one of those was definitely restricted to the 3rd district. The later troubles required no more than the presence of Scipio Aemilianus as an arbitrator, and it is not clear whether he actually went or not.⁸

The mines that were opened in 158 were the source of metal for an immense issue of silver tetradrachms from the 1st district. Some veins were worked in the 2nd district as well, but nothing of any great account. The 3rd district, as we might expect from its geographical outline, had no metals for coining, and the 4th seems to have had no silver. The immense number of 1st

6. MacKay, "Bronze Coinage," pp. 11-13.

7. Cassiodorus, ed. Th. Mommsen (*Chronica Minora II*) in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica XI* (Berlin, 1893), p. 130.

8. Polybius 31.2.12, commissioners sent to look into Macedonian unrest; Polybius 31.17.2, flight of Damasippus from Pella, which may be another aspect of the unrest noted above; Polybius 35.4.11, the appeal to Scipio.

district coins found has raised doubts about whether they could possibly have been issued in a period as short as eight or nine years,⁹ but it seems clear from the way in which the magistrates' marks appear on the reverses that there are indeed only eight or nine periods of issue, and I presume these would be annual. Within some of the periods of issue, there is also a slight variation in the control symbols, which appear at the outside left of the reverse design; a thunderbolt is the predominant mark, and other symbols are the star (Pl. LXXIII, 5), the dolphin (Pl. LXXIV, 11, not in Gaebler) and the trident (Pl. LXXIV, 13). An obverse die link ties one of the star reverses to a thunderbolt reverse, and this, together with other evidence discussed below, seems to establish pretty clearly that the two reverses belong to the same year of issue (Pl. LXXIII, 4 and 5). Star, dolphin and trident reverses appear with monograms entirely separate from those used on thunderbolt reverses, and the rare star variety is divided between a type of reverse with two monograms and a type with only one. Each of the four resultant special reverse types can be paired with a thunderbolt reverse, once through the die link mentioned above, and in the other cases by clear distinctions of style in the design of the obverse. For four years of issue therefore, there is evidence for two parallel boards of magistrates associated with the coinage. The best explanation I can offer for this pairing of responsibility is that two different veins of silver were being worked, each on a separate, annual, non-renewable contract from the state, in the familiar ancient manner. The thunderbolt vein was the only really successful venture, and the star, dolphin and trident veins seem to have played out rather quickly. Even from the thunderbolt vein the yield was tiny in some years, though in others it was huge.

Annual rates of yield from the thunderbolt mine probably depended largely on the amount of capital a committee could bring in for the working of the ore. Some committees needed only one die-cutter working at the mint to handle the year's output of metal. Fig. 1a committee (Pl. LXXIII, 2) seems to have used only the one obverse die for its entire issue, and Fig. 1b committee (Pl. LVXXIII, 3) only two.¹⁰

The entrepreneur who uses the Fig. 1c monogram (Pl. LXXIV, 14), however, needed at least ten obverse dies to handle his year's output, and it is pretty

9. W. Schwabacher, "Contributions to Greek Numismatics," *Numismatic Chronicle* 5th series, 19 (1939), p. 2 (publication of a unique 1st district didrachm).

10. For ease of reference, when several monograms are shown on the reverse, I use the top one only. Fig. 1b (distinct from Fig. 1c) is used with two other monograms in the lower field: Fig. 1e to the left and Fig. 1f to the right. Fig. 1g is used with Fig. 1h below left and Fig. 1i below right.

clear that he had more than one engraver working. The really spectacular exploitation of the thunderbolt vein came in the year of the Fig. 1g committee (Pl. LXXIII, 1), which had to hire several die-cutters (at least five hands are recognizable on the obverses) for the more than 30 obverse dies that are represented in preserved examples of this issue.¹¹

The type used for all the obverses of the 1st and 2nd district tetradrachms is the head of Artemis on a Macedonian shield, a modification of the Pan head type made famous by Antigonus Gonatas.¹² The basic elements of this obverse type remain unchanged throughout the history of the republican silver coinage, but from year to year they are subject to a curious individuation. Each committee seems to choose its own model for Artemis, and to impose this model on the die-cutter. The changes in detail are so marked from year to year that it is impossible to identify positively the work of any one die-cutter spanning any two years. Nevertheless, I cannot believe that Macedonia was so overrun with expert engravers that each committee could afford to fire the man who worked in the previous year. All the dies from years when only a few obverses were needed, and many of the dies from years that needed large numbers of obverses, are very expertly done indeed, and it is only in the one exceptionally heavy year that some obvious incompetents were hired to take up the extra work.

The distinctions in model are readily apparent from some of the examples illustrated here. A buxom, childish face, with two loose curls on the forehead (Pl. LXXIV, 8), is used by only the one committee. The cool, aristocratic features of a second variety (Pl. LXXIII, 3) are quite unique; they have a slight resemblance to those of one other year (Pl. LXXIV, 12), but the treatment of the hair at the back of the neck is different.¹³ The Fig. 1f committee (Pl. LXXIV, 9

11. All these figures must be understood as provisional. I have had the opportunity to study no more than one-tenth of the preserved examples of 1st district tetradrachms, most of these from photographs only, and I have not yet seen any of the coins in the large hoards recorded in Rumania and Bulgaria. A complete die history of the 1st district coinage would be well worth attempting. The ratio of preservation may well have been unusually high, and even after the loss of thousands of examples (Cousin ry reports that in his day they were passing as bulk silver, *Voyage dans la Mac doine* [Paris, 1831], Vol. I, p. 251), it is reasonable to hope that a complete list of obverse dies, and perhaps even of reverse dies could be worked out.

12. There is one exception, a rare and beautiful type with a full figure of Artemis Tauropolus, which Gaebler identifies persuasively as a celebration issue to start out the coinage in 158 or 157.

13. All varieties of obverse except this latter one show the hair done up into two or three

and 10) seems to be thinking of Hera rather than Artemis for its obverses. The portrait, with its heavy roll of flesh around the neck, is somewhat repellent, but it is expertly done.¹⁴ The Fig. 1c committee, on the other hand, chose a beauty for its model (Pl. LXXIV, 14).

These widely differing conceptions of Artemis are invariably consistent from year to year, even on obverses used for silver from one of the subsidiary mines (Pl. LXXIV, 12 and 13),¹⁵ but I can make out no continuous development of type from one year to the next. It is possible that a relative of one of the members of each annual committee had the honor of posing for that year's Artemis.

One of the most remarkable things about this coinage is the distribution of find spots. Eckhel had already noted in 1794, "horum numorum numerum secundum myriades metire. Non raro multa eorum millia Transylvania et Wallachia eodem loco defossa post tot saecula ejiciunt," and when I came to plot out the recorded find spots on the map, I found that up to 1962, no hoard containing first district tetradrachms had ever been found on Macedonian territory. Since then a small handful has appeared in a mixed hoard, but the important find spots are still all outside Macedonia.¹⁶ It is therefore impossible to connect the issue of Macedonian tetradrachms with an abundance or shortage of money in the internal trading economy of Macedonia. For ten years Macedonia did not coin silver at all, but during those years she imported large numbers of Athenian New Style tetradrachms, along with many other foreign coins, and these, along with old royal coinages, must have been the medium of internal trade.¹⁷ The failure to coin silver for ten years did

neat rolls, but on this variety it is gathered into a sort of bunch, with straggling ends.

14. The magistrate who signs Fig. 1f appears sometimes alone, sometimes with colleagues, on the reverses of this year. His partner is alternatively identified by Fig. 1j or Fig. 1k.

15. The committee here shown with the trident (Pl. LXXIV, 13) signs one reverse with a thunderbolt to the left (engraver's error?), but the symbol is kept distinct by the addition of a pair of wings to the handle; Brett, *Catalogue of Greek Coins, Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston, 1955), No. 731.

16. J. Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum* (Vienna, 1794), Vol. II, p. 63; S.P. Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1937-new edition in preparation); later hoards noted in *Studii și Cercetări Numismatice II* (1958), pp. 95ff. and 389ff.; *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare* 13 (1939), pp. 342-343; *ibid.* 14 (1940-1942), p. 284, *ibid.* 22 (1959), p. 359; M. Thompson, "A Hoard from Northern Greece," *American Numismatic Society. Museum Notes* 12 (1966), pp. 57-63.

17. M. Thompson, *New Style Coinage* (see note 3), pp. 475 and 487-491; "Athens Again," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th series, 2 (1962), pp. 319-320. A full exploration of this question, for other regions as well as for Macedonia, is essential in a discussion of the economic his-

not produce an economic crisis in republican Macedonia, and even if it had, such a crisis could not have been relieved by means of an issue composed exclusively of tetradrachms (and a single didrachm, see note 9) with no small change. The tetradrachms were a medium of exchange for external trade to the north, and their direct economic value to the republican governments lay only in the rental, the *vectigal* charged on the entrepreneurs who worked the mines, and in the seigniorage taken by the mint. Otherwise, the tetradrachms were an export commodity, a means of transferring silver conveniently and at a profit to Thracian and Dacian chiefs along the Danube.¹⁸

The 1st district kept its coins to an unusually precise standard of weight, apparently just a shade higher than the New Style tetradrachms of Athens, which they may therefore have displaced in some savings hoards. Ultimately the excellence of this coinage was honored by imitations of great technical competence. There are also crude, barbarous imitations such as were made of most popular coinages in these centuries (Pl. LXXII, 7), but the good imitations are so like the genuine issue that they are usually included with it. They can however, be distinguished by the following features: all of the imitations, are signed Fig. 1c (Pl. LXXIII, 6), but the Artemis on the obverse bears no relation to the beautiful model of the genuine Fig. 1c issue (Pl. LXXIV, 14 the Artemis on the imitation issue wears an earring, which the Artemis on the genuine district coinage never does, and finally, the thunderbolt and the oak leaves on the reverse have degenerated into a pattern; the thunderbolt lacks a handle in the center, and the oak leaves look like fir twigs. There is no evidence yet that would suggest where the imitation was coined, or when.

The genuine coinage of the republican districts of Macedonia came to an end with the invasion of Andriscus, but the obverse type of Artemis on a Macedonian shield continued to be used on a small issue of tetradrachms struck between the defeat of Andriscus in 148, and the establishment of a permanent Roman province in Macedonia in 146 B.C.¹⁹ This is an extremely satisfactory issue to work with, since it is preserved, even in the incomplete catalogue I have been able to assemble, in a ratio of eleven examples cited for every known obverse die. This permits a degree of confidence in the die his-

tory of the ancient world. To what extent, and under what circumstances, does the idea of "legal tender" apply to an ancient coinage?

18. The Danubian appetite for coined silver is another problem deserving special attention. In a conversation at the Symposium, I learned from Professor Harry Dell, of the University of Virginia, that several other regions were pouring disproportionate amounts of coined silver into the Danube valley at the same time.

19. MacKay, "Macedonian Tetradrachms of 148-147 B. C.," *American Numismatic*

tory that is rarely attained in an ancient coinage. Moreover, the dies regularly develop characteristic flaws which allow the order of striking to be established. The evidence provided by the die history suggests the following conclusions. The use of an obverse type inherited from the republican districts at no time represents hostility to Rome, but rather stands for the continuity of republican sentiment, allied with Rome, and at war with Andiscus.²⁰ This obverse is used with two varieties of reverse, the earlier of which includes the abbreviation LEG as well as the ethnic MAKEAONQN. The Latin abbreviation stands for *Legatus* or *Legatio*, in whatever would be the appropriate case, and indicates the presence of a Roman senatorial legation sent over to Macedonia to pick up the threads of the republican administration that had been dispersed by Andiscus. The relation between Rome and republican Macedonia was expressed on the reverse by a symbol that would be understood in any region of the ancient Mediterranean world—a hand holding a leafy olive branch. The olive is generally symbolic of peace and harmony between parties, and in the case of Rome there may be the even more specific reference to the branch held by the fetial priests as part of the ritual leading to a treaty.

The stages in this issue of tetradrachms can be dated quite closely by relating the sequence of magistrates' marks to the events of 148-147. In summer of 148, Metellus defeated Andiscus, and pushed on into Thrace in pursuit. Despite the grandiose title *Macedonicus* that Metellus claimed, there is no indication that he was at pains to subdue Macedonia as such, and except for a pathetic local uprising under an Antigonid pretender even less credible than Andiscus, Macedonia seems to have dropped back readily under Roman control. Under the direction of a senatorial legation, Macedonia began to reconstruct a government, this time apparently as a unitary state, and the first striking of the LEG coinage began under a magistrate who signs himself with the letter Fig. 1d superimposed on the handle of the thunderbolt to the left of the reverse design. This magistrate coined from only a single obverse, and his term of office was probably short, lasting only to the beginning of the new Macedonian year in October, 148. At this point two new magistrates took over the mint. They never sign the same reverse, but the die his-

Society. Museum Notes 14 (1968), pp. 15-40, Pls. 4-8.

20. The Artemis of 148-147 seems more mature than the Artemis on most varieties of the genuine 1st district coinage. She also wears an earring in the shape of a flying Nike (perhaps in honor of Metellus's victory). She is quite possibly the model for the Artemis on the Fig. 1c imitations discussed above.

tory of their coinage makes it clear that they worked together, and not in sequence. They continued working under the direction of the legation through an output that required three obverse dies, until at some time in 147, perhaps as late as the turn of the new Macedonian year, the legation departed, and for a brief period a unitary republic of Macedonia issued tetradrachms. There were again two magistrates working on this coinage, and they may even be the same as the two previous magistrates who sign the last LEG coinage, since the monograms show many points of similarity.

The Macedonians put a wreath on the head of Artemis to celebrate the republican restoration, but it was a shortlived celebration. The Roman Senate was now fully aware of the military danger from Thrace that Flaminius had long ago recognized, and they saw only two alternatives before them. Either they could expand the Macedonian border forces into a competent and independent army, or they could take over the defence of Macedonia themselves. In the context of ancient statecraft, they were bound to choose the second way, and that meant the end of Macedonian independence, since it required the continuing presence in Macedonia of a Roman commander with *imperium*.

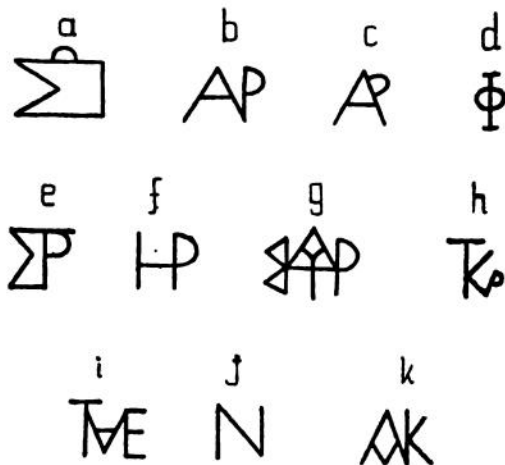


Fig. 1.

Acknowledgement: The American Numismatic Society, through its program of summer study grants, first introduced me to the study of this coinage, and has continually helped and encouraged me. I am particularly grateful for sponsorship toward an American Council of Learned Societies Travel Grant, which enabled me to attend the Symposium.

University of Washington
Seattle

PIERRE A. MACKAY

EPIGRAPHISCHE ZEUGNISSE ZUR GESCHICHTE THESSALIENS UNTER DER MAKEDONISCHEN HERRSCHAFT *

Seit der Vertreibung der thessalischen Tyrannen durch Philipp II. stand Thessalien eineinhalb Jahrhunderte lang, bis zum Siege der Römer über Philipp V., unter der Herrschaft der makedonischen Könige. "Die Thessaler (sagt Polybios an einer bekannten Stelle) besaßen scheinbar im Unterschied zu den Makedonen eine freie Verfassung, in Wirklichkeit aber bestand durchaus kein Unterschied, sondern sie teilten ihr Schicksal mit den Makedonen und mußten allen Befehlen der königlichen Beamten gehorchen."¹

Aus der Zeit der makedonischen Herrschaft sollen drei thessalische Inschriften besprochen werden, zwei fast unbekannt gebliebene Texte für königliche Funktionäre aus Gonnos in Perrhäbien, am Fuße des Olymp und in der Nachbarschaft der makedonischen Grenze, sowie die berühmte Stele aus Larisa mit den Briefen Philipps V. an die Stadt und ihren beiden Beschlüssen. Zwei dieser Inschriften habe ich dank der Liebenswürdigkeit von Herrn D. R. Theocharis im Museum von Volos studieren können, die dritte (mit der ich beginne) ist verschollen.

I.

Unter den zahlreichen Urkunden aus Gonnos, die A. Arvanitopullos gefunden und veröffentlicht hat, ist die älteste in ihrer Bedeutung noch nicht erkannt. Sie gilt einem Mann aus Larisa, der mit der Proxenie von Gonnos ausgezeichnet wird.² Seinen Namen und den seines Vaters hat Arvanitopullos nicht richtig ergänzt: sowohl Μῆκρος wie Θεύθεμις sind bizarr. Zudem verlangt die stoichedon-Ordnung, daß im Namen des Geehrten drei Buchstaben ergänzt werden müssen, nicht nur zwei. Dies hat die Tochter des verdien-

* Erweiterte und mit Anmerkungen versehene Fassung des Vortrags vom 28. August 1968.

1. Polyb. 4,76,2: Θετταλοι γὰρ ἐδόκουν μὲν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους πολιτεύειν καὶ πολὺ διαφέρειν Μακεδόνων, διέφερον δ' οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπασχον Μακεδόσι καὶ πᾶν ἐποιουν τὸ προσταττόμενον τοῖς βασιλικοῖς.

2. Ἐφημ. 1912, 83 Nr. 112 mit Abb. 19: Μ[ῆ]κρ[ος] Μ[ε]τ[ε]θεύθεμις [Λαρι]σαῖος.

ten Archäologen, Theophano Arvanitopullos, in ihrer leicht abweichenden Restitution berücksichtigt, aber das Resultat im Ganzen ist nicht besser. Der unmögliche Name Mikros wird nur durch die Verdoppelung des Kappa auf die erforderliche Buchstabenzahl gebracht, die erste Zeile bleibt jedoch um einen Buchstaben zu kurz.³ Und die erhaltenen Reste vom Anfang des Patronymikons hatte der erste Herausgeber, wie sich zeigen wird, richtiger gelesen.

Ohne die geringste Änderung an seinen Lesungen und unter Wahrung der stoichedon-Ordnung, sowie unter Berücksichtigung der Reste von den beiden ersten Buchstaben des Vatersnamens, die nach den Angaben von Arvanitopullos Theta oder Omikron bzw. Epsilon oder Xi sein können, erkennt man in dem Geehrten Medeios, Sohn des Oxythemis, aus Larisa⁴, Mitglied einer fürstlichen Familie, vielleicht des Hauses der Aleuaden, andernfalls ihrer stärksten adligen Rivalen. Sein gleichnamiger Großvater war am Beginn des 4. Jahrhunderts Dynast von Larisa⁵, der jüngere, in Gonnos geehrte Medeios nahm am Zuge Alexanders des Großen teil, war 326 einer der Trierarchen am Indus und wird bei dieser Gelegenheit mit Namen, Vatersnamen und Patronymikon als erster der griechischen Hetairoi angeführt.⁶ In den letzten Monaten Alexanders galt er als der vertrauteste Freund des Königs.⁷ Medeios war es auch, der in Babylon jenes verhängnisvolle Gastmahl veran-

3. Πολέμων 2,1940, παραρτ. 36 Nr. 68: Μ[ικρ]ω[Θο]υθέμιος [Λαρ]ισαίωι mit der Bemerkung: "τὸ Ο εἶναι βέβαιον πρὸ τοῦ Υ.".

4. [Ἀγα]θ[ῆ]ι τῷ[χ]ῆι· Μη[δ]εῖωι 'Οξυθέμιος [Λ|αρ]ισαίωι Γοννε[τ|ς] κτλ., regelmäßig mit 14 Buchstaben für jede Zeile.

5. Diodor 14,82,5. Aristoteles, *hist. anim.* 9,31. Plinius *nat. hist.* 10, 33. Vgl. dazu K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* II¹, 130. Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* V, 56 und *Theopomp's Hellenika* 251 ff. Beloch III 1², 20 ff., besonders 22 Anm.1. In der Kontroverse zwischen Meyer und Beloch haben sich auf die Seite Meyers F. Stählin, *RE Larisa* (1924) 850 f. F. Geyer, *RE Medios* (1931) 103 und H.D. Westlake, *Thessaly in the fourth century* 1935, 59 ff. M. Sordi, *La lega tessala fino ad Alessandro Magno* 1958, 154, gestellt. Es geht hierbei um die Dauer der politischen Wirksamkeit des Medeios und vor allem darum, ob er Rivale (Beloch) oder Nachfolger (Meyer) des Aleuaden Aristippos im Regiment über Larisa gewesen ist. Vielfach rechnet man mit der Zugehörigkeit des Medeios zum Haus der Aleuaden (so Stählin und Geyer *a.O.*, Westlake *a.O.* 60: "almost certain" M. Sordi *a.O.* 152). Die Möglichkeit räumt auch Beloch ein (III 1², 22 Anm.2), der dann allerdings mit einer Spaltung des Aleuadenhauses in zwei einander bekämpfende Zweige unter Aristippos bzw. Medeios rechnen muß. Die für die Aleuaden bezeugten Namen kommen jedoch, soweit ich sehe, im Stammbaum des Medeios nicht vor.

6. Arrian, *Indike* 18,7 (Nearch, *FGrHist* 133, F 1) : 'Ελλήνων δὲ Μήδιος μὲν 'Οξυθέμιδος Λαρισιαῖος (ὄξυνθέμιθος, ὄξυνθέμιθος mss., corr. R. Hercher).

7. Arrian, *Anab.* 7,24,4: Μήδιον... τῶν ἑταίρων ἐν τῇ τότε τὸν πιθανώτατον.

staltete, dem Alexanders tödliche Krankheit folgte. So blieb es nicht aus, daß auch er ins Gerede kam, als in den Kämpfen der Diadochen das Haus des Antipatros der Vergiftung des Königs beschuldigt wurde: Medeios sei der Liebhaber von Antipatros' Sohn Iolaos gewesen, der als Mundschenk des Königs diesem das Gift verabreicht habe.⁸

In den folgenden Jahren war Medeios Heerführer des Perdikkas⁹, so dann Nauarch des Antigonos. Als solcher ist er zwischen 314 und 306 oft genannt¹⁰, und am großen Sieg des Demetrios über Ptolemaios bei Salamis hat er als Befehlshaber des linken Flügels hervorragenden Anteil gehabt.¹¹ Wenige Jahre später ist er in Athen als Wohltäter geehrt worden.¹² Auch ein literarisches Werk von ihm über den Alexanderzug wird einmal zitiert.¹³ Der Medeios, den Lukian (*Makrobioi* 11) als Gewährsmann für das Alter des im Jahre 239 verstorbenen Königs Antigonos Gonatas zitiert, dürfte am ehesten sein Enkel gewesen sein.

Auch andere Mitglieder der Familie haben den Antigoniden gedient.¹⁴ Medeios' Bruder Hippostratos wurde von Antigonos im Jahre 316 zum Satrapen von Medien ernannt¹⁵, sein Neffe Oxythemis stand bei Antigonos, Demetrios und noch bei Antigonos Gonatas in hohem Ansehen; die Athener haben ihm sogar kultische Ehren zuerkannt¹⁶, und im Jahre 289 war er als Gesandter des Demetrios am Hofe des Agathokles von Syrakus in dessen letzten Tagen.¹⁷

8. Arrian, *Anab.* 7,27,2: οἱ δὲ καὶ Μήδιον μετασχεῖν τοῦ ἔργου, ἐραστὴν ὄντα τοῦ Ἰόλλα· καὶ αὐτὸν γὰρ εἶναι τὸν εἰσηγητὴν γενόμενον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῦ κάμου. Vgl. Iustin 12,14. Ps. Kallisthenes 3,31. Vgl. auch R. Merkelbach, *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans* 1954, 126 ff.

9. Arrian, *FGrHist* 156, F 10,6.

10. Diodor 19,69,3;75,3;75,7 f.; 77,2;77,5.

11. Diodor 20,50,3. Kurze Zeit danach begleitete er Antigonos auf dem Feldzug gegen Ptolemaios von Ägypten (Plutarch, *Demetrios* 19).

12. *IG II* 498 (*Sylloge* 342).

13. *FGrHist* 129, F 1 (Strabon 11, p.530).

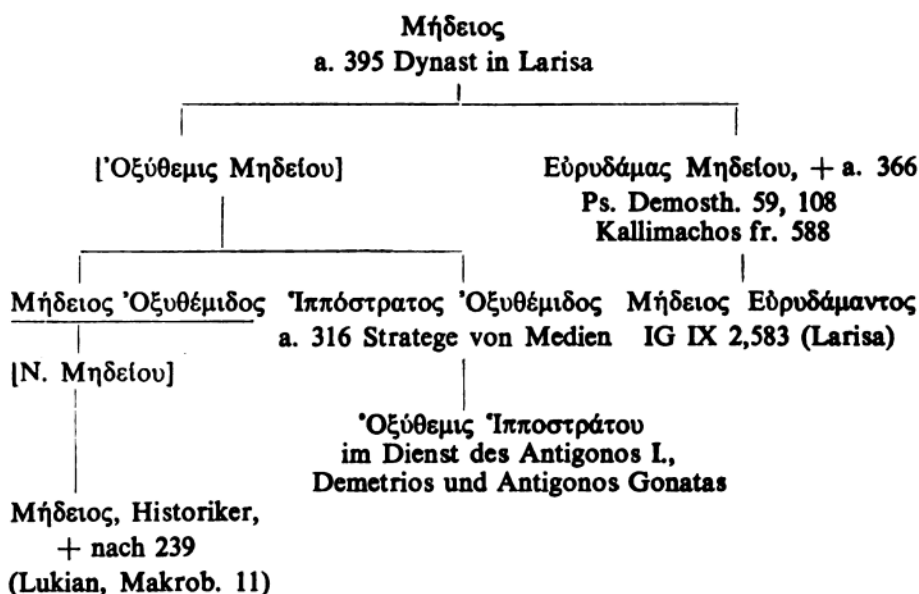
14. Vgl. das Stemma der Familie S. 4.

15. Diodor 19,46,5. K.J.Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* IV 1², 207 Anm. 2. F.Jacoby, *RE* Hippostratos (1913) 1920 Nr. 5. Th. Lenschau, *RE* Oxythemis (1942) 2046.

16. *IG II* 558 (*Sylloge* 343). Demochares, *FGrHist* 75, F 1 und dazu Chr. Habicht, *Gottmenschen und griechische Städte* 1956, 55-58. Phylarch, *FGrHist* 81, F 12.

17. Diodor 21,15. 21,16,5. Antigonos Gonatas hat ihn später, angeblich aus persönlichen Gründen, hinrichten lassen (Herakleides Lembos bei Athenaios 13,578 B). Das Zeugnis des Herakleides hat Wilamowitz, *Antigonos von Karystos* 1881, 203, Anm. 3, falsch beurteilt: die Verwechslung des Antigonos Gonatas mit seinem gleichnamigen Großvater dürfte nicht einem Irrtum des Autors, sondern einer Korruption der Überlieferung entspringen.

Alle diese Zeugnisse (mit Ausnahme der epigraphischen) sind von Felix Jacoby und Helmut Berve gesammelt.¹⁸ Weniger bekannt ist dagegen ein anderer Zweig der Familie, um den ich das Stemma erweitert, habe: Eurydamas, Sohn des älteren Medeios, der im Jahre 366 in einer Adelsfehde durch den Aleuaden Simos ums Leben kam, die wegen ihrer Begleitumstände in Griechenland Aufsehen erregt hat¹⁹, und sein Sohn Medeios, Urheber einer Weihung in Larisa.²⁰ Ein Medeios wird noch im Jahre 140 oder 139 in einem Beschluß des römischen Senats genannt; er hatte den Gebietsstreit zwischen Meliteia und Narthakion früher einmal zu Gunsten von Meliteia entschieden.²¹ Es läßt sich nicht mit Gewißheit behaupten, daß er mit dem Gefährten Alexanders identisch ist (auch sein Großvater käme in Betracht), aber die Wahrscheinlichkeit ist groß.



gen, die leicht zu heilen ist, wenn man <δοσερ> και τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ<ν> schreibt (so Th. Lenschau, RE, Oxythemis 2047).

18. F. Jacoby, *FGH Hist* 129, T 1-7. H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* II 1926, 261 f. Nr. 521 mit Stemma 261 Anm. 1.

19. Ps. Demosth. 59, 108. Kallimachos fr. 588 Pfeiffer. Aristoteles fr. 166 Rose. Vgl. Th. D. Axenidis, 'Η Πελασγίς Λάρισα και ἡ ἀρχαία Θεσσαλία II 1949, 31 und besonders M. Sordi, *La lega tessala fino ad Alessandro Magno* 1958, 366 f.

20. IG IX 2, 583: Μητρι θεῶν / Μήδειος Εὐρυδάμαντος.

21. IG IX 2, 89 a 27 (*Sylloge*² 674): die Gesandten von Meliteia fordern ὅπως τοῦτο τὸ πρῶ[γμα ἀκέρα]ιον αὐτοῖς ἀποκατασταθῇ οὕτω [καθὼς πρότερον] ἐπὶ Μηδείῳ και ἐπὶ Θεσσαλῶν [...ca. 10...] και ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ Πύλλον Μακεδόνων κεκριμένον αὐτοῖς ἦν.

Die Ehrung des Medeios in Gonnos könnte früher sein als der Übergang Alexanders nach Asien. Medeios aber wäre dann noch ganz jung gewesen. Sie kann nicht erfolgt sein, solange das Haus des Antipatros über Makedonien und Thessalien herrschte, d.h. nicht vor 294, wohl aber in den Jahren zwischen 294 und 288. Damals war dort Demetrios König, dem Medeios seit langem so nahe stand. Medeios könnte in Thessalien, seiner Heimat, der Vertreter, etwa Strategie, seines Königs gewesen sein und in dieser Eigenschaft die Ehrung in Gonnos empfangen haben.

II

Ebenfalls aus Gonnos stammt eine besonders schön und sorgfältig gearbeitete Proxenieurkunde für Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀδμήτου Μακεδὼν ἐξ Ἀρκυνίας.¹ Alexandros wird von der Stadt geehrt wegen seiner in allen Stücken bewährten freundlichen Gesinnung, εὐνοῦς ὢν διὰ παντὸς διατελεῖ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. Seine Heimat ist nicht zu lokalisieren, da sie in keinem anderen Zeugnis genannt wird.² Seine Ehrung fällt in das späte 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr., denn am Ende des unten gebrochenen Textes läßt sich der Name des eponymen oder an erster Stelle genannten Tagos von Gonnos ergänzen: ταγεόντων τῶν περὶ Μίκυθον τὸν Παρ[μενίωνος]³, und derselbe Mann ist als dritter von 5 Tagoi im Beschluß der Stadt für Magnesia am Mäander genannt, der auf 207-205 datiert werden kann.⁴ Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß die Ehrung des Alexandros sogar aus dem gleichen Jahre stammt wie dieser Beschluß, denn ein Vergleich zwischen zwei anderen Urkunden aus Gonnos zeigt, daß im Laufe eines Jahres die Namen der fünf Tagoi in verschiedener Reihenfolge

Die von den Gesandten aus Narthakion angeführte, dem Senatsbeschluß um zwei Jahre vorausgehende Entscheidung von Richtern aus Samos, Kolophon und Magnesia am Mäander, die wie der Senatsbeschluß selbst für Narthakion günstig war, liegt jetzt vor (N.I. Giannopoulos, *Ἐφημ.* 1927-8, 119 ff., vgl. 203 ff. 205 f.). Dazu F. Stählin, *RE* Narthakion (1935) 1763 f. E. Kirsten, *RE-Supplement* VII 1940, 1023. J. Pouilloux, *BCH* 1955, 452 ff. Der Stein befindet sich im Museum von Halmyros, Inventar-Nummer 199.

1. A. Arvanitopoulos, *Ἐφημ.* 1914, 183 Nr. 242 mit Abb. 11. Der Stein befindet sich im Museum von Volos, Inventar E 772.

2. Vgl. F. W. Walbank, *Philip V. of Macedon* 1940, 8 Anm. 2.

3. Meine Lesung ist etwas vollständiger als die des ersten Herausgebers, vor allem beim Vatersnamen; vgl. dazu die hier auf Taf. LXXV beigegebene Abbildung.

4. Vgl. H. van Effenterre, *BCH* 1953, 174 ff. P. Herrmann, *Anadolu* 9, 1965 (1967) 123 Anm. 161.

5. Vgl. *Ἐφημ.* 1912, 75 Nr. 104 mit *Ἐφημ.* 1915, 9 Nr. 243. Beide Dekrete enthalten die vollständigen Namen, einschließlich der Patronymika, der fünf Tagoi, jedoch in verschiedener Reihenfolge.

vorkommen⁶, sodaß auch Mikythos einmal (in der Ehrung des Alexandros) an erster, ein anderesmal (im Beschluß für Magnesia) an dritter Stelle genannt sein konnte. Aber es ist ebensogut möglich, daß er—wie später sein Sohn—⁷ mehr als einmal Tagos gewesen ist und daß die beiden Urkunden aus verschiedenen Jahren stammen. In jedem Falle aber ist die Ehrung Alexanders dem letzten Viertel des 3. Jahrhunderts zuzuweisen.

Es ist bisher noch nirgends ausgesprochen worden, daß der Makedone Alexandros kein Unbekannter ist. In der Schilderung der Schlacht von Sellasia 222 nennt Polybios (2,66,5) ihn als Befehlshaber des Königs Antigonos Doson. Zusammen mit illyrischen Truppen unter dem Kommando des Demetrios von Pharos steht er auf dem rechten makedonischen Flügel dem Bruder des Kleomenes, König Eukleidas von Sparta, gegenüber als Befehlshaber der sogenannten "Bronzeschilde": *πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς κατὰ τὸν Εὐαν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀντέταξε τῶν τε Μακεδόνων τοὺς χαλκάσπιδας καὶ τοὺς Ἰλλυρίους, κατὰ σπείρας ἐναλλάξ τεταγμένους, Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀκμήτου καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν Φάριον ἐπιστήσας.*

Es stimmen überein der Name, die makedonische Nationalität, die Prominenz des Mannes und die Zeit. Einer Identifizierung des Kommandeurs von Sellasia mit dem in Gonnos geehrten Alexandros scheint jedoch der ver-

6. Tagos ist Παρμενίων Μικύθου in den beiden in Anm. 5 genannten Texten, ferner in *Ἐφημ.* 1914,180 Nr. 240 mit anderen Kollegen und folglich aus einem anderen Jahr. In anderer Funktion ist er *Ἐφημ.* 1911,141 Nr. 78 und *Ἐφημ.* 1914,174 Nr. 234 genannt.

7. Ein Makedone dieses Namens in Alexanders Heer zeichnete sich bei der Erstürmung von Tyros besonders aus (H.Berve, *Das Alexanderreich* II 1926,13 Nr. 24 mit den Zeugnissen). Vor 262 wird von den Aitolern Φίλιππος Ἀδμήτου Μακεδὼν mit der Proxenie ausgezeichnet (*IG IX 1^a*,17). Unter Demetrios II. von Makedonien ist in Delos Ἀδμητος Βόκρου Μακεδὼν mehrmals geehrt worden, und auch in seiner Heimatstadt Thessalonike haben die Delier seine Statue errichtet (*IG XI 4*, 664.665.1053.1076. Vgl. F. Durrbach, *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos* 1921 Nr. 49), sein Sohn Φιλῆμων Ἀδμήτου Θεσσαλονικεὺς ist später in Rheneia begraben worden (*CIG II add.* 2322 b. Vgl. M. Rostovtzeff, *Die hellenistische Welt* I 196). König Philipp V. hat kurz vor 182, zusammen mit anderen Großen, einen Ἀδμητος hinrichten lassen (Polyb.23,10,9. Vgl. F.W. Walbank, *Philip V. of Macedon* 244). Es ist bezeichnend, daß H.Drexler in seiner deutschen Übersetzung des Polybios zwar im Bericht über die Schlacht von Sellasia "Sohn des Akmetos" schreibt (I S. 179), im Index jedoch "Sohn des Admetos" (II S. 1466). Larisäer dürften dagegen Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀδμάτειος und sein Sohn Ἀδματος Ἀλεξάνδρετος sein, die in einer Inschrift aus Larisa neben anderen prominenten Bürgern der Stadt, allerdings auch neben König Philipp V. und dem Prinzen Perseus, genannt werden (*SEG* 13,393, 9-10). Wenn sich wahrscheinlich machen ließe, daß es sich um Makedonen mit dem Ehrenbürgerrecht von Larisa handelt, so hätte man in dem Erstgenannten keinen anderen als den Befehlshaber von Sellasia und Proxenos von Gonnos. Ich denke auf diese Frage bei einer näheren Behandlung des Textes aus Larisa an anderer Stelle zurückzukommen.

schiedene Vatersname entgegenzustehen: Admetos in Gonnos, Akmetos bei Polybios. Aber Akmetos ist als Personennamen sonst nicht bezeugt, wäre ein Hapax, Admetos dagegen ist wie in Thessalien und bei den Molossern auch in Makedonien ein geläufiger Name.⁷ Man wird daher beide Männer zuversichtlich identifizieren können und bei Polybios weniger ein Versehen des Autors als vielmehr eine leichte Verschreibung in einer frühen Handschrift anzunehmen haben. Fälle dieser Art gibt es bei Polybios auch sonst.⁸

Die letzten Zweifel behebt ein Blick auf das Denkmal von Gonnos selbst (Tafel LXXV): im freien Raum über dem Text ist in flachem Relief ein makedonischer Schild abgebildet, zweifellos eine Anspielung darauf, daß der Geehrte königlicher Offizier gewesen ist, ja die makedonische ἀσπίς illustriert geradezu das Kommando Alexanders über die χαλκάσπιδες. Der erste Herausgeber der Urkunde von Gonnos hat zwar in der Beschreibung des Steines auf diesen bildlichen Schmuck hingewiesen, die Abbildung jedoch vom Abklatsch gemacht, der die obere Partie des Steines mit dem Relief nicht wiedergibt. Daher ist dieser Hinweis nicht weiter beachtet worden und fehlt das Denkmal in den neueren Arbeiten, die dem makedonischen Schild gewidmet sind.⁹

Ganz unbemerkt war die hier begründete Identität übrigens nicht geblieben. Am Abend, bevor ich die Substanz der obigen Ausführungen dem Kongreß in Saloniki vortrug, antwortete mir Ch. Edson in einem persönlichen Gespräch auf die Frage, ob ihm Arkynia in Makedonien bekannt sei, es gäbe in Gonnos eine Ehrung für einen Makedonen ἐξ Ἀρκυνίας, den man im übrigen aus Polybios kenne!

Fragen wir zum Schluß, ob es von diesem Alexandros weitere Spuren in der Überlieferung gibt, so liegt zunächst auf der Hand, daß jedenfalls der Alexandros von ihm verschieden ist, der bei Sellasia die makedonische Reiterei als ἡγεμὼν befehligt hat (Polyb. 2.66,7; 68,1). Häufiger spricht Polybios jedoch von einem Alexandros, dem Antigonos Doson bald nach der Schlacht in seiner letztwilligen Verfügung das Amt des ἐπὶ τῆς θεραπείας übertragen hatte, damit der junge Philipp sich in seinen Anfängen auf erfahrene und loyale Männer stützen könne (2,87,5 ff.). Ohne Zweifel handelt es sich um einen Makedonen, dem mit diesem Amt die persönliche Sicherheit des Königs

8. Der in einer Schlacht gegen die Aitolier gefallene Boiotarch Abaiokritos aus Theben (*Sylloge* 446,1.238 II 8. Plutarch, *Arat* 16) wird in den Handschriften des Polybios (20,4, 2) Amaiokritos genannt.

9. R. Zahn, Makedonischer Schild, makedonischer Becher, in: *Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte C. Schuchardt... dargebracht* 1940, 48 ff. M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* I 1949, 354f.

anvertraut wurde. Wegen dieser Funktion war er dem Apelles, der die wichtigsten Ämter in seiner und seiner Freunde Hand zu vereinigen suchte, im Wege (ebenda). In der folgenden Krisis¹⁰ hat Alexandros auf Befehl des Königs die Verhaftung des nach Theben flüchtigen Megaleas vorgenommen, der dann in der Haft Hand an sich legte, ehe das gerichtliche Verfahren begann (Polyb. 5,28,6 f.). Auch nach dem darauf folgenden Sturz des Apelles stand Alexandros bei Philipp in hohen Ehren; Polybios nennt ihn neben Chrysogonos als einen dem jungen König völlig ergebenen φίλος, deutet aber zugleich eine Veränderung des Verhältnisses im Zusammenhang mit Philipps μεταβολή an (7,12,6).

In der Forschung wird dieser Alexandros durchweg mit dem Befehlshaber der Reiterei bei Sellasia identifiziert.¹¹ Einen positiven Anhaltspunkt hierfür habe ich nicht finden können. Vielmehr soll dessen Führung der Reiterei bei Sellasia dem König Antigonos Doson Anlaß zur Kritik gegeben haben (Polyb. 2,68,1). Wenn dies zutrifft und nicht nur zum höheren Ruhme Philopoimens ersonnen ist¹², so schließt es zwar noch nicht aus, daß Doson den gleichen Mann wenig später zu dem genannten Vertrauensposten beförderte, den er in seinen militärischen Fähigkeiten getadelt hatte. Aber es fragt sich doch, ob nicht vielmehr Alexandros, der Sohn des Admetos und Führer der Chalkaspiden in der gleichen Schlacht, der von Doson für dieses Amt in

10. Vgl. dazu R.M. Errington, *Historia* 16, 1967, 19 ff.

11. So von Hultsch und von Büttner-Wobst in den Indices ihrer *Polybios*-Ausgaben, von H. Drexler in der deutschen Übersetzung des *Polybios* II 1963, 1466 (mit der Einschränkung "vielleicht derselbe"), von J. Kaerst, *RE* Alexandros Nr. 18, 1437, von F.W. Walbank, *Philip V. of Macedon* 1940, 20 Anm. 3, von demselben, *Commentary on Polybios* I 1957, 281. 536.561. Hinsichtlich der Identität des Hofbeamten Alexandros mit dem gleichnamigen Befehlshaber Philipps V. in Phokis im Jahre 217 (Polyb. 5,96, 4-8) gehen die Auffassungen auseinander: positiv Walbank, *Philip V.* 20 Anm. 3 und *Commentary* I 281, mit Vorbehalt Errington a.O. 26, zweifelnd B. Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten seit der Schlacht bei Chäronea* III 1903, 395 Anm. 1, ablehnend P. Schoch, *RE-Supplement* IV 15 Nr. 34 c und H. Drexler a.O. Sicher falsch ist die von Büttner-Wobst (*RE-Supplement* I 54 Nr. 18) behauptete Gleichsetzung des Reiterführers Alexandros von Sellasia mit dem Akarnanen Alexandros, Sohn des Antiochos, der zunächst in Philipps Dienst stand und seine Söhne Antigonos und Philippos nannte (vgl. P. Treves, *RE* Philippos 2550), späterhin jedoch zu Antiochos III. übertrat und in der Schlacht an den Thermopylen tödlich verwundet wurde (Livius 35,18,1. 37,11,6; 20,5. *Sylloge*³ 585, 32-33). Denn der Reiterführer Dosons muß Makedone gewesen sein und ebenso der langjährige ἐπὶ τῆς θεραπείας Philipps V. Zudem schildert Polybios diesen als einen Mann von hohem sittlichem Standard (7,1,6), während er (bei Livius 35,18,1) Habsucht als Motiv des Akarnanen Alexandros für den Übertritt zu Antiochos nennt.

12. Vgl. W. Hoffmann, *RE* Philopoimen (1941) 79 f.

der nächsten Umgebung des jungen Philipp ausersehene Mann gewesen ist. Die Ehrung für diesen in Gonnos spricht zumindest dafür, daß der bei Selasia bewährte Kommandeur auch später noch bedeutenden Einfluß besessen hat.

III.

Zu den berühmtesten griechischen Inschriften gehört die große Stele aus Larisa mit zwei Briefen Philipps V. an die Stadt und zwei Beschlüssen dieser Gemeinde, deren zweitem eine (unvollständige) Liste von mehr als 200 Neubürgern angefügt ist. Seit H.G.Lolling sie vor 85 Jahren gefunden hat, sind die Texte mehr als zwanzigmal gedruckt und kommentiert worden.¹ Der erste Brief enthält Philipps Anregung, Larisa möge das Bürgerrecht auf die als Metöken ansässigen Hellenen ausdehnen, um den schädlichen Folgen eines Krieges abzuweichen; dann werde auch das Land wieder besser bestellt werden. Die Stadt beschließt demgemäß, hat dann aber die Neubürger wieder aus den Listen getilgt, sodaß der König in einem zweiten Schreiben energischer für sie eintritt, diesmal mit nachhaltigerem Erfolg.

So oft die Texte gedruckt und besprochen wurden (der zweite Königsbrief enthält eine berühmte Anspielung auf römische Bürgerrechtspolitik und römische Kolonien), so selten ist der Stein gelesen worden, nämlich nur von seinem Finder Lolling, von diesem wiederholt², und von Otto Kern für die Ausgabe in den *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Beide haben sich in einem Buchstaben der neunten Zeile versehen, ein Beta gelesen, wo tatsächlich, wie ich am Original erkennen konnte, ein Epsilon steht. An jeder anderen Stelle wäre der Irrtum bedeutungslos, hier jedoch hat er sich fatal ausgewirkt, denn es handelt sich um die Datierung des ersten Königsbriefes. Nicht das 2. Jahr Philipps ist angegeben, sondern das fünfte! Lolling und Kern lasen ΕΤΟΥΣ v.v. Β v.v. ΥΠΕΡΒΕΡΕΤΑΙΟΥ v.v. ΚΑ vacat. Die Photographie eines vergrößerten Ausschnitts vom Abklatsch (Tafel LXXVI) läßt jedoch klar erkennen, daß zu lesen

1. Die älteren Editionen und Kommentare sind *IG IX 2,517* (dazu p. XIV) genannt. Von den späteren Ausgaben erwähne ich nur *Sylloge*³ 543 (Hiller von Gaertringen) und Schwyzers, *Dialectorum Graecorum exempla epigraphica potiora* 590. Eine fehlerhafte Abweichung Kerns (ἀρχαίων) von Lollings richtiger Lesung in Zeile 32 (ἀρχαίων) hat viel Verwirrung gestiftet und Adolf Wilhelm zu einer Konjektur (δικαίων) inspiriert (*Klio*-Beiheft 48, 1943, 20-22). Das Richtige hat G. Klaffenbach nach Prüfung des Abklatsches wiederhergestellt (*Festschrift F. Zucker*, 1954, 216-7). Der Stein befindet sich im Museum von Volos, Inventar E 715.

2. Nach seiner ersten Publikation in den *Athenischen Mitteilungen* 7, 1882, 61 ff. gibt Lolling aufgrund einer erneuten Kollation des Steines verbesserte Lesungen im *Hermes* 18, 1883, 318.

ist ΕΤΟΥΣ v.v. E v.v. Man vergleiche das Epsilon von ΕΤΟΥΣ in der gleichen, das genau über der Jahreszahl stehende Epsilon der vorangehenden und das eine Stelle vorgerückte Epsilon der folgenden Zeile, andererseits das Beta im Monatsnamen Hyperberetaios. Für irgendeinen Zweifel ist kein Raum.

Es sind nun die wesentlichsten Konsequenzen der berichtigten Lesung zu erörtern. Zunächst ergibt sich, daß zwischen den beiden Königsbriefen, von denen der zweite "Jahr 7, 13. Gorpiaios", datiert ist, nicht nahezu fünf, sondern nur knapp zwei Jahre liegen, nicht 59, sondern nur 23 Monate. Dementsprechend sind auch die jeweils sechsköpfigen Magistratskollegien von Larisa (fünf Tagoi, ein Gymnasiarch, Zeile 1 und 24; von den Tagoi sind im ersten und im späteren Jahr nicht weniger als drei identisch) nur durch diese geringere Differenz voneinander getrennt. Vor allem aber rücken die in den Urkunden genannten Ereignisse dichter zusammen: die Gesandtschaft der Stadt an Philipp, der erste Brief des Königs mit der Empfehlung zur Aufnahme der ansässigen Griechen ins Bürgerrecht, der dahin lautende Beschluß der Stadt, die im Zuge einer Reaktion erfolgende Löschung dieser Neubürger aus den Registern, der zweite Königsbrief, ausführlicher den Wunsch Philipps motivierend und durch den Hinweis auf das römische Verfahren und seine offenkundigen Vorteile das Begehren näher erläuternd, zugleich aber auch in die inneren Verhältnisse der Stadt entschiedener eingreifend, und endlich die definitive Einbürgerung der Genannten samt der öffentlichen Aufzeichnung der Urkunden und der Namen der Neubürger. Dies alles rückt in einen Zeitraum von zwei Jahren zusammen. Es sind die Jahre des Friedens von Naupaktos, der Schlacht von Cannae und des Bündnisses zwischen Philipp und Hannibal.

Für die absolute Datierung des ersten Königsbriefes und des ihm folgenden ersten Beschlusses der Stadt ergibt sich (nach der herkömmlichen Chronologie) eine Verschiebung vom September 219 in den September 216 oder (nach der von Beloch und Walbank vertretenen Zählung der Königsjahre Philipps) von September 220 auf den September 217.³ Walbank argumentiert (Philipp V. 297 f.), daß der Hyperberetaios des 2. Jahres nicht dem September 219 entsprechen könne, da der erste Brief an Larisa Philipps Abwesenheit voraussetze, während durch Polybios für 219 seine Anwesenheit in der

3. Die Differenz rührt von der Frage her, ob Philipp V. vor oder nach dem 1. Dios 221 zur Regierung gekommen ist. War es vorher (so Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* IV 2^a, 113 ff. 121. Walbank, *Philip V.* 295 ff.), so rechnet sein erstes Königsjahr vom Zeitpunkt seines Antritts im Sommer bis zum 30. Hyperberetaios, das zweite vom 1. Dios (etwa 1. Oktober) 221 bis zum 30. Hyperberetaios 220 usw. Lag dagegen das Antrittsdatum nach dem 1. Dios 221 (so Niese, *Geschichte der griech. und makedon. Staaten* II 1899, 348 mit Anm. 6), so lief

Stadt von etwa Juli bis Mitte Dezember bezeugt werde; mithin komme nur der September 220 in Betracht. Das war, rebus sic stantibus, scharfsinnig und richtig. Aber dieses Kriterium entfällt, wenn man tatsächlich nicht zwischen 220 und 219, sondern zwischen 217 und 216 zu wählen hat. Damit scheint die Chronologie Philipps, seiner Thronbesteigung und der Zählung seiner Königsjahre wieder ein offenes Problem zu sein, denn in der fraglichen Zeit hat sich Philipp weder 217 noch 216 in Larisa aufgehalten, sodaß von dieser Seite her beide Jahre in Betracht kommen.

Ehe die chronologische Frage weiter verfolgt wird, soll ein wesentlicher anderer Punkt hervorgehoben werden, der dann auch zu ihrer Lösung führen wird. Die beiden ersten Urkunden sprechen von Kriegsschäden im Gebiet von Larisa und von mangelhafter Bestellung des Landes. Der König geht, hierüber von Gesandten aus Larisa belehrt, in seinem Schreiben gerade von Schäden aus, die die Stadt im Kriege erlitten hat (διὰ τοὺς πολέμους Zeile 5, wiederholt im Beschluß der Gemeinde Zeile 12). Daher bedürfe die Stadt, darin stimmen der König und die Gesandten überein, neuer Bewohner.⁴ Die Anregung, allen im Stadtgebiet ansässigen Thessalern und Griechen das Bürgerrecht zu verleihen, soll dabei nur ein erster Schritt sein, bis weitere Kategorien von Personen gefunden werden, die des Bürgerrechts für wert gehalten werden (5 ff. 15 ff.). Schon dieser erste Schritt jedoch werde günstige Wirkungen haben, wenn nämlich die Bedachten mit Rücksicht auf die empfangene Wohltat bleiben würden; so werde insbesondere das Land wieder intensiver bestellt werden.⁵

Mit diesen Schlußworten des Königsbriefes wird offensichtlich die eigentliche Ursache der Not bezeichnet. Die Landbestellung liegt im argen und soll durch Aufnahme neuer Kräfte in die Bürgerschaft wieder gehoben werden, da den bisher als Metöken Ansässigen mit dem Bürgerrecht auch das Recht auf Grunderwerb (ἐγκτησις γῆς) zugesprochen werden mußte. Und doch klingt die leise Sorge des Königs durch, manche der so Begünstigten

das erste Regierungsjahr bis zum 30. Hyperberetaios (etwa Ende September 220), das zweite vom 1. Dios 220 bis zum 30. Hyperberetaios 219. Zu den erhaltenen Datierungen nach Königsjahren Philipps, vgl. Walbank *a.O.* Hinzugekommen ist ein Zeugnis aus Labranda aus Philipps drittem Jahr, J. und L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1950, 182. L. Robert bei Holleaux, *Études épigr.* IV 1 (1952) 162 Anm. 1. Walbank, *A Commentary on Polybios* I 1957, 621 f. J. Crampe, *Labranda* I 2 (1963) 130 ff. Nr. 8.

4. Zeile 5: κλεόνων οικητῶν mit leichter Abweichung wiederholt im Beschluß der Stadt Zeile 13: κλειόνουν τοὺν κατοικισσόντων.

5. Zeile 8-9: Πέπεισμαι ἑτέρα τε πολλὰ τῶν χρησίμων εἶσθαι καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν χώραν μᾶλλον ἐξεργασθῆσθαι, ebenso 16-17.

könnten gleichwohl Stadt und Land wieder verlassen.⁶ Da es hierbei um die Überwindung von Kriegsfolgen geht⁷, so liegt es nahe, das fehlende Gedankenglied durch die Annahme zu ergänzen, daß eben die Landstriche, mit denen die Neubürger rechnen konnten, vom Kriege verwüstet waren und zur Zeit des Schreibens brachlagen, mithin auch nur einen mäßigen Anreiz boten. Unter dieser Annahme erklärt sich dann die Sorge des Königs, ob die vorgeschlagenen Maßnahmen hinreichend wirksam sein werden, erklärt sich aber auch und vor allem die Bereitschaft der Altbürger, durch Aufnahme der Metöken ins Bürgerrecht diese Gebiete zunächst wieder kultivieren zu lassen, andererseits ihre Eile, die Neubürger dann wieder unter Vorwänden aus den Bürgerlisten zu streichen: sie hatten ihre Schuldigkeit getan.

Sicher ist jedenfalls, daß Verwüstungen des ausgedehnten Territoriums von Larisa vorausgesetzt sind. Bei der bisherigen Datierung der beiden ersten Urkunden ins Jahr 220 oder 219 aber hat sich keine Beziehung auf einen vorausgehenden Krieg finden lassen. Nur die Aitolier kämen in Betracht, aber sie haben unter Antigonos Doson (bis 221) und im ersten Jahr Philipps gegenüber Makedonien und Thessalien Ruhe gehalten. Im Jahre 220 gab es Beschwerden der Böoter, Phoker, Epiroten, Akarnanen und Achäer über sie, aber nicht solche der Thessaler⁸, und 219 wurde nur auf der Peloponnes gekämpft. Angesichts der engen Bindungen Thessaliens an Makedonien (oben S. 265) ist es klar, daß kriegerische Ereignisse in Thessalien den makedonischen König nicht unberührt hätten lassen können; sie hätten auch bei Polybios genannt sein müssen. Wie sollte es in diesen Zeiten der Ruhe zu Kriegsschäden in Larisa gekommen sein?

Einige Forscher haben das hier zutage tretende Problem empfunden, so F.W.Walbank⁹, soeben Ed. Will¹⁰ und J. M.Hannick.¹¹ Die vorgebrachten Erklärungen verraten zwar die Verlegenheit, beheben sie aber nicht, denn es muß sich wegen der Worte διὰ τοῦ πολέμου um Schäden handeln, die während eines Krieges eingetreten und in Larisa bereits unangenehm spürbar geworden sind. Das paßt weder für 220 noch für 219.

6. Zeile 7-8 συνεινάντων πάντων, ebenso 15-16.

7. Der Plural πόλεμοι bedeutet mehrere Kriege oder einen mehrjährigen Krieg.

8. Polyb. 4,25. Vgl. B.Niese II 422, Walbank, *Philip V.* 32.

9. *Philip V.* 35: "It was an emergency measure, Philip explained; for he was already awake to the dangers of an Aetolian invasion of Pieria through Thessaly and the narrow pass of Tempe."

10. *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique* II 1967, 64: "...à la veille du début des opérations."

11. *Antidorum W. Peremans* 1968, 97 ff. (Remarques sur les lettres de Philippe V. de Macédoine à la cité de Larissa): "... au lendemain du congrès de Corinthe."

Die berichtigte Datierung der Urkunden löst das Problem. Es sind tatsächlich Schäden aus dem Bundesgenossenkrieg. Es handelt sich um die Einfälle, die die Aitolier aus dem phthiotischen Theben unternommen hatten. Polybios 5,99-100 sagt ausdrücklich, daß das Gebiet von Larisa unter diesen Überfällen schwer zu leiden hatte, bis Philipp im Sommer 217 die Festung erstürmte: ἐξ ἧς καὶ τότε κατεχόντων αὐτὴν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν καὶ συνεχεῖς ποιουμένων τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς μεγάλα συνέβαινε βλάπτεσθαι τοὺς τε Δημητρίους καὶ τοὺς Φαρσαλίους, ἔτι δὲ Λαρισαίους· πολλάκις γὰρ ἐποιοῦντο τὰς καταδρομὰς ἕως ἐπὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἀμυρικὸν πεδίων (Polyb. 5,99,4-5). Dies sind die πόλεμοι der Inschrift, und mit der Erstürmung Thebens verschaffte der König seinen magnetischen und thessalischen Verbündeten Sicherheit.¹²

Nach dem Kriege gehen Stadt und König an die Überwindung der Kriegsschäden. Im August 217 wurde der Friede von Naupaktos geschlossen.¹³ Der erste Brief des Königs ist jedenfalls später, wie denn erst mit dem Friedensschluß die Voraussetzungen für eine dauerhafte Beseitigung der Schäden sich einstellten. Er stammt vom September 217 oder vom September 216. Zwischen diesen Daten ist jetzt die Entscheidung zu treffen, mit der zugleich auch über die Chronologie der Königsjahre Philipps (s. Anm. 3) entschieden wird.

Wenn die Gesandten aus Larisa dem König von der mißlichen Lage ihrer Stadt berichtet haben, so dürfte dies doch unmittelbar nach dem Ende der Feindseligkeiten gewesen sein, d.h. im Sommer 217 und nicht erst 216. Entscheidend ist jedoch ein anderer Umstand: der eigentliche Auftrag der Gesandten an den König war ein anderer, und erst nach dessen Erledigung sprachen sie von den Verwüstungen im Gebiet von Larisa. Der König sagt das mit wünschenswerter Klarheit in den Worten (Zeile 4, vgl. 12) ὥς ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς βέλαιας ἐγένοντο, "sobald sie ihres Gesandtenauftrages ledig waren." Diese richtige Erklärung der Worte hat Wilamowitz gegeben.¹⁴ Man vergleiche in der Order Mithridates' VI. an Leonippos, nach dem Römerfreund Chairemon von Nysa zu fahnden¹⁵, die letzten Worte: φρόντισον, ὅπως... ἐν φυλακῇ καὶ εἰργμῇ ὑπάρχη, ἄχρι ἂν ἀπ[ὸ τῶν] πολεμίων ἐμὲ γενέσθαι.

Dann aber muß der primäre Auftrag der Gesandten von ganz ungewöhnlicher Bedeutung gewesen sein. Man wird kaum zweifeln können, daß es sich hierbei um die Friedensverhandlungen gehandelt hat. Denn wenn auch

12. Polyb. 5,100,7: ἀσφαλισάμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Μαγνησίαν καὶ Θετταλίαν.

13. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* IV 1², 733.

14. *Griechisches Lesebuch* II, Erläuterungen (1902) 254. Vgl. auch R. Herzog, *Hermes* 65, 1930, 465.

15. *Sylloge*³ 741,26-28. Welles, *Royal Correspondence* 74. Welles übersetzt "until I am free of the enemy." Vgl. ferner die *Sylloge a.O.* Anm. 28 genannten Belege.

die Thessaler nach der Meinung des Polybios (S.265) sich von Untertanen des makedonischen Königs de facto nicht unterschieden, so doch de iure. Sie waren nominell gleichstehende Verbündete und Partner, *συμμάχοι*. Und gerade Philipp hat die Rechte der Verbündeten in seinen ersten Jahren sehr korrekt respektiert. Die Thessaler müssen daher bei den Verhandlungen über den Frieden mit den Aitolern gehört worden sein und mitgesprochen haben, und dies um so mehr, als Thessalien auch territoriale Forderungen an den Aitolischen Bund hatte.

Tatsächlich hat auch Philipp, wie Polybios mitteilt, Bevollmächtigte aus allen verbündeten Städten zu den Verhandlungen berufen lassen (5, 102,8): *πρὸς μὲν τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις γραμματοφόρους ἐξαπέστειλε, παρακαλῶν πέμπειν τοὺς συνεδρεύοντας καὶ μεθέξοντας τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν διαλύσεων κοινολογίας*. Er erwartete sie in Panormos, gegenüber von Naupaktos (5,102,9): *ἀνέμενε τοὺς τῶν συμμάχων συνέδρους*. Von der Teilnahme dieser Delegierten an den Verhandlungen selbst spricht Polybios ebenfalls (5,103,1;7;9. 105,1).¹⁶ Da sie in den August fallen, der Brief des Königs vom September datiert ist, dürfte Klarheit darüber geschaffen sein, daß er in den September des Jahres 217 gehört. So führt der Text, nachdem einmal sein Datum berichtigt ist, in die Verhandlungen von Naupaktos selbst. Zugleich ist die Chronologie Philipps V. und seiner Königsjahre im Sinne von Beloch und von Walbank (s. Anm. 3) entschieden.

Endlich ergibt sich, daß die Stadt Larisa in den Friedensverhandlungen von 217 durch Petraios und durch die Tagoi Anankippos und Aristonoos vertreten wurde. Petraios war nicht nur Bürger von Larisa, sondern zugleich Funktionär des makedonischen Königs und wahrscheinlich dessen Vertreter in Thessalien, wie dies oben für seinen Landsmann Medeios unter König Demetrios vermutet worden ist.¹⁷

Heidelberg

CHRISTIAN HABICHT

16. Vgl. zum Vorstehenden A. Heuß, *Stadt und Herrscher des Hellenismus* 1937, 140 f. und die Zusammenfassung auf S.141: "Die Vorbereitung des Friedens steht also unter der Direktion Philipps, aber geführt werden die Verhandlungen von den einzelnen griechischen Staaten. Sie nehmen einen selbständigen Platz neben dem König ein. Erst recht gilt dies für den formalen Abschluß und die Ratifikation, worüber allerdings die Nachricht nur summarisch ist. Die Friedensbedingungen müssen im einzelnen von den Bundesgenossen ausgearbeitet, zusammengefaßt und dann beschworen worden sein, wahrscheinlich von jedem einzelnen Vertreter."

17. Petraios dürfte, da er an erster Stelle der Gesandten genannt wird, Larisäer sein. Der Name ist in Larisa nicht selten: im späteren. 2. Jahrhundert begegnet ein Petraios Ἀγάθωνος (IG IX 2,539,9; derselbe in FD III 1,284 = SEG 2,345), im 1. Jahrhundert Dion Περπαίου (IG

IX 2,738). Larisäer waren vielleicht auch der in augusteischer Zeit zweimal als Bundesstrategie bezeugte Petraios (Belege bei A.M. Babakos,¹ Πράξεις κοινῆς διαθέσεως... κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀρχαίας Θεσσαλίας (1961) 265) und der Bundesstrategie Petraios Ἡρακλείδου (IG IX 2,302 a 13). Ferner war der Parteigänger Caesars in Thessalien Petraeus, "summa nobilitate adulescens" (Caesar, *bell.civ.* 3,35) gewiß wie sein Gegenspieler Hagesaretus (ebenda) Larisäer (Cicero, *ad famil.* 13, 25: Hagesaretus Larisaeus), doch vgl. G. W. Bowersock, *Rheinisches Museum* 108, 1965, 279 ff. Der gleichnamige φίλος Philipps V., der 221 in diplomatischer Mission nach Sparta entsandt wurde (Polyb. 4,24, 8), erscheint zweimal eng mit Thessalien verbunden: im Jahre 218 bei der Abwehr des aitolischen Angriffs unter Dorimachos (Polyb. 5,17,6) : τοὺς περὶ τὸν Χρυσόγονον καὶ Πετραῖον ἐτοίμους ἐν Θετταλίᾳ πρὸς τὸ διακινδυνεύειν, dann als Autor eines offiziellen Briefes an die Stadt Gonnos (Εφημ. 1913,43 ff. Nr. 173-4, dazu C.B. Welles, *AJA* 42,1938,245 Anm. 1.). Für die Identität beider dürfte auch sprechen, daß Petraios im Brief Philipps an Larisa und im Beschluß der Stadt vor den als Tagoi beamteten Gesandten genannt wird. Eine Stellung, wie sie Arat als Feldherr und führender Politiker des Achäischen Bundes gegenüber Philipp V. eingenommen hat, wäre auch für Petraios denkbar, ist aber wegen des Schreibens an Gonnos weniger wahrscheinlich als eine Position im Dienste Philipps. Nichts weist den Pol. 4,24,8 genannten Petraios als Makedonen aus, wie Walbank, *Philip V.* ohne weiteres annimmt (S.380). [Vgl L. Robert *Hellenica* 1 1940,121 ff.]

ΔΥΟ ΝΕΑΙ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΙΝΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ ΜΕΤΑΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΙΚΟΝ ΑΙΩΝΑ *

Ἡ διαγραφὴ τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων κατὰ τοὺς ρωμαϊκοὺς χρόνους μὲ ἔδραν αὐτοῦ τὴν πόλιν τῆς Βεροίας βασιζέται κυρίως, ὡς γνωστὸν, εἰς τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀνευρεθεισῶν κατὰ καιροὺς μέχρι σήμερον ἐπιγραφῶν παρεχομένας μαρτυρίας, ἐλλείψει δυστυχῶς ἀντιστοίχων φιλολογικῶν πληροφοριῶν.

Διὰ τοῦτο ἡ κατὰ τὴν ἐντελῶς πρόσφατον (θέρους 1968) ἀνασκαφὴν μεγάλου οἰκοπέδου ἐντὸς τῆς «ζαθέης μητροπόλεως» ἀνεύρεσις δύο — μιᾶς δεκαοκταστίχου, ἐτέρας δὲ δεκατετραστίχου εἰς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν — ἐπιγραφῶν, ἐθεωρήθη ἐκ τῆς πρώτης στιγμῆς γεγονὸς ἰδιαιτέρως εὐτυχές, δυνάμενον νὰ συμβάλῃ εἰς τὸν πλουτισμὸν τῶν γνώσεών μας ἀναφορικῶς μὲ τὴν ἐσωτερικὴν διοργάνωσιν τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τελουμένους ἀγῶνας.

Αἱ φέρουσαι τὰς ἐν λόγῳ ἐπιγραφὰς παραλληλόγραμμοι λεπταὶ πλάκες ἐξ ὑπολεύκου μαρμάρου εὐρέθησαν εἰς δευτέραν χρῆσιν μετ' ἄλλων ἐνεπιγράφων καὶ μὴ πλακῶν, μετενεχθεισῶν προφανῶς ἄλλοθεν, ἀποτελοῦσαι τὸ δάπεδον περιστύλου, ὡς φαίνεται, δεξαμενῆς ἀνηκούσης εἰς μνημειῶδες κτήριον—παρὰ δὲ τὸ γεγονός, ὅτι ἀμφότεραι εἶχον τοποθετηθῇ εἰς τὸν χώρον μὲ τὴν ἐνεπίγραφόν των ὄψιν ἐστραμμένην πρὸς τὰ ἄνω, ἡ διατήρησις τῶν γραμμάτων, ἐντὸς ὥρισμένων ἐκ τῶν ὁποίων διασώζεται εἰσέτι τὸ ἀρχικὸν ἐνθετον ἐρυθρὸν χρῶμα, εἶναι λίαν ἱκανοποιητικὴ ἂν μὴ ἀρίστη.

Ἀπὸ ἀπόψεως περιεχομένου, τόσον ἡ πρώτη ὅσον καὶ ἡ δευτέρα ἀνήκουσιν εἰς τὸν γνωστὸν διὰ τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Μοισίαν τύπον τῶν προσκλήσεων εἰς ἀγῶνας κυνηγίων καὶ μονομαχιῶν (*invitationes ad munera venationum et gladiatorum*)¹.

* Παράκλησις, ὅπως ἡ δις Ἀγγελικὴ Κ. Ἀνδρειωμένου, πρόην Ἐφορος τῆς ΙΔ' Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Περιφέρειας καὶ νῦν Ἐφορος Ἀρχαιοπωλείων καὶ Ἰδιωτικῶν Ἀρχαιολογικῶν Συλλογῶν, δεχθῇ καὶ ἐκ τῆς θέσεως ταύτης τὰς θερμὰς μου εὐχαριστίας διὰ τὴν πρόθυμον παραχώρησιν τοῦ ὅλικοῦ πρὸς δημοσίευσιν.

1. *IGBR* II 660, IV 1917 - 20 = *Hellenica* VII 132 - 135. *OGIS* II 529.533. Πβλ. καὶ L. Robert, *Les Gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, Παρίσιος 1940, 51.

Τὸ γεγονός, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τοῦ Ἀγίου Βασιλείου (Ὁμιλία εἰς Ψαλμὸν ΞΑ' 4·

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗ Α (Πιν. LXXVII)

Διαστάσεις πλακός: Ὑψος 0.74μ., πλάτος 1.21μ., πάχος \pm 0.007μ.

Ὑψος κειμένου: 0.485μ.—συμπεριλαμβανομένου καὶ τοῦ «Ἀγαθῇ Τύχηι»: 0.53μ.

Ὑψος γραμμάτων: γενικῶς 0.002 μ.· ὀρισμένα ὑπερυψωμένα, τὸ «ἐδτυχεῖτε» δι' ἐπισυρμένης γραφῆς.

Διάστιχον: 0.01μ.

Συμπλέγματα γραμμάτων:

ΝϚ, ΜΕ, Ξ (=ΘΕ), ΗΜ, Ϛ, ϝ, ΩΣ, ΗϚ,
ΓΕ, ΤϚ, Ϻ (=ΜΟ), ΝΕ, Έ (εΤΕ), Ϙ (=ΟΥΣ).

Εὐρεῖα χρήσις στίξεως (τελείαι) κυρίως διὰ τὴν διακοσμητικὴν τῇ τρόπῳ προβολὴν ἐνίων γραμμάτων.

Τὸ κείμενον, πλὴν τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐπικλήσεως πρὸς τὴν Ἀγαθὴν Τύχην, περιβάλλεται ὑπὸ ἀργοῦ λεσβίου διατομῆς κυματίου, πλάτους 0.05μ. εἰς σχῆμα κεφαλαίου ἑλληνικοῦ Π.

Ἡ κυρία ὄψις τῆς πλακός ἡ φέρουσα τὸ ἐπιγραφικὸν κείμενον εἶναι ἐπιμελῶς λελεασμένη, συμπεριλαμβανομένου καὶ τοῦ ὕψους 0.11μ. κάτω τμήματος αὐτῆς τοῦ προωρισμένου νὰ ἐμβληθῇ προφανῶς ἐντὸς τόρου.

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχηι

Ὑπὲρ ὕψους καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ θειοτάτου καὶ ἀητήτου κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορος καίσαρος Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου [Ἀλεξάνδρου] εὐσεβοῦς, ἐδτυχοῦς, σεβαστοῦ, ἀρχιερέως μεγίστου, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ὄγδοον, ὑπάτου τὸ Γ πατρὸς πατρίδος καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερωτάτης μητρὸς αὐτοῦ [Ιουλίας Μαρμαίας] σεβαστῆς καὶ ὑ-

PG 29) ὁ editor muneris καὶ ἔγγραφον ἐν τοῖς περιφανέσι τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀμαρτίαν (τοῦ τελεῖν δηλ. μονομαχίας καὶ θηριομαχίας) ἐπὶ τῶν πινάκων δεικνύσιν (πβλ. καὶ L. Robert *l. c.* 261), συνδυαζόμενον πρὸς τὰ μέχρι τοῦδε ἀρχαιολογικὰ εὐρήματα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τῆς Βεροίας, συμφώνως πρὸς τὰ ὅποια μετὰ πλείστης βεβαιότητος δυνάμεθα νὰ τοποθετήσωμεν τόσον τὴν ἑλληνιστικὴν, ὅσον καὶ τὴν ρωμαϊκὴν ἀγορὰν — τὸν κατ' ἐξοχὴν τουτέστιν «περιφανή» χώρον μιᾶς πόλεως — εἰς τὴν περιοχὴν περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἀντωνίου, ὁδηγῇ εἰς τὴν διατύπωσιν τῆς σκέψεως μήπως αἱ παρουσιαζόμεναι ἐνταῦθα δύο ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ Πίνδου 10 οἰκοπέδου Σ. Δέτσκα κ.λ. (πρῶην Νταβέλη) ἴσταντο ποτε εἰς τι σημεῖον τῆς ἐγγὺς τοῦ τόπου εὐρέσεώς των ἀρχαίας ἀγορᾶς.

- πὲρ τοῦ σύμπαντος θεοῦ οἴκου αὐτῶν καὶ ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου καὶ τῶν διασημοτάτων ἐπάρχων καὶ ἱερῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ δήμου τοῦ ρωμαίων, Οὐαλεριανὸς Φιλόξενος ὁ μακεδονιάρχης καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀγῶνος ἀλέξανδρου καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Οὐαλεριανὴ Ἀμμία ἡ ἀρχιέρεια τῆς Σεβαστῆς ἐπιτελέσουσιν ἐν τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ μητροπόλει τῆς Μακεδονίας Βεροιαίων πόλει κνηγεσίων καὶ μονομαχιῶν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἄρξονται δὲ τῶν φιλοτειμιῶν τῇ πρὸ Ζ Καλ(ανδῶν) Ἰουλίαν.
- 15 Αὐτοκράτορι καίσαρι Μ(άρκῳ) Αὐρηλίῳ Σεούρῳ (sic) [Ἀλεξάνδρῳ] εὐσεβεῖ, εὐτυχεῖ, σεβαστῷ τὸ Γ καὶ Κλ' Κασσίῳ Δίῳ τὸ Β ὑπάτοις, ἑλληνικῇ δὲ ἔτους ΞΣ σεβαστοῦ τοῦ καὶ ζΟΤ, Πανήμον ΕΙ.
Εὐτυχεῖτε

ΠΑΡΑΤΗΡΗΣΕΙΣ

Παρὰ τὴν ἀπόξεσιν (rasura) τῶν ὀνομάτων τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ τῆς μητρὸς του (στ. 4, 6, 15), ταῦτα δύνανται νὰ ἀναγνωσθοῦν σχετικῶς εὐχερῶς εἰς τὸ ἔκτυπον· διὰ τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου Θρακός, συναινούσης καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου, ψήφισιν ἀποφάσεως ἀποσκοπούσης εἰς τὴν *damnatio memoriae* τὸσον τοῦ προκατόχου του εἰς τὸν θρόνον ὅσον καὶ τῆς μητρὸς του, δρ. *CAH* XII, 72. Τὰ εἰς τὸ σωζόμενον ἐπιγραφικὸν ὕλικὸν παραδείγματα ἀφθονοῦν κατ' ἐκλογὴν: *IG* XII, III 484 (ἐκ Θήρας) [Ἀλέξανδρον], *IGR* IV, 1208 (ἐκ Θυατείρων) Ἀλ[έξανδρον εὐ]τυχῇ, 1266 (ἐκ Θυατείρων) [Μ. Αὐρ. Σεβήρον Ἀλεξάνδρου], *IGR* I, 559 (ἐκ Μοισίας) Μ. Αὐ[ρηλίον Σεουήρον Ἀλεξάνδρον], 1437 (ἐκ Μοισίας) Ἀλεξάνδρου] . . . Ἰουλίαν [Μαμμαίαν], *IGR* I, 719 Μ. [Αὐρ. Σεουήρῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ], 688 [Μ. Αὐρ. Σεουήρον Ἀλεξάνδρου], 753 [Σεουήρῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ], 772 [Ἀλεξάνδρῳ] . . . [Μαμαίᾳ] (ἄπασαι ἐκ Θράκης). Ἐξ Ἰταλίας *ILS* I, 479, 480, 482, 484, 2219. II 1 6795. Πρβλ. καὶ Cagnat, *Cours* 172, 174.

Ἡ μὴ μετατροπὴ τοῦ ν εἰς γ πρὸ τοῦ κ (συνκλήτου, στ. 7) συνήθης: *IG* XII, III 324 (Θήρα), *IG* XII, I 58 (Ρόδος), *SEG* XXIX, 537 (Θράκη)· πρβλ. Mayser, *Grammatik* I, 233. Τὸ διὰ τὸν Δίωνα παραδιδόμενον *nomen gentilicium* Κλαύδιος (Κλ', στ. 16) ἀμάρτυρον ἄλλοθεν· δρ. σχετ. *CIL* XIII, 6752. 7337. 7502, *ILS* I, 2177 = *EIL* II (1873) 1502 d. Πρβλ. *PIR* II (1897) 78, *PIR* III (1943) 93, A. Degrassi, *I fasti* (1952) σελ. 64, E. J. Bickerman, *Chronology* (1968) 189.

Σχετικῶς μὲ τὸ ἐν κατακλείδι τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς εὐτυχεῖτε δρ. Σ. Πελεκίδη, Ἀπὸ τὴν πολιτεία καὶ τὴν κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης (1934), 40 καὶ *BSA* 1911/12, 148.6 (ἐκ Βεροίας).

Ἡ πρώτη τῶν ἐπιγραφῶν ἀναφέρεται εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ μακεδονιάρχου, ἐπαρχιακοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἀγωνοθέτου τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων Οὐαλεριανοῦ Φιλοξένου καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συζύγου αὐτοῦ Οὐαλεριανῆς Ἀμμίας τῆς ἀρχιερείας ἐξαγγελίαν διὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν ἰδίοις αὐτῶν ἐξόδοις τῆς διεξαγωγῆς ἐν Βεροίᾳ τριημέρων ἀγώνων κυνηγεσίων καὶ μονομαχιῶν³ πρὸς τιμὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Μάρκου Αἰδρηλίου Σευήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰουλίας Μαιμαίας.

Ὡς γνωστὸν, ὁ ἐλληνικῆς τυχὼν παιδείας καὶ μορφώσεως⁴, σῦρος τὴν καταγωγὴν νεαρὸς αὐτοκράτωρ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς, περιβληθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς 10ης Δεκεμβρίου τοῦ ἔτους 228 τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν δι' ὀγδόην φορὰν, διέτελεσεν ὕπατος τὸ τρίτον ἀπὸ τῆς 1ης Ἰανουαρίου τοῦ ἐπομένου ἔτους⁵, προσλαβὼν μάλιστα ὡς συνάρχοντά του εἰς τὴν ὑπατείαν τὸν ἐκ Νικαίας τῆς Βιθυνίας Ἑλληνα ἱστοριογράφον Κάσσιον Δίωνα Κοκκειανόν⁶, ἄνδρα ἐξαιρετοῦ ἥθους καὶ ἐγνωσμένης ἱκανότητος.

Ἐκτὸς τοῦ διὰ τῶν ὡς ἄνω στοιχείων τελικῶς ἐπιτυχανομένου κέρδους τῆς ἐντὸς τοῦ ἔτους 229 ἐντάξεως τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς, ἡ ἀναγραφὴ τῆς ἡμερομηνίας ἐνάρξεως τῶν ὑπὸ ἐξαγγελίαν ἀγώνων (τῇ πρὸ Ζ Καλανῶν Ἰουλίῶν = 25 Ἰουνίου) παρέχει ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς στενωτέραν καὶ ἀκριβεστέραν χρονολόγησιν.

Ἐξ ἄλλου, ἐκ τοῦ τρόπου διατυπώσεως τοῦ κειμένου τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς συνάγεται εὐλόγως τὸ συμπέρασμα, ὅτι τοῦτο θὰ πρέπη ἀναντιρρήτως νὰ εἶχεν συνταχθῇ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας πρὸ τῆς διεξαγωγῆς τῶν ἀγώνων ἢ ἐν κατακλειδίῳ ὁμῶς τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς «ἐλληνιστὶ» ὀριζομένη ἡμερομηνία (Πανήμου 15), συμπιπτουσα χρονικῶς μὲ τὰ τέλη τοῦ μηνὸς Ἰουνίου⁷, μαρτυρεῖ διὰ τὴν τοῦλάχιστον πέντε ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνάρξεως τῶν ἀγώνων ἀναγραφὴν τοῦτου «ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ».

Γεγονὸς πάντως εἶναι, ὅτι τὸ κείμενον μετεφέρθη εἰς τὴν πλάκα αὐτοῦσιον θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ εἴπῃ τις, ὡς εἶχεν πιθανώτατα καταχωρηθῇ εἰς τὰ πρακτικὰ τοῦ Συνεδρίου τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἐκφωνηθῇ δημοσίᾳ ὑπὸ τινος ἐντε-

2. Πβλ. L. Robert *l. c.* 309

3. Γενικῶς περὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄρα: H. Bengtson, *Grundriss der römischen Geschichte* I (1967), 375 - 78 μετὰ τῆς σχετικῆς βιβλιογραφίας, πηγῶν καὶ βοηθημάτων. Πβλ. καὶ Γ. Φρ. Χέρτσπεργ, *Ἰστ. Ἑλλ. ἐπὶ τῆς ρωμαϊκῆς κυριαρχίας*, σελ. 55.

4. R. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine*, Πάρις 1964 (ed. anastatica) 214.

5. Δίωνος Κασσίου, *Ρωμαϊκαὶ Ἱστορίαι* (Ἀλ. Σευήρος XXV, 5): *τοῦναντίον ἄλλως τε — ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος — ἐσέμνυσέ με καὶ δεύτερον ὑπατεύσοντα σὺν αὐτῷ ἀπέδειξε, τό τε ἀνάλωμα τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς, αὐτῷ αὐτὸς ἀναλώσειν ὑπεδέξατο. Ἐπ' αὐτοῦ: ILS I, 2177 = EIL II (1873) 1502d. CIL XIII 6752.7337. 7502. Πβλ. A. Degrassi, *I fasti* (1952) σελ. 64.*

6. Ὅρα σχετικῶς RE, PW (Kalender) 1595.

ταλμένου πρὸς τοῦτο κήρυκος—διατηροῦν δηλαδή τὸ μελλοντικὸν τῶν πρὸς τέλεσιν θεαμάτων (*ἐπιτελέσουσιν, ἄρξονται*), παραμένει δέ, ἐξ ὧν δύναμαι νὰ γνωρίζω, τὸ πληρέστερον διατηρούμενον ἐκ τῶν μέχρι τοῦδε διασωθέντων τῆς αὐτῆς κατηγορίας ⁷.

Μέχρι σήμερον ⁸ ἐγνωρίζομεν, ὅτι ὁ τίτλος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τοῦ κοινοῦ ἦτο ἐν χρήσει κατὰ τὸν 1ον μ.Χ. καὶ πιθανώτατα καὶ τὸν 2ον μ.Χ. αἰῶνα, ὁ δὲ τοῦ μακεδονιάρχου τὸν τρίτον. Εἰμεθα ὁμως βέβαιοι, ὅτι ἀμφότεροι οἱ τίτλοι ἀνεφέροντο εἰς ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ κοινοῦ, τὸν πρόεδρόν του ⁹.

Ὅμοιως εἶχομεν καταλήξει εἰς τὸ συμπέρασμα, ὅτι ἡ ἀντικατάστασις τοῦ πρώτου ἀξιώματος ὑπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου κατὰ τὸν 3ον μ.Χ. αἰῶνα ἐσχετίζετο μὲ τὸν ἀναπτερωθέντα τὴν ἐποχὴν ἐκείνην ἐθνικισμὸν τῶν ὑπὸ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους Μακεδόνων ¹⁰.

Ὁ Οὐαλεριανὸς Φιλόξενος τῆς πρώτης ἐπιγραφῆς, ἄγνωστος ἄλλοθεν, φέρει ταυτοχρόνως τὸν τίτλον τοῦ μακεδονιάρχου, τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγωνοθέτου τοῦ κοινοῦ. Εὐρίσκεται δηλαδή εἰς τὴν μεταβατικὴν ἐκείνην περίοδον ἀλλαγῆς, πρὸ τῆς πλήρους ἐπικρατήσεως τοῦ τίτλου τοῦ μακεδονιάρχου καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀποβολῆς τοῦ τίτλου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. Τὸ ἀξίωμα μάλιστα τοῦ μακεδονιάρχου, ὡς νεοεισαχθέν, προτάσσεται ἐμφαντικῶς.

Ὁ χαρακτηρισμὸς τοῦ Φιλοξένου ὡς ἀρχιερέως τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ οὐχὶ ὡς ἀρχιερέως τῶν Σεβαστῶν, ὡς παραδίδεται εἰς τὰς ὑπολοίπους ἐπιγραφὰς ὁ πλήρης τίτλος τοῦ ἀρχοντος τοῦ κοινοῦ, ἴσως νὰ ἔχῃ σχέσιν μὲ τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σευήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφαίρεσιν τῆς μιᾶς νεωκορίας ἀπὸ τὴν πόλιν τῆς Βεροίας μετὰ τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡλιογαβάλου παραχώρησιν τῶν δύο ¹¹.

Τέλος ἡ σύζυγος τοῦ Φιλοξένου, Οὐαλεριανὴ Ἀμμία, ἀρχιέρεια τῆς Σεβαστῆς, δυσκόλως θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ ταυτισθῇ πρὸς μίαν ἀπλὴν ἀρχιέρειαν τοπικῆς αὐτοκρατορολατρείας, τὴν στιγμὴν κατὰ τὴν ὁποίαν συμπράττει ὡς Ἰση πρὸς Ἰσον μετὰ τοῦ προέδρου τοῦ κοινοῦ εἰς τὴν διεξαγωγὴν τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐποπτείαν τοῦ κοινοῦ τελουμένων ἀγώνων· θὰ πρέπη ὡς ἐκ τοῦτου ἀναμφισβητήτως νὰ θεωρηθῇ ὡς ἡ πρώτη γνωστὴ ἡμῖν ἀρχιέρεια τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων.

Παρερχόμενοι ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τὸ πρόβλημα τῶν ἀγώνων, μὲ τὸ ὁποῖον

7. Ὅρα παραπομπὴν ὑπ' ἀριθμ. 1.

8. Βασικὴ ἡ ἐργασία τοῦ Δ. Κανατσούλη, Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων, *Μακεδονικά* 3 (1953 - 55): ἐπὶ τοῦ προκειμένου σελ. 68.

9. Δ. Κανατσούλη, *ἔ. δ.*

10. Δ. Κανατσούλη, *ἔ. δ.* 68 - 69.

11. Δ. Κανατσούλη, *ἔ. δ.* 41.

θὰ ἀσχοληθῶμεν κατωτέρω ἐν συνδυασμῷ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκ τῆς δευτέρας ἐπιγραφῆς μαρτυρίας, εἰσερχόμεθα εἰς τὴν ἐξέτασιν τοῦ περιεχομένου τῆς τελευταίας, ἡ ὁποία ἐξ ἄλλου παρουσιάζει πλεῖστα ὅσα κοινὰ μὲ τὴν πρώτην σημεία καὶ κατὰ τὴν διάρθρωσιν τοῦ κειμένου τῆς καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἶδος τῶν πληροφοριῶν.

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗ Β (Π(ν. LXXVIII))

Διαστάσεις πλακόσ: ὕψος 0,98μ., μέγ. σῶζ. πλάτος 1.895μ., πάχος $\pm 0.04\mu$.

*Υψος κειμένου: 0,62μ.

*Υψος γραμμάτων $\pm 0.03\mu$.

Διάστιχον 0.019μ.

Συμπλέγματα γραμμάτων:

Ϝ, ϝ, Ϟ, Η, Ϝ, Ν, Ε, Η,
ΝΗ, Χ (=αυ), ΗΚ, ΝΕ, ΜΗ, Ξ,
Κ (=κε), ΜΕ, Ν, ΓΕ (=πε).

*Η πλάξ εὐρέθη τεθραυσμένη εἰς 22 τεμάχια.

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ

- *Υπ[έ]ρ ὕγελας καὶ σωτ[ηρ]ίας καὶ νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς το[ῦ] θειοτά-
του καὶ
μεγίστου κ[α]ὶ ἀνεικίτου αὐτ[ο]κράτορος καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου
[Γορδιανοῦ εὐσεβοῦς]
εὐτυχοῦς, σεβαστοῦ, ἀρχιέρως μεγίστου, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ Γ, ὀ-
πάτου Π(ρῶτον) π[ατρὸς πατρίδος καὶ ὑπέρ τοῦ]
5 θέλου οἴκου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἱερᾶς συγκλήτου καὶ ἱερῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ δήμ[ου]
τοῦ ρωμαίων καὶ δι-
ασημοτάτων ἐπάρχων τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου, ὁ μακεδονιάρχης καὶ ἀρχιε-
ρεὺς [τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγνω-]
θέτης τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀγῶνος ἀλεξάνδρειον, ἱεροῦ, ἰσλαστικοῦ
ἰσ[ακτίου Λ(εύκιος) Σε-]
πίμιος Ἰνσπειανός Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Αἰλ(ία) Ἀλεξάνδρα ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ
ἡ ἀρχιέρεια ἐπιτελέσ[ουσιν ἐν τῇ]
λαμπροτάτῃ καὶ Β νεωκόρῳ μητροπόλει τῆς Μακεδονίας Βεροιαίων πό-
λι(sic) κληρονομῶν καὶ μονομαχ[ίων]
10 ἡμέρας Γ, προσεισάγοντες καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν τῶν φιλοτειμιῶν καὶ ἑ-
τερον ζεῦγος περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγω-

νιούμενον πρὸς τοῖς νενομισμένοις δυσὶν κατὰ συνχώρησιν τοῦ κυρίου
 ἡμῶν Μ(άρκου) Ἀντωνί-
 ου Γορδιανοῦ εὐσεβοῦς, εὐτυχοῦς, σεβαστοῦ· ἀρξονται δὲ τῶν φιλοτειμιῶν
 τῇ πρὸ Ζ Καλ(ανδῶν)
 Ἰουλίαν. Σουητηρίῳ Σαβείνῳ τὸ Β καὶ Παγωνίῳ Βενοῦστῳ ὑπάτοις, ἑλλη-
 νικῇ δὲ ἔτους ΑΟC σε-
 βαστοῦ τοῦ καὶ ΖΠΤ, Πανήμιον ΖΙ. Εὐτυχεῖτε.

ΠΑΡΑΤΗΡΗΣΕΙΣ

Ἡ συμπλήρωσις τῶν ἑλλειπόντων τμημάτων τῶν στίχων 2 - 9, ἐνθα ἡ πλᾶξ ἔχει ἀποκρουσθῇ, ἐγένετο βάσει τοῦ ἀκεραίου κειμένου τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς Α, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλων παρεμφερῶν κειμένων.

Ἡ ἐν τῷ στίχῳ 4 συντομογραφία Π, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀριθμητικοῦ «πρώτον» εἰς τὸ ἑλλεῖπον τμήμα τοῦ αὐτοῦ στίχου δυνατόν κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν τὸ πατρὸς πατρὶδος, καθόσον τὸ π τοῦ πατρὸς μᾶλλον βέβαιον, ἐν συνεχείᾳ δὲ πιθανώτατα καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ. Ἡ εἰς τὸν στίχον 5 συμπλήρωσις δυνατόν καὶ καὶ τῶν δι-. Τὸ Ισ|ακτίου εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ στίχου 7 προτιμητέον τοῦ Ισ|ολυμπίου.

Σαφῶς παραδίδεται (στ. 10 - 12) ὅτι ὁ Ἰνστειανὸς καὶ ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρα ἐν τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ των, ὅπως φανῶσι γενναιόδωροι καὶ ἀρεστοὶ εἰς τὸ πλῆθος, ἀναλαμβάνουσι τὴν παρουσίαν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τῶν ἑορτῶν ἐνὸς ἐπὶ πλεόν ζεύγους μονομάχων πέραν τοῦ καθωρισμένου ἀριθμοῦ τῶν δύο, ἔχοντες πρὸς τοῦτο ἐξασφαλίσαι, ὥς ἐξ ἄλλου διατυπῶνται ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφῇ, καὶ τὴν αὐτοκρατορικὴν συγκατάθεσιν. Ἡ ὑπαρξίς κανονισμῶν καὶ διατάξεων ἐκδιδομένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκάστοτε αὐτοκρατόρων ἢ δημοτικῶν ἀρχῶν, καθοριζουσὶν τὰ τῶν μονομαχιῶν καὶ θηριομαχιῶν μαρτυρεῖται εἰς τὰς ἐκφράσεις: ἐκ θείας φιλοδοξίας, κατὰ θείαν μεγαλοδοξίαν, κατὰ τὰ γενόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς κρατίστης βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ψηφίσματα, παρὰ τὸ ψήφισμα (L. Robert, *Gladiateurs* ἀρ. 11.152 καὶ σελ. 273 - 75)· πβλ. καὶ τὸ κατὰ συνχώρησιν = τῇ συγκατάθεσει, τῇ ἐγκρίσει, indulgentia, τῆς ἡμετέρας.

Περὶ τῶν ζευγῶν καὶ γενικῶς περὶ τῆς ὁρολογίας παρουσιάσεώς των εἰς τοὺς ἀγωνιστικοὺς στίβους: L. Robert *ἔ. ἀ. 280 κ.ἔ. (εἰσάγειν, παράγειν. - διὰ τὴν σύνταξιν τῆς προθέσεως πρὸς μετὰ δοτικῆς (προσάγειν), εἰς δήλωσιν τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεόν, ὅρα E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* II², 497). Περὶ τῆς ὁρολογίας τελέσεως μονομαχιῶν κλπ., ὅρα L. Robert *ἔ. ἀ. (συντελεῖν, ἐπιτελεῖν, τελεῖν, ποιεῖν, ἀγειν, διδόναι). Διὰ τὴν σημασίαν, ἣν ἔλαβεν ἡ λέξις φιλοτιμία, κυρίως δὲ εἰς τὸν πληθυντικόν (λειτουργία, liberalitas, largitio) ὅρα L. Robert *ἔ. ἀ. 277 - 78 καὶ *Hellenica* III, 125 - 26. Τὸ ὅτι ὁ εἰς τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἀναφερόμενος ἀγὼν μεταξὺ τῶν ζευγῶν***

θὰ πρέπει νὰ εἶναι ἀπτόμοτος (σχετ. L. Robert *ἐ. δ.* 261) μεταξὺ μονομάχων, ἥτοι *munus gladiatorum*, καὶ οὐχὶ μεταξὺ μονομάχου καὶ θηρίου τινός, δηλ. *venatio*, τοῦτο συνάγεται βεβαίως ἐκ τῆς ἐκφράσεως *περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγωνιούμενον*¹² τῶν στίχων 10 - 11· πρβλ. σχετικῶς τὸ ἐκ Γόρτυνος ἐπιτύμβιον μονομάχου: *οὐ κότινος τὸ θέμα, ψυχῆς δ' ἐνεκεν μαχόμεσθα* (*AJA* 1897, 237 ἀρ. 40), τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἀπὸ τὰ Μύλασα: *ὑπὲρ ζωῆς, ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς* (L. Robert *ἐ. δ.* ἀρ. 171, στ. 3 - 4) καὶ τὸ τοῦ Φίλοστράτου, *Βίοι Σοφιστῶν* 1, 25: *ἰδὼν μονόμαχον ἰδρῶτι ρεόμενον καὶ δεδιότα τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα...*

Γνωστὸς μόνον διὰ τοῦ *cognomen* (Sabinus - *EIL* II (1873) 2097. *CIL* VIII, 18834, XIII, 7352. 11821 πβλ. *PIR* III (1898) 259. A. Degrassi, *I fasti* (1952) 67. E. Bickerman, *Chronology* (1968) 189), ὁ πρῶτος τῶν ὑπᾶτων δύναται νὰ ταυτισθῇ ἀσφαλῶς πρὸς τὸν C. Octavius Appius Suetrius Sabinus τῆς *PIR* III (1898) 696, τοῦ ἐτέρου δὲ τὸ ὄνομα θὰ πρέπει νὰ συμπληρωθῇ ὡς *Se[rius?] Ragonius Venustus* (πβλ. A. Degrassi *ἐ. δ.* E. J. Bickerman, *ἐ. δ.*).

Χρονολογικῶς ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ αὕτη ἀνήκει εἰς τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Γορδιανοῦ Γ', ἥτοι τὸ 239/40 καὶ μάλιστα ἐντὸς τοῦ 240, ὅτε ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἦτο ἤδη ὑπατος τὸ πρῶτον περιβληθεὶς τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν τὸ τρίτον¹³. Οἱ πρὸς τέλεσιν ἀγῶνες κυνηγεσίων καὶ μονομαχιῶν εἶναι ὁμοίως τριήμεροι ὡς καὶ προηγουμένως, ὡς ἡμερομηνία δὲ ἐνάρξεως τῶν ὀρίζεται καὶ πάλιν ἡ 25ῃ Ἰουνίου. Ἡ «ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ» ὅμως ἀναγραφὴ τοῦ κειμένου τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἐκτελεῖται τὴν 17ην τοῦ μηνὸς Πανήμου, ἥτοι δύο ἡμέρας ἀργότερον τῆς πρώτης ἐπιγραφῆς. Διοργανωταὶ καὶ χορηγοὶ τὴν φορὰν ταύτην εἶναι ὁ Λεύκιος Σεπτίμιος Ἰνστυριανὸς Ἀλέξανδρος, μακεδονιάρχης καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν (:) καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ ἡ σύζυγός του Αἰλία Ἀλεξάνδρα, ἡ ἀρχιερεῖα, ἀμφότεροι γνωστοὶ καὶ ἐξ ἐνὸς τιμητικοῦ βωμοῦ, τὸν ὅποιον ἀνήγειρεν ἡ δευτέρα διὰ τὸν πρῶτον κατόπιν ἀποφάσεως τῆς βουλῆς τῆς πόλεως τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης¹⁴.

Ἡ κατὰ τὴν ἐτησίαν συνέλευσιν τῶν ἀντιπροσώπων τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐν Βεροίᾳ¹⁵, μεταξὺ ἄλλων ἐκδηλώσεων, τέλεσις καὶ ἀγώνων σχέσιν ἐχόντων πρὸς τὴν αὐτοκρατορολατρείαν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου μ.Χ. αἰῶνος καὶ πρὸς τὴν λόγῳ ἀναζωπυρήσεως τῶν ἀναμνήσεων τοῦ ἐνδόξου παρελθόντος παρατηρηθεῖσαν ἀλεξανδρολατρείαν, παραδίδεται δυστυχῶς κατὰ τρόπον οὐχὶ πλήρως

12. Ὑπόδειξις Στ. Κουμανοῦδη, τὸν ὅποιον καὶ εὐχαριστῶ.

13. R. Cagnat *ἐ. δ.* 216. Περὶ τοῦ Γορδιανοῦ ὄρα H. Bengston *ἐ. δ.* 385 κ.ἑ.

14. Σ. Πιλεκίδης, *Ἀπὸ τὴν πολιτεία* κλπ. 76 - 77. Δ. Κανατσούλη, *ἐ. δ.* 88 - 89.

15. Δ. Κανατσούλη, *ἐ. δ.* 39 κ.ἑ.

διαφωτιστικὸν πάντοτε, συχνὰ δὲ ἀποσπασματικὸν καὶ ἐλλιπὴ, κυρίως διὰ τῶν ἀρχαιολογικῶν εὐρημάτων. Αἱ νομισματικαὶ ἐκδόσεις τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ τῆς πόλεως τῆς Βεροίας καὶ τὰ ἐπιγραφικὰ κείμενα ἀποτελοῦν τὸ μόνον ὀλικόν, τὸ ὅποσον διαθέτομεν σήμερον διὰ τὴν ἀντλήσιν τῶν περὶ τὴν διεξαγωγὴν καὶ τὴν ὀνομασίαν τῶν ἐν λόγῳ ἀγώνων γνώσεών μας.

Οὕτω ἐφ' ἑνὸς χρυσοῦ νομισματοσήμου ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ τοῦ Aboukir, εἰς τὴν ὀπισθίαν ὀψιν καὶ ἐπὶ κίονος ἀναγινώσκομεν ἀνάγλυφον τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ ΔΟC, τοῦτέστιν ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ τοῦ ἔτους 242/243. (*ΔΕΝΑ* 10 (1907), πίν. XII, 1). Ἐπὶ ἐνίων χαλκῶν αὐτονόμων νομισμάτων τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ τῆς πόλεως τῆς Βεροίας ὑπάρχει ἡ χρονολογία ΕΟC, ἥτοι 243/244 (*SNG Cop.* 134. Βέροια. Caebler III (Βέροια), 2. (Μακεδονία), 59, 60)· τέλος τὰ φέροντα τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν Β ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ χαλκᾷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Gaebler καὶ Head τοποθετοῦνται ἐντὸς τοῦ ἔτους 246 (Caebler III (Μακεδονία), 61. Head *HN*, 241).

Ἐκ τῶν μέχρι τοῦδε ἀνευρεθεῖσθαι ἐπιγραφῶν, ἡ μὲν τοῦ Οὐαλερίου Ἐκλέκτου (L. Moretti, *IAG* (1953), 263 ἀρ. 90) ἀναφέρει μεταξὺ ἄλλων ἀγώνων καὶ Ὀλύμπια ἐν Βεροίᾳ ἀγνωστον ὁμῶς ποίῳ ἔτους· ἡ τοῦ Δομιτίου Εὐρυδίκου (*Harv. Theol. Review* 41 (1948) 196) παραδίδει τὸν τίτλον τοῦ πρεσβυτάρχου τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἀνευ οὐδενὸς ἑτέρου χρονολογικοῦ στοιχείου, ἡ δὲ ἐξ Ἡρακλείας τῆς Θράκης ἀγωνιστικὴ ἐπιγραφὴ (*IGR* I, ἀρ. 802) παραδίδει Ἀλεξάνδρεια Ὀλύμπια ἐν Βεροίᾳ, χωρὶς πάλιν νὰ καθίσταται δυνατὸς ὁ προσδιορισμὸς τοῦ ἔτους τελέσεώς των.

Ἐν ἀντιθέσει πρὸς τὰ ἀνωτέρω, χάρις εἰς τὰς δύο νέας ἐπιγραφάς, αἱ πληροφορίαι αὐξάνουν. Κατ' ἀρχὰς δίδονται μετὰ πραγματικῆς σχολαστικότητος, τόσον κατὰ τὴν ρωμαϊκὴν ὥσον καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἑλληνικὴν διπλὴν χρονολογίαν, τὸ ἔτος, ὁ μὴν καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα τελέσεως τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ ἰδρύσεως τῶν μνημείων, παραδίδεται δὲ καὶ τρόπον τινά, ἐμμέσως, ἡ ἐπίσημος ὀνομασία τούτων (*Ἀγὼν Ἀλεξάνδρειος ἱερὸς, οἰκουμενικὸς, Ἰσολαστικός, Ἰσάκτιος*).

Ἐν συνόψει τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν νομισματικῶν καὶ ἐπιγραφικῶν πηγῶν παραδιδόμενα ἔτη, καθ' ἃ διεξήχθησαν ἀγῶνες εἶναι τὰ ἑξῆς:

Ἔτος 229 μὴν Ἰούνιος (α' ἡμετέρα ἐπιγραφὴ)

Ἔτος 240 » » (β' » »)

Ἔτος 243 πιθανώτατα μὴν Ἰούνιος (χρυσὸν νομισματοσήμον)

Ἔτος 243 » » » (χαλκᾷ νομίσματα)

Ἔτος 246 » » » (» »)

Ὁ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 240 λαβὼν χώραν χαρακτηρίζεται, ὥς εἶδομεν, *ἱερὸς οἰκουμενικὸς* κλπ, ὥς τοιοῦτος δὲ θὰ πρέπη νὰ ἐκκληθῇ ὁ τοῦ ἔτους 243 ἀφ' ἑνός, ὁπότε ἔχομεν τὴν κοπὴν τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἀναμνηστικοῦ νομισματοσήμου ¹⁶

16. Διὰ τὴν χρονολόγησιν τοῦ νομισματοσήμου βλ. σ. 289, Ἐπίμετρον.

μέ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ ΔΟC, καὶ τοῦ ἔτους 246 ἀφ' ἑτέρου, ὅποτε ἐξεδόθησαν τὰ χαλκᾶ μέ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ Β ΕΝ ΒΕΡΟΙΑ νομίσματα, ἴσως δὲ καὶ τὸ ὁμοίως χρυσοῦν νομισματοδότημον τὸ φέρον τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ.

Διαγράφεται οὕτω μία σειρὰ τριῶν συναπτῶν περιόδων, καθ' ἃς διεξήχθησαν οἰκουμενικοὶ ἀγῶνες κατὰ τὴν καὶ ὑπὸ ἄλλων κοινῶν ἐπικρατοῦσαν συνήθειαν.

Οἱ ὑπόλοιποι, οἱ τῶν ἐτῶν 229 καὶ 244, θὰ πρέπει νὰ εἶναι ἀπλῶς οἱ φέροντες ὁμοίως τὴν ὀνομασίαν ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ κατ' ἔτος τελοῦμενοι ἐπαρχιακοὶ μὲν ἀγῶνες οὐχὶ ὅμως καὶ οἰκουμενικοὶ, ἐορταζόμενοι δηλαδὴ μετ' ἰδιαίτερας λαμπρότητος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείας διὰ τῆς συμμετοχῆς προφανῶς καὶ ἀθλητῶν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς ρωμαϊκῆς ἐπικρατείας.

Ἡ ἐπωνυμία ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ ἴσως νὰ προστεθῇ εἰς τὴν ὀνομασίαν ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ, πιθανώτατα δὲ μόνον διὰ τοὺς οἰκουμενικοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔτους 243 καὶ ἐντεῦθεν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τῶν ΟΛΥΜΠΙΩΝ ἐν Δίφ.

ΕΠΙΜΕΤΡΟΝ

Σχετικῶς μέ τὸν καθορισμὸν τοῦ χρόνου κοπῆς τοῦ φέροντος τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ ΔΟC χρυσοῦ ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ τοῦ Αβουκίρ νομισματοσήμου, ἡ ὑποστηριχθεῖσα ἐντὸς τοῦ ἔτους 242 χρονολόγησις αὐτοῦ, νομίζομεν, ὅτι δὲν εὐσταθεῖ καὶ διὰ τοὺς λόγους, οἱ ὅποιοι ἐξετέθησαν ἀνωτέρω κατὰ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῶν δύο νέων ἐπιγραφῶν, καὶ δι' ἄλλους οἱ ὅποιοι ἐξάγονται ἐκ τῆς ἀνασκοπῆσεως τῶν ἱστορικῶν γεγονότων τῆς περιόδου.

Ὡς γνωστὸν ὁ Γορδιανὸς Γ' ἐκινήθη ἐναντίον τῶν Νεοπερσῶν¹⁷ τὴν ἀνοιξιν τοῦ ἔτους 242, συνοδευόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμπειροτάτου περὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ πένθεροῦ τοῦ Φουρίου Τιμησιθέου καὶ ὑπὸ ἱκανοῦ ἀριθμοῦ στρατευμάτων. Θέσας εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὡς σκοπὸν του καὶ τὴν καθ' ὁδὸν πρὸς Μεσοποταμίαν καταπολέμησιν τῶν εἰς Μοισίαν εἰσβαλόντων γερμανικῶν φύλων, ἠκολούθησεν πιθανώτατα τὴν διὰ τῆς Ἄνω Ἰταλίας, Ραιτίας, Νωρικοῦ, Παννονίας, Μοισίας καὶ Θράκης ὁδόν.

Αἱ κατὰ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν στιφῶν ἐπιτυχίαι του κατοπρίζονται ἐπὶ τῶν νομισματικῶν ἐκδόσεων τῶν πόλεων τῆς Ἄνω Μοισίας καὶ τῆς Νοτίου Θράκης.

Ἡ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς τελευταίας μετάβασίς του εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῆς Βεροίας, ὡς ὑπεστηρίχθη, ἵνα οὗτος παραστῇ αὐτοπροσώπως εἰς τοὺς οἰκουμενικοὺς τοῦ ἔτους 242 κατὰ μῆνα Ὀκτώβριον ἀγῶνας τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων,

17. Εἰδικὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ θέματος ἡ μελέτη τοῦ Δ. Κανατσούλη, *Οἱ πόλεμοι τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Γορδιανοῦ Γ' κατὰ τῶν Γερμανῶν καὶ Περσῶν*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1966.

κρίνεται καὶ ἀδύνατος καὶ δυσχερὴς καὶ ἄσκοπος. Ἀδύνατος, καθόσον, ἀποδειχθέντος ἤδη ὅτι οἱ ἀγῶνες ἐτελοῦντο κατὰ μῆνα Ἰούνιον, ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ δὲν εἶχεν πλέον λόγον νὰ μεταβῇ εἰς Βέροϊαν· δυσχερὴς δὲ καὶ ἄσκοπος, καθόσον, πιστεύομεν, ὅτι ἡ χάριν προσωπικῆς προβολῆς ἐγκατάλειψις τοῦ πρὸς Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκ Θράκης βαδίζοντος κυρίου ὄγκου τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἀσχέτως ἐὰν οὗτος ὠδηγεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιμησιθέου, δὲν ἦτο ἐνδεδειγμένη τὴν στιγμὴν ἐκείνην.

Τὴν ἐκκαθάρισιν τῶν εὐρωπαϊκῶν συνόρων ἀκολουθεῖ ἡ φθίνοντος τοῦ ἔτους 242 καὶ μέχρι τῶν μέσων τοῦ ἔτους 243 ραγδαία κατάληψις τῶν πόλεων τῆς Μεσοποταμίας καὶ ἡ κατατρόπωσις τῶν στρατευμάτων τοῦ Sharor A'.

Ὁ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυχίων λοιπὸν τούτων ἀντίκτυπος καὶ ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἀπωθήσεως τοῦ εἰσβολέως προσωπικὸς θρίαμβος τοῦ Γορδιανοῦ, νομίζομεν, ὅτι εἶχον ὡς ἐπακόλουθον καὶ τὴν ἐπ' εὐκαιρίᾳ τῆς τελέσεως τῶν κατὰ μῆνα Ἰούνιον τοῦ ἔτους 243 οἰκουμενικῶν ἀγώνων τοῦ κοινοῦ κοπὴν τοῦ περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος χρυσοῦ νομισματοσήμου—γεγονὸς πολὺ φυσικὸν ἐξ ἄλλου, ἀφ' οὗ βεβαίως εἰς τὸν τόπον καταγωγῆς τοῦ πάντοτε ζῶντος εἰς τὴν σφαῖραν τοῦ μύθου νεαροῦ στρατηλάτου καὶ καταλυτοῦ τοῦ κράτους τῶν Ἀχαιμενιδῶν, αἱ ἐπιτυχίαι τοῦ Γορδιανοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν Σασσανιδῶν ἔφερον αὐτομάτως εἰς τὴν μνήμην τῶν Μακεδόνων τὰς λαμπρὰς στιγμὰς μιᾶς ἄλλης ἐποχῆς.

Γενικὴ Διεύθυνσις Ἀρχαιοτήτων
καὶ Ἀναστηλώσεως

ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ Π. ΤΟΥΡΑΤΣΟΓΛΟΥ

POLYBIUS AND MACEDONIA

1

For rather more than 150 years Macedonia dominated the history of the Mediterranean world; and for rather longer—in fact from the reign of Philip II to that of Perseus—the relations between Macedonia and the states of Greece proper gave rise to quite bitter and violent political controversy. The issues debated by Aeschines and Demosthenes during Philip II's rise to power are central in this conflict; but far from being resolved by Philip's victory, they continued to attract attention throughout the third century and well into the second, when the historian Polybius is a witness to the importance which the Macedonian question still held in the new context of the Roman advance to world domination. Confronted by the fall of Macedonia, Greeks inevitably pondered upon her rise to power; and commenting upon the final disaster at Pydna in 168, Polybius quotes with wonder the prophetic remarks uttered by Demetrius of Phalerum after the overthrow of the Persian empire by Alexander.

"Can you imagine," Demetrius had written in his *Περὶ Τύχης*,¹ "that if some god had warned the Persians or their king, or the Macedonians or their king, that in fifty years the very name of the Persians, who once were masters of the world, would have been lost, and that the Macedonians whose name was before scarcely known, would become masters of it, they would have believed it? Nevertheless, it is true that Fortune, whose influence on our life is incalculable, who displays her power by surprises, is even now, I think, showing all mankind, by her elevation of the Macedonians into the high prosperity once enjoyed by the Persians, that she has merely lent them these advantages until she may otherwise determine concerning them." Polybius was writing at a time when Rome had already ousted Macedonia as Macedonia had then ousted Persia, and he affects to regard Demetrius' words as "more divine than those of a mere man—for," he adds, "nearly a hundred and fifty years ago he uttered the truth about what was to happen afterwards."²

The demoting of Macedonia was the reverse side of the rise of Rome. It

1. Polyb. xxix. 21.4-6 = *FGH* 228 F 39.

2. Polyb. xxix.21.9.

stretched over the years from 220 to 168, which constituted the period covered by Polybius' history in its original form, and it involved problems of allegiance and political decisions affecting both Rome and Macedonia in which the historian was personally involved. That is one reason why he is a valid witness on this theme. A second is his very special position in the controversy. As a Megalopolitan he inherited attitudes towards Macedonia which went back to the fourth century and were very different from those of Demosthenes.

The people of Megalopolis, he tells us,³ were well disposed towards the royal house of Macedonia ever since the favours received in the time of Philip, son of Amyntas; Megalopolis, we know, had acquired border territories in Sciritis, Belbinatis, and perhaps Aegyitis, from Sparta, following on the decisions of the Hellenic League after Chaeronea.⁴ It was indeed for this reason that when the Achaeans, threatened by Cleomenes III of Sparta, decided to sound Antigonus Doson of Macedonia on the possibility of an agreement and the sending of military help, the first negotiations were carried out by two men from Megalopolis, Nicophanes and the Cynic writer Cercidas, who might reasonably expect a friendly reception at the court of Pella.⁵ Cercidas, we may note, as not without interest, was almost certainly the descendant of the Cercidas who had been attacked by Demosthenes in the *De Corona*⁶ and by Theopompus in his *Philippica*⁷ as a traitor to Greece. Polybius takes up the defence of the elder Cercidas against Demosthenes in the course of a very revealing digression on the nature of treachery.⁸ I shall return to this passage below.

2

Polybius' *History*, including its introductory books, went back to the beginning of the First Punic War and for Greece it contained a sketch of the rise of the Achaean Confederacy. The revival of Achaea in the third century and its extension of federal government to cover a large part of the Peloponnese, including Argos, Corinth and Megalopolis, was one of the most significant political achievements of its time and one of which an Achaean historian could be justifiably proud.⁸ Looking back from the time at which he was

3. Polyb. ii.48.2; cf. ix.28.7, 33.8-12, xviii.14.6-7.

4. Cf. *Syll.* 665 lines 19-20 (a second-century arbitration settlement between Megalopolis and Sparta referring to this assignment); cf. Livy, xxxviii. 34.8 (where *Achaeorum* is incorrect). See my comments in *Commentary on Polybius* ii on ix. 33.12.

5. Polyb. ii.48.4.

6. Demosth. xviii.295.

7. Theopompus, *Philippica* xv = *FGH* 115 F 119.

8. For Polybius' account of the rise of Achaea see ii.37-44.

writing in the first half of the second century, Polybius saw a continuous line of growth from the refounding of the confederacy in 280/79 down to the inclusion of Sparta under Philopoemen, which he may well have seen as a smaller scale parallel to the rise of Rome to world dominion during approximately the same period.

Unfortunately the relations of Achaea and Macedonia were not wholly free from embarrassment. For Polybius could hardly conceal the fact that whereas the first steps to Achaean unity under Margus and Aratus had been taken in opposition to Antigonos Gonatas, it was this same Aratus who under pressure from Sparta had subsequently brought back the Macedonian phalanx and Macedonian garrisons into the Peloponnese. That the rise of Achaea should involve opposition to Macedonia had been inevitable. Any early attempts at independence had been thwarted by the Spartans or more particularly by Macedonia,⁹ whose kings had dissolved the fourth century confederation,¹⁰ and set up a system of garrisons and tyrants to hold down the peoples of the Peloponnese.¹¹ From his liberation of Corinth in mid-summer 243¹² it was Aratus' purpose to expel the Macedonians from the Peloponnese;¹³ he had no scruple in using any method in opposition to Antigonos Gonatas, and later continued this policy by persuading the tyrants, who were financed by Gonatas' successor, Demetrius II,¹⁴ to lay down their rule. By 228 those of Megalopolis, Argos, Hermione and Phlius had all thrown in their lot with the Achaean confederation.¹⁵

For his account of these stirring events Polybius could follow a first-hand, if not wholly impartial, source, the *Memoirs* of Aratus himself.¹⁶ Polybius admits¹⁷ that this work omitted certain details, and these omissions were especially noticeable in the next period, where Aratus came to describe the difficult situation which led to the rapprochement with Antigonos Doson and the return of the Macedonian garrison to the Acrocorinth. Accord-

9. Polyb. ii.39.12.

10. Polyb. ii.40.5, 41.9; cf. iv.1.5.

11. Polyb. ii.41.10; cf. ix.29.6.

12. Polyb. ii.43.4; Plut. *Arat.* 21.2.

13. Polyb. ii.43.7.

14. Polyb. ii.44.3.

15. Polyb. ii.44.5-6; *Arat.* 34.7, 35.5.

16. Polyb. i.3.2, ii.47.11, 56.2, iv.2.1; Polybius states that he has used Aratus' *Memoirs* for the Cleomenean War (ii.56.2) and he will have done so for the earlier history of the confederation as well.

17. Polyb. ii.47.11.

ing to a passage in Plutarch's *Cleomenes*¹⁸ Aratus later filled his *Memoirs* with abuse of Doson. This assertion creates a problem, for the two men had no contact until Aratus opened negotiations with the king in the autumn of 227 and thereafter relations were cordial down to Doson's death. Why then should Aratus have abused Doson? It has been suggested¹⁹ that Plutarch was referring not to Doson, but to Gonatas; but such careless writing is hard to credit, and it seems on the whole more likely that Plutarch copied this statement from Phylarchus,²⁰ the pro-Spartan historian who wrote in opposition to Aratus. For elsewhere,²¹ in a passage in the *Life of Aratus*, which also appears to echo criticism put out by Phylarchus,²² Plutarch says that some people judged it wrong that Aratus should have brought back as masters in the cities of the Peloponnese, though in the guise of allies, men whom he constantly defeated in the fields of war and politics and abused in his *Memoirs*. Here the reference is clearly to the pact with Doson, yet the defeating of the Macedonians (and probably the abuse of them) belongs to an earlier period in Aratus' career. It therefore seems likely that in the passage from the *Cleomenes* Phylarchus has tendentiously interpreted this general abuse of the Macedonians as abuse of Doson in person. It is, I suppose, just possible that Plutarch has himself misinterpreted the more general reference which he found in his source; but this seems less likely, since Plutarch was of course familiar with the *Memoirs* of Aratus himself. At any rate, all mention of Doson in Polybius, who will here be following Aratus' *Memoirs*, is favourable. He is a man of energy and sound sense, who claimed also to be a man of honour—though indeed, Polybius adds, it is natural for kings to measure enmity and friendship by the standard of expediency.²³ Faced with the outcry of the Argives, whose territory Cleomenes had ravaged, he remained unmoved "like a true general and king;"²⁴ and after meeting and defeating Cleo-

18. Plut. *Cleom.* 16.3.

19. By M. Klatt, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des achäischen Bundes: Quellen und Chronologie des Kleomenischen Krieges*, (Berlin, 1877), 6 ff.

20. For Phylarchus see Jacoby, *FGH* 81 and my *Commentary*, i.259 on Polyb. ii.56-63; add T. W. Africa *Phylarchus and the Spartan Revolution*, (Berkeley-Los Angeles), 1961; E. Gabba, *Athenaeum*, 1957, 1-101.

21. Cf. Plut. *Arat.* 38.4, μηδὲ οὐς αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι καταστρατηγῶν καὶ καταπολιτευόμενος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι λοιδορῶν διετέλει, τοῦτους ἐπάγεσθω δεσπότης ταῖς πόλεσι συμμάχους ὑποκοριζόμενον.

22. Cf. Plut. *Arat.* 38.8. where Phylarchus is mentioned as a source for Aratus' early approach to Macedonia.

23. Polyb. ii.47.5.

24. Polyb. ii.64.6; for Polybius' attitude towards kings see K.W. Welwei, *Könige und Königtum im Urteil des Polybios*, (Diss. Köln, 1963).

menes at Sellasia, a battle in which both kings showed themselves to be gifted and equally matched,²⁵ he went on to treat Sparta with generosity and humanity.²⁶ In Achaea he was given every honour imaginable to immortalize his memory,²⁷ and then returned north to an early death, having aroused high hopes in Greece both by his military skill and even more because of his lofty principles and character.²⁸

Doson may indeed have been an excellent man and a trustworthy ally. But one cannot restrain the suspicion that the high praise which he receives in Polybius and (if I am right) received in Aratus' *Memoirs*, cannot be wholly divorced from the political situation which drove Aratus to seek his help against Cleomenes. Whatever the truth of this, for the next quarter of a century Achaea was to be tied to the Macedonian alliance, not always to her advantage. Apart from the substantial power exercised by the Macedonian king through his military occupation of Orchomenus, Heraea, Alipheira, Triphylia, and the Acrocorinth,²⁹ he seems to have assumed the position of *hegemon* of the Achaean Confederation, and a law was passed requiring the magistrates to summon an assembly whenever he requested.³⁰ This bond involved Achaea in severe losses during the first Macedonian War against Rome; but Philip V, Doson's successor, gave every help in his power to his Peloponnesian allies, and the alliance was never seriously endangered.

3.

The First Macedonian War arose out of Philip V's ill-advised policy of expansion towards the Adriatic and his alliance with Hannibal.³¹ The Romans in return, as soon as their position in Italy allowed them to undertake a serious approach to any Greek state, made an alliance with the Aetolian Confederation in autumn 211,³² the terms of which allowed for the bringing in of Elis, Sparta, perhaps Messene, Attalus of Pergamum, and the Illyrian chieftains Pleuratus and Scerdilaidas. An appeal to Sparta followed quite soon and in the following spring Polybius records speeches delivered at Sparta by Aetolian and Acarnanian envoys, the one urging and the other opposing the proposed Roman alliance.³³ The authenticity of these speeches has

25. Polyb.ii.66.4.

26. Polyb.ii.70.1.

27. Polyb. ii.70.5; for details see my *Commentary*, ad loc.

28. Polyb.ii.70.7, τὴν δὲ λὴν αἰρεσιν καὶ καλοκάγαθίαν.

29. Polyb. ii.52.3-4, iv.6.4-6; Livy, xxxii.5.4-6.

30. Polyb.iv.85.3, v.1.6; Plut. *Arat.*38.9; cf.24.4.

31. For their treaty see Polyb. vii.9.

32. Livy, xxvi.24.1-14; on the chronology see my *Commentary on Polybius* ii.11-13, 162-3.

33. Polyb.ix.28-39; see my *Commentary* ad loc.

been challenged; and certainly Polybius was to some extent at the mercy of his available sources—in this case perhaps literary, though we do not know what they were. He does, however, insist quite vehemently and on several occasions that the speeches included in a history should record the actual content and not become a vehicle for elegant composition, and we are, I believe, entitled to regard those recorded as having been delivered at Sparta on this occasion as a faithful account of the arguments that were in fact used.³⁴

The significant feature of these speeches is that the arguments for and against the Roman alliance were concerned not so much with the immediate situation and the character of the Romans, but with the role of Macedonia in Greece—and again not with the person of Philip V, but rather with the record of his predecessors going back to Philip II and Alexander. It is extraordinary how far this discussion in 210 was dominated by the events of fourth-century history and how far the quarrels of Demosthenes and Aeschines were fought out again on the eve of the Roman conquest. For the issue debated at Sparta was briefly: which constitutes the greater danger to Greece, Rome or Macedonia? The arguments were illuminated on both sides with a wide range of *exempla* taken from past history. The two speeches are recorded with great objectivity: and one of the few pointers to Polybius' own sympathies is the fact that the pro-Macedonian speech of Lyciscus, the Acarnanian, is double the length of that of his Aetolian opponent.³⁵ As a citizen of Megalopolis Polybius could be expected to favour the policy of Philip II, who had humbled Sparta and extended the boundaries of Arcadia; as we saw,³⁶ he elsewhere attacked Demosthenes and defended the Arcadian patriots such as Cercidas. Naturally, therefore, his sympathies would lie with Lyciscus, who praises Philip II and his successors on the Macedonian throne, rather than with Chlaeneas, the Aetolian, who in urging the Roman alliance denounces Macedonia as the perennial foe of all Greece. Nevertheless, for Polybius the issue could not be a simple one; for he was writing his *History* not in Greece at the time of the First Macedonian War, when the Romans were still strangers and, as Lyciscus calls them, barbarians,³⁷ but in all proba-

34. Cf. Walbank, *Speeches in Greek Historians* (Myres Memorial Lecture, Oxford, 1965), 16-17.

35. The same device appears elsewhere; cf. Polyb. xxxvi. 9, where of the four Greek opinions about Roman action against Carthage in the Third Punic War, the last and longest appears to be that of Polybius himself.

36. Above, pp. 17-18.

37. ix.37.6; cf. v.104.1, xviii.22.8; Livy, xxxi, 29.15 (from Polybius). But Polybius

bility while still a detainee at Rome after 168, when the victory over Perseus at Pydna had brought Alexander's monarchy to an end and had suggested to Polybius himself the great theme of his *History*—"how and thanks to what sort of constitution the Romans in less than 53 years had succeeded in subjecting nearly the whole inhabited world to their sole government—a thing unique in history."³⁸

Since the First Macedonian War, then, the issue had changed. The Macedonian alliance, agreeable though it no doubt appeared to the men of Megalopolis, had turned out to be only a temporary episode in Achaean history. Earlier Aratus had secured Achaean independence at the expense of the Macedonians; and in the Second Macedonian War the Achaeans were to go over to Rome and fight actively against Philip. Throughout Polybius' childhood the Roman alliance had been the dominant factor in Achaean policy; yet it had ended in the *débauche* of the Third Macedonian War, and had turned sour on its more independent-minded supporters following Pydna, when 1,000 leading Achaeans including Polybius himself were transported to Italy and held there without trial. Looking back to the debate of 210 the issue on which the Spartans were called upon to decide can scarcely have seemed a clear one. Polybius must surely have been asking himself questions such as: Had the Achaeans been correct in their policy? Was the Macedonian alliance right in the first war with Rome and wrong in the second? And if so, what were the true criteria of wise policy—and of political morality? I have elsewhere ³⁹ suggested that it was partly because of the far-reaching nature of these issues that Polybius developed the speeches delivered by Chlaeneas and Lyciscus at such length in his *History*.

Briefly their arguments were these. According to Chlaeneas ⁴⁰ the Macedonians could make no reasonable claim at all on Greek loyalty or support. Philip II had crushed Chalcidice, the cities of Thrace, and Thessaly; his alleged generosity to Athens after Chaeronea was simply a trick to trap others; he had gone on to invade Laconia and had given away Spartan territory to Argos, Tegea and Megalopolis. Alexander had destroyed Thebes. Antipater had sent out his thugs to hunt down refugees. Cassander, Demetrius I and Antigonos Gonatas had held the Greeks in subjection by the aid of tyrannies and garrisons; and Doson had intervened merely to humiliate Sparta and did not himself regard the Romans as barbarians and never so describes them: see my note on ix. 37.6.

38. Polyb.i.1.5; repeated frequently (for references see my *Commentary* i, ad loc.).

39. *Op. cit.* (n.34), 17.

40. Polyb.ix. 28-31.

prevent her from securing hegemony in the Peloponnese. Finally, Philip V himself had committed impious outrages at Thermum and Messene.

To this Lyciscus⁴¹ replies that Philip II was on the contrary the liberator of Thessaly from its tyrants and of Delphi from the Phocians; if he invaded Laconia, it was at the instigation of his allies, and all issues were referred to arbitration. Alexander, his successor, had destroyed the power of Persia and removed the wealth with which the Great King had hitherto subsidised either Athens or Thebes against Sparta (an ingenious touch in a speech aiming to win Spartan support!). Next, after a passage devoted to the misdeeds of the Aetolians, Lyciscus asks the pertinent question: if we owe thanks to Aetolia for saving Delphi from the barbarians, what do we owe to Macedonia, which has perpetually protected the northern frontiers and so acted as a bulwark for Greece? The catastrophe of Brennus' Galatian inroad was a proof of this, for it only occurred following the death of Ptolemy Ceraunus. As for Philip V's alleged impieties, they were merely a reply to Aetolian outrages at Dium and Dodona; and the Spartans should remember Doson's benevolent actions, for which they had hailed him benefactor and saviour. Furthermore, the situation had recently changed. Aetolia was now allied with barbarians. This was no longer a conflict between men of the same race, ὁμόφυλοι —Achaean, Aetolian, and Macedonian—but Greece was threatened by men of foreign race, ἀλλόφυλοι, who once victorious would enslave her. Perhaps at this point a digression is in order, to draw attention to the fact that to Lyciscus, and probably to Polybius, the Macedonians were ὁμόφυλοι with the Greeks. There is other evidence pointing in the same direction. A Macedonian speaker in Livy,⁴² who is here following Polybius, speaks of "Aetolas, Acarnanas, Macedonas, eiusdem linguae homines"—though indeed speech and race are not necessarily identical. The Romans⁴³ in contrast are *alieni gentis*. In this there is a change since the fourth century when some at least queried the Macedonian claim to be accounted Greeks. Isocrates, for example, says of the founder of the Macedonian kingdom—in a work devoted to laudation of Philip II—«μόνος γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐχ ὁμοφύλου γένους ἄρχειν ἀξιόσας» and even Plutarch, perhaps steeped in earlier traditions (or echoing Aratus' *Memoirs*), describes Aratus' recovery of the Acrocorinth as an action carried out against an ἐπακτὸν ἀρχὴν... καὶ ἀλλόφυλον. But by the third century Macedonia no longer seemed foreign in the same way as Romans or Illy-

41. Polyb. ix. 32-39.

42. Livy, xxxi. 29. 15.

43. Livy, xxxi. 29. 12, 29. 15.

rians—however welcome the “liberation” by Flamininus. To return to Lyciscus—his final words are on precisely this theme. Sparta has a great tradition of resisting barbarians, shown in her refusal of earth and water to Xerxes and the heroic death of Leonidas; she should not now make common cause with barbarians against almost the whole of the Greeks (except for Aetolia).

In fact, Sparta joined Aetolia and Rome. The war followed its course to the separate peace between Philip and Aetolia in 206 and the more comprehensive Peace of Phoenice in 205. In 200, for reasons which it would be irrelevant to pursue here, the Roman legions were back in Greece, and both the Aetolians and Achaeans had to make the decision whether to join in the war and if so on which side. For Aetolia only questions of expediency were involved: for forty years Aetolia and Macedonia had enjoyed unfriendly neutrality or open hostility. But for Achaea the issues debated at Sparta in 210 had now to be faced in circumstances in which Macedonia could offer little help and the Romans were more completely committed.

4.

The Achaeans postponed a decision for two years: but in October 198 the question was debated at a meeting held at Sicyon, where the Achaean general for 199/8, Aristaenus, a supporter of the Roman side, addressed a confused audience in terms of undisguised self-interest, appealing at once to their sense of self-preservation and to the obvious futility of continuing to support Philip. We have his speech only in Livy,⁴⁴ but it represents Polybius' original in substance.⁴⁵ The case it made was overwhelming, and Polybius himself has no doubts of its wisdom. “If Aristaenus,” he says,⁴⁶ “had not at this time opportunely caused the Achaeans to leave their alliance with Philip and join that of Rome, clearly the nation would have been utterly ruined.” Nevertheless, so hard was the decision and so strong the ties binding certain cities, in particular Dyme, Megalopolis and Argos, to Macedonia, that despite the high-handed treatment which the Achaeans had at various times received from Philip, the representatives of the first two of these cities and certain of those from Argos rose and left the assembly rather than be a party to the desertion; and recognising their special ties of obligation towards Macedonia, the remainder showed neither surprise nor disapproval.⁴⁷ Moreover,

44. Livy, xxxii.19-21.

45. A. Aymard, *Premiers Rapports de Rome et de la Confédération achaienne* (Bordeaux, 1938), 91-2; cf. G. A. Lehmann, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Glaubwürdigkeit des Polybios* (Münster, 1967), 218 n.144.

46. Polyb. xviii.13.8.

47. Livy, xxxii.22.8-12 (Polybian).

Argos went further. Shortly afterwards⁴⁸ she threw off her allegiance to the confederation and called in Philip's general, Philocles. Nor was Argos alone. Already the populace in Corinth had rallied to the Macedonians and resisted an attempt by an Achaean army to liberate the Acrocorinth, perhaps the most famous of the so-called "fetters of Greece."⁴⁹

It is clear that despite self-interest Achaea was deeply torn by this decision; and it is significant that Polybius' judgement on it, which I have just quoted, comes in a digression in book xviii on the subject of treachery.⁵⁰ This passage has given rise to a great deal of controversy, since the context in which Polybius was led to discuss the subject is not clear from the extract itself. We know⁵¹ that at the conference held in Locris in November 198 Philip reproached the Achaeans for their inconsistency and ingratitude in abandoning him, and Schweighauser took the view⁵² that the digression on treachery sprang directly out of Polybius' discussion of the decision at Sicyon. Gabba⁵³ agreed with this, adding the further suggestion that the reference to the fourth-century statesmen accused by Demosthenes of treachery, who were in Polybius' eyes genuine patriots, was a hinted defence of Aratus, whom many Greeks had accused of treachery to Achaea when he called in Antigonus Doson.⁵⁴ I have pointed out elsewhere⁵⁵ that once Polybius has defined a traitor as a man who calls in a foreign power and admits a foreign garrison,⁵⁶ the conduct of Aratus so obviously falls under this heading that had Polybius even had it in mind, he must have defended his hero from the charge by more than tacit hints; it seems then more probable that the case of Aratus never even crossed his mind. It is, however, clear that the case of Aristaenus did, for, as we have seen, he refers specifically to Aristaenus' action,⁵⁷ and it seems undeniable that its justification at this momentous time was one important reason for this digression. On the other hand, the digression was included in book xviii at a point after the conference in Locris, whereas Aristaenus' change of Achaean policy must have been recorded in the lost book xvii;

48. Livy, xxxii.25.1-12.

49. Livy, xxxii.23.3-13; Pausan.vii.8.2; Zon.ix.16; App.*Maced.*7.

50. Polyb.xviii.13-15; for discussion and bibliography of works dealing with this controversial passage see my *Commentary* ii, ad loc.

51. Polyb.xviii.6.7.

52. Schweighauser, viii.331.

53. *Athenaeum*, 1957, 30 ff.

54. Polyb.xviii.14.

55. In my *Commentary* ad loc.

56. Polyb.xviii.15.2.

57. Polyb.xviii.13.8-10.

there was no reason why Polybius should revert to it directly here.⁵⁸ There have been other suggested explanations of the digression which I need not consider; for the most likely theory yet proposed is, I believe, that of Aymard, namely that the act of treachery to which Polybius is primarily referring is that of the Argive leaders who had seceded from Achaea and, as I have just mentioned, had let Macedonian troops into their city. They met with speedy retribution when Philip, unable any longer to defend this now distant outpost, handed them over to the tender mercies of Nabis of Sparta.

I should like to discuss this digression a little further, because it reveals very clearly some of the ambiguities and inconsistencies which exist in Polybius' attitude and indeed the Achaean attitude towards Macedonia — inconsistencies brought out vividly in Polybius' remark⁵⁹ that Aristaenus was honoured for his policy ὡς εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτήρα τῆς χώρας — words directly recalling the cult-honours widely accorded to Antigonos Doson after Sellasia! Throughout his discussion at this point Polybius accepts the principle which can be briefly summed up in the phrase, "circumstances alter cases."⁶⁰ His criticism of Demosthenes, introduced at this point, follows the same criterion as his discussion of treachery; it is based on the principle of success. Because Demosthenes' policy led to war with Macedonia and defeat for Athens, he is condemned as responsible for his country's disasters; presumably Polybius was not aware that the fallacy of *post hoc, propter hoc* implied in this argument had already been exposed by Aristotle⁶¹ in relation to this precise example of Demosthenes and Macedonia. This is Polybius' first mistake—to think that success is necessarily the only criterion of political action. On this Pickard-Cambridge has some relevant remarks⁶² in his book, *Demosthenes and the Last Days of Greek Freedom*: "If success is the true and only test of statesmanship Polybius was undoubtedly right. But if political liberty had proved itself so precious that without it the whole of life would have seemed to be lived on a lower plane, success was an altogether unworthy criterion by which to judge the actions of those who were dominated by such a sentiment."

But Polybius was at fault on yet a further point. He judges the issue of resistance to Philip II not in terms of Greece, but against the narrow interests

58. Cf. Aymard, *Études d'histoire ancienne* (Paris, 1967), 354-63.

59. Polyb. xviii.13.10; cf. v.9.10, ix.36.5; IG. v.2.299.

60. Cf. Polyb. xviii.13.11, κατὰ τὰς τῶν καιρῶν περιστάσεις.

61. Arist. *Rhet.* ii.24.8.1401 b.

62. A.W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Demosthenes and the Last Days of Greek Freedom* (New York London, 1914), 490-1.

of his native Arcadia and Messenia — and misjudges it at that, for the notion that after Leuctra Sparta still represented the main danger to Greece is fallacious. Philip II, he remarks,⁶³ allowed all the inhabitants of the Peloponnese “to breathe freely and entertain the thought of liberty” ἀναπνεῦσαι καὶ λαβεῖν ἐλευθερίας ἔννοιαν. The words are unfortunate, for they are precisely the same as he had used three chapters earlier⁶⁴ to describe the proposed liberation from these same Macedonian garrisons after Cynoscephalae; yet the occupation of Corinth and the other bastions of Macedonian power in central Greece was the direct result of Philip II’s victory.

Polybius then can be charged with miscalculating the real threat to Greece in 339: what of 198? The switch from Macedonia to Rome, Aristaenus’ policy, can be defended for Achaea if one does not take the view that the Romans were out to dominate Greece. But, as it happens, Polybius believed that they were; and though in fact the Romans were to withdraw from the so-called “fetters of Greece” — the Acrocorinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, by their services to the Greeks they had established a patron-client relationship which was in the long run to prove an even heavier burden on the land they had liberated than the Macedonian domination.

This discussion of treachery is not, then, one of Polybius’ most successful incursions into political and moral theorising; and before leaving it I will simply mention yet one further inconsistency — that the bland assumption that Demosthenes is to be condemned for putting freedom before peace runs directly counter to Polybius’ own criticisms, voiced elsewhere, of the Thebans⁶⁵ for their neutrality in the Persian War. For there he comments: “Why do we all vaunt our civic equality and liberty of speech and all that we mean by the word freedom, if nothing is more advantageous than peace?”

5.

I have pointed out that the issue of support for Macedonia or Rome was argued largely in terms of historical experience rather than in terms of Philip V’s own policy and character. Nevertheless, Philip V occupies a very central position in Polybius’ *History*. He is presented as the fine young king who suffers a μεταβολή and deteriorates.⁶⁶ In his early years he shows magnanimity

63. Polyb. xviii.14.6.

64. Polyb. xviii.11.4, 11.6.

65. Cf. Polyb. iv.31.5.

66. For Philip’s μεταβολή see Polyb. iv.77.4, v.9.1-12.8, vii.11-14, viii.8.1-4, 12.1-8, ix. 23.9, x.26.7.-10.

and mildness⁶⁷—and a willingness to consult Achaean interests!⁶⁸ He displays speed of movement,⁶⁹ strategical skill and determination,⁷⁰ and maturity of judgement.⁷¹ But the bad influence of Demetrius of Pharos which lay behind his sinister intervention at Messene marked the beginning of a downward path,⁷² and he soon reveals all the typical traits of the tyrant.⁷³ Polybius rejects the view common in antiquity that a man's qualities are inborn and that circumstances merely serve to bring them out. In a passage⁷⁴ which clearly echoes Stoic ideas and phraseology he emphasises the complexity of circumstances which sometimes leads men to dissemble and also the fact that men are often influenced by their friends. This was certainly true of Philip V, whose changes in behaviour are frequently linked with the influence of his favourites—Demetrius of Pharos, Aratus, and others.⁷⁵ In his case Polybius believes that the deterioration to be observed was due to a defect which Philip acquired in the course of his life through listening to bad advice;⁷⁶ to Polybius his inborn characteristics are merely one element among the influences to which in the course of life he was exposed.⁷⁷ Together these effect the change that was so apparent.

Polybius then was interested in Philip V because of the development of his character. But even more he was interested in him because he believed that this *μεταβολή* was an important factor in the process by which Fortune, *Tyche*, brought the whole Mediterranean world under the control of Rome. A central event in that process—an event which Polybius judges by moral criteria—was the pact entered into by Philip and Antiochus III of Syria to plunder the possessions of the child-king of Egypt, Ptolemy V.⁷⁸ For it was as the sequel to this nefarious plot that *Tyche* involved both kings in war with Rome and brought about the ruin of their dynasties, while re-establishing

67. Polyb. iv.24.9, 27.9-10, 77.1-4.

68. Cf. Polyb. iv.72.5-6 (Psophis handed over), 73.2 (Lasion handed over).

69. Polyb. iv.71.

70. Polyb. v.2.1-6.

71. Polyb. iv.82.1, v.29.2.

72. Polyb. v.9-12, 102.1, vii.11, viii.8.4, ix.22.9, xviii.33.6.

73. Cf. Polyb. viii.12, x.26.7-8.

74. Cf. Polyb. ix.22.9; for Stoic parallels see Diog. Laert. vii.89; Galen, *De Hipp. et Plat. plac.* v. p.462 (referring to Chrysippus; see my *Commentary* ad loc.). K. von Fritz, *Histoire et historiens dans l'antiquité* (Vandoeuvres, Genève, 1956), 103-6, would attribute the view to Aristotle; but see my *Commentary* ii on Polyb. x.26.7-10.

75. Cf. Walbank, *Philip V of Macedon* (Cambridge, 1940), 261-2.

76. Cf. Polyb. vii.14.6, ix.22.10.

77. Cf. Polyb. xvi.28.5-6. 78. Cf. Polyb. xv.20. with my *Commentary* ad loc.

that of Ptolemy. This process was of course an integral part of the operation by which *Tyche* made Rome mistress of the Mediterranean within a period of not quite 53 years, and an important aspect of it was the downfall of Philip V at Cynoscephalae and the dethronement of his son Perseus after Pydna in 168.

But the vengeance of *Tyche* on Philip for his treatment of Ptolemy V was not restricted to the destruction of his kingdom; it also involved the ruin of his own house, the murder of his younger son Demetrius and a career of terrorism which made him heartily loathed throughout Macedonia.⁷⁹ The Third Macedonian War, which was to effect the downfall of the Macedonian monarchy and so complete the programme organised by *Tyche*, was planned by Philip V (though waged by his successor). By the time Polybius came to write the history of this war he was already committed to a more or less Roman position, and after years spent in the household of Scipio Aemilianus he had come to identify himself with Roman attitudes and prejudices. His treatment of Perseus is free of the ambiguities that had attended his discussion of the switch made by Achaea from Macedonia to Rome under the leadership of Aristaeus. To Polybius Perseus is the instrument of his father's policy. It is a policy which Polybius records with decided hostility; for although it marshalled a good deal of sympathy in Greece, it was a sympathy that Polybius did not share.

When the Boeotians gave their support to Macedonia, the Roman envoys used their influence to secure the arrest and suicide of pro-Macedonian partisans and the breaking up of the confederacy; Polybius, who has decided that political realism means the choice of Rome rather than Macedonia, condemns the Boeotians for "rashly and inconsiderately espousing the cause of Perseus."⁸⁰ Towards the pro-Macedonian party in Rhodes he is even more uncompromising; he attributes the political affiliations of their leaders Polyaratus and Deinon to their being in debt or else avaricious and unscrupulous,⁸¹ he holds up their policy to abuse and contempt,⁸² and he rails against the unfortunate Rhodians who had made the mistake of supporting Perseus for not having shown the courage or self-respect to commit suicide. In this chapter, which to a modern reader must appear as one of the most despicable Polybius ever wrote, he shows that he is first and foremost a political realist with no sympathy at all for the man who proves to have backed the wrong horse.

79. Cf. Polyb. xxii.18, xxiii.10.

80. Polyb. xxvii.2.10.

81. Polyb. xxvii.7.12.

82. Polyb. xxix. 10-11, 19.

Just as he regards Demosthenes as responsible for the ills that befell Athens⁸³ because his policy of resistance to Philip failed, so too with these contemporary Greeks who did not share his own worldly wisdom in supporting Rome. Common to both situations is the fact that Polybius' judgement is delivered *ex eventu*. One must however be clear: Polybius was not a Quisling. His harsh criticism of Callicrates⁸⁴ and his careful analysis of the difference between the policies of Philopoemen and Aristaenus⁸⁵ show this clearly enough. But he could see no future, but only catastrophe for Greece in the marshalling of support for Perseus of Macedonia. In this he may well have been right; but his percipience is no excuse for the unmitigated contempt which he expresses for those who took a different view.

As Polybius himself tells us, there were many who criticised Rome at this time. Passing judgement on the extinction of the kingdom of Macedonia and the dethroning of Perseus some Greeks, he records,⁸⁶ argued that "far from maintaining the principles by which they had won their supremacy, the Romans were gradually deserting these through a lust for domination like that of Athens and Sparta;" and the treatment of Perseus in 168 represented the prelude to a policy which was to find its conclusion in the wanton destruction of Carthage twenty years later. Polybius records these views without expressing his own attitude towards them; but it seems likely, judging from a passage in Diodorus which appears to be derived from Polybius,⁸⁷ that he approved of terrorism in punishing rebels as a salutary deterrent. For by now, whether from proximity to influential circles in Rome or because the theme of his own history had, as it were, led him to identify himself with the rise of Rome to world power, Polybius could find neither sympathy nor understanding for those who differed or failed.

6.

The division of the old kingdom of Macedonia into four republican states never found favour with its inhabitants;⁸⁸ they quarrelled among themselves because, says Polybius,⁸⁹ "they were unaccustomed to democratic and representative government" ἀήθεις ὄντας δημοκρατικῆς καὶ συνεδριακῆς πολιτείας.

83. See above, pp. 17-18, 25.

84. Cf. Polyb. xxiv.8-13.

85. Ibid.

86. Polyb. xxxvi.9.7.

87. Diod. xxxii.2; see my *Commentary* li on Polyb. x.36.5.

88. On this see, however, the contribution of Dr. Pierre L. MacKay to the proceedings of this Congress.

89. Polyb. xxi.2.12.

They preferred of course the more primitive institutions of their own monarchy and the Macedonian people at arms. Consequently the episode of Andris-cus, of the pseudo-Philip fallen down from heaven, who captured the credulous allegiance of the people throughout Macedonia, defeated the Macedonian armies and was soon master of the whole country, is simply an incredible story, utterly improbable and explicable only as a case of heaven-sent infatuation (δαιμονοβλάβεια), a clear indication of divine wrath. For, he explains, Macedonia had met with many signal favours from Rome; the country had been delivered from the arbitrary rule and taxation of autocrats and now enjoyed freedom in place of servitude, and an end to civil discord and internecine massacres. Yet its people now gave willing support to this pretender who exiled, tortured, and murdered them.⁹⁰ Polybius, with his background in Achaean democracy and the orderly processes of the Roman imperial republic, fails to conceive the enthusiasm which anyone could inspire, once he had persuaded the simple people of Macedonia that he was bringing back their ancient monarchy.

As a military man Polybius could not fail to recognise the merits of the Macedonians as soldiers;⁹¹ and he pays tribute to the great Macedonian military formation, the phalanx, though he is bound to point out the superior qualities of the Roman legion.⁹² But he never shows any sign of *understanding* the things that really mattered to a Macedonian, he judges Macedonian policy invariably in terms of Achaean advantage, and his attitude towards the Macedonian monarchy is ambivalent and contradictory—largely because he cannot shake loose from his Achaean prejudices, and because the switches in Achaean policy towards Macedonia, which are based on self-interest, have to be justified in the more pompous and reputable vocabulary of political morality. The Achaeans are scarcely to be blamed for expelling the Macedonians from their towns when the occasion arose, for recalling them when the threat from Sparta made this move inescapable, and for abandoning their allegiance to the king of Macedonia for Rome when Philip seemed no longer capable of providing Achaea with security. But in the circumstances it would perhaps have been wiser had Polybius not embarked on a digression on the nature of treachery and not become involved in polemic against Demosthenes for leading the coalition that crashed at Chaeronea. The contradictions in which Polybius landed himself in these passages are little to his credit; but they are, in their own context, typical of the general plight of his

90. Polyb. xxxvi.17.13-15.

91. Cf. Polyb.v.2.1-6, 4.6; cf.iv.69.3-6. 92. Polyb. xviii. 29.1-30.4.

countrymen after the time of Philip II. It was the misfortune of the Hellenistic Greeks that they could unite successfully neither under nor against Macedonia, and that the motives which led Greeks to fight as mercenaries in the armies of Darius Codomannus survived to line them up, a century later, on both sides in the Roman-Macedonian wars. The equivocations and self-righteousness of Polybius on the one hand, and on the other his careful account of the detailed shifts in policy which add up to create the overall pattern as Rome succeeds Macedonia as the dominant power, together illustrate both the Greek dilemma and the strengths and weaknesses of the Achaean historian.

University of Liverpool

F. W. WALBANK

ANCIENT MACEDONIAN SYMPOSIA

It is, I hope, no reflection on this sober and learned body to recall that in antiquity the term 'symposion' often denoted gatherings somewhat riotous and alcoholic in character. In such gatherings the reputation of the Macedonian kings stood high. The Athenian ambassadors, returning from negotiations with Philip II, praised him, so Plutarch tells us, ὥς καὶ λέγειν δυνατότατον καὶ κάλλιστον ὀφθῆναι, καὶ νῆ Δία—the important quality, you will notice—συμπιεῖν ἱκανότατον.¹ In Hellenistic times Macedonian kings continued the tradition. Aelian² lists four of the Seleucids, Antiochus II, III, IV, and VII among the drunkards (a list, let me hasten to add, by no means exclusively Macedonian). Phylarchus, quoted by Athenaeus,³ tells how Antiochus II did little business sober, a great deal while drunk.

In this paper I wish to consider not so much the drinking parties themselves, but rather their architectural setting, the rooms in which they were held, and to which the term symposion can equally refer.

The general requirements for such parties are well known. Those taking part reclined on couches which were arranged round the sides of the room. In front of each couch was placed a small, low table, for food; wine was brought round and poured into the cups of the revellers. The rooms specially built to meet these requirements are easily recognisable. In their simplest form they can be seen in the andrones of the houses at Olynthus; that at the Villa of Good Fortune may serve as an example, though with its mosaic floors it is an exceptionally fine specimen.⁴

In front is an anteroom, from which one enters the room with the couches. In this main room (which measures 5.80 x 4.95 m.) the part of the floor closest to the walls is marked off by a low continuous plinth, .82 m. wide, left smooth and painted bright yellow. On this stood the couches. Only the central part of the floor, which could still be seen when the couches were in position, has mosaic decoration. This particular room is one of the larger ex-

1. Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 16.

2. Aelian, *Var. Hist.* II 41.

3. Athenaeus 438c.

4. D. M. Robinson and J. W. Graham, *Excavations at Olynthus* VIII, The Hellenic House, plate 85.

amples at Olynthus, and could have housed eight couches. Since the revelers reclined on their left elbows, facing inwards, the first couch—the place of honour—is that immediately to the right of the door; the couches then follow round in sequence to the last—the place of the host—which is that to the left of the door.⁵ The first couch normally fills the space between the door opening and the corner of the room. On the other side of the door, the corresponding space is normally occupied by the last couch and the foot of the preceeding couch, and as a result, as in this particular example, the door into the symposion room is not normally at the centre of the wall, but a little to one side.

Since human beings have reasonably standard dimensions, the couches on which they reclined seem to have been of standard size. D.M. Robinson remarked on this in his publication of the Olynthus andrones, and suggested a couch size of two to two and a quarter metres.⁶ There are, as we shall see, actual examples of couches smaller than this, and it seems to me that the minimum size should be rather in the region of one and three quarter metres. That to the right of the door in the Villa of Good Fortune cannot have been more than 1.9 m. in length. The width of the couches is less than a metre, usually around three-quarters. It follows that if the wall space is totally occupied with couches, the number and dimensions of the couches determine the size of the room. One result of this is that ancient authors often describe the size of a room by the number of couches it could hold—thus, a five-couch room, a seven-couch room, an eleven-couch room, and so on.⁷ This, again, has already been commented on by Eugene S. McCartney.⁸ He, however, thinks the number of couches referred to describes the total floor space of the room, rather than the length of the walls. I am sure the couch is a unit of linear measurement, not of *area* as McCartney suggests. At times it appears that the couch is used as an approximate unit of measurement, whether or not the room actually contained them. Conversely, the actual dimensions of a room may at times indicate that it once contained couches for use at symposia. There are as we shall see, examples of rooms 6.30 m. square, which still contain the measurable remains of couches; these held eleven couches each 1.85 m. in length ($3 \times 1.85 = 5.55, + 0.75$ (width) $= 6.30$). Where other rooms of similar dimensions are found, particularly in sanctuaries, and particularly if they are arranged in series, there is an immediate probability that they also

5. The first and last couches; Plato, *Symposion* 175c, 177d.

6. D.M. Robinson and J.W. Graham, *op.cit.*, 173.

7. Pollux i 79. 8. *Class. Phil.* XXXIX (1934) 30.

once contained couches, and we should look for confirmation of this by seeking the other features that suggest the presence of couches.

To sum this up. These are the features that suggest that a room was specially designed for symposia, though we do not need to find all of them to establish the likelihood that a room had such a function:

- (i) Entrance doorway not at the centre of its wall.
 - (ii) Low plinth about one metre wide round the edge of the room.
- These two features are of paramount importance. In addition, we may find:
- (iii) Remains, or indications, of couches and tables.
 - (iv) Dimensions apparently based on a couch unit; in particular, since eleven seems to have been a favourite number for the couches, rooms that could have accommodated that number, such as the rooms 6.30 m. square that I have already mentioned, (though obviously, there are many symposium rooms of different dimensions).

The symposia, or andrones, at Olynthus are, of course, part of the ordinary houses there, and symposia of this sort are by no means confined to Olynthus. But there also exists a more specialized category, buildings whose chief, or indeed sole function was to accommodate symposia of this sort. They are not specifically Macedonian—the earliest I know is at Perachora in Corinthian territory, and belongs to the sixth century B.C.—but there are some interesting Macedonian examples of them. It is important to notice that where such buildings occur they are nearly always in or adjacent to religious sanctuaries.

I suppose the most famous of these symposia built by a king of Macedonian origin is the pavilion of Ptolemy Philadelphus at Alexandria.⁹ There are good Macedonian precedents for this. According to Diodorus, after the sack of Thebes and prior to the invasion of Asia, Alexander the Great held a *πανηγυρίς* at Dion, at which he feasted his friends and commanders in a pavilion holding 100 couches.¹⁰ Diodorus gives the impression that this *πανηγυρίς* was a special occasion, but it is surely the normal festival at Dion, and such feasting was presumably a regular feature of it.

Similarly, after the defeat of Darius, Alexander celebrated the weddings of himself and his friends in another 100 couch pavilion (unless it was the same one, taken with him on his campaigns). On this occasion the rest of his forces, the foreign embassies and the followers were entertained "in the court-

9. F. Studniczka "Das Symposion Ptolemaios II" *Abh. kön. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Cl.*, XXX, 1915, 3f.

10. D. S. XVII 16.4.

yard."¹¹ Ptolemy's pavilion, like those of Alexander, was not a building in the strictest sense, and, of course, is known not from archaeological evidence but from a perplexing description given by Callixeinus, and quoted by Athenaeus.¹² It is difficult—if not impossible—to elucidate from Callixeinus' account of its fantastic luxury the exact form this structure took. It was of an essentially temporary nature, consisting of awnings supported on poles. These poles, we are told, were fifty cubits in height, a figure which immediately takes us into the realms of exaggeration and fantasy. But the main details are, I think, discernible amongst the tapestries and draperies, the sculpture and the floors strewn with flowers. It was put up—this time at some distance from the place where the soldiers and lesser beings were entertained—in the enclosure of the citadel, ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ περιβόλῳ. It was a rectangular room, with five supports along the sides and four across the ends. In size it was a 130-couch room—an interesting instance of the use of the couch as a unit of measurement, for Callixeinus subsequently states that it actually contained only 100 couches. The couches were arranged along the sides. The entrance was at the centre of one end. Outside, on the three sides, there was a portico with a vaulted roof, where the servants stood. The dimensions of the main room, based on the number of couches it could have held, must have been in the region of sixty by eighty metres.

A much simpler, but more permanent symposion is that built at Perachora at the end of the fourth century B.C.¹³ This is part of what appears to have been a deliberate and somewhat artificial revival of the sanctuary there. This revival includes the provision of a most elaborate waterworks system, in which water was pumped up by machinery from a depth of over thirty metres, and fed into large storage tanks that supplied a well-built fountainhouse. The character of this undertaking points to its being the work of Demetrius Poliorcetes, after he had established himself as king in Corinth; and I therefore claim this symposion as the work of a Macedonian king.

It is a modest building; two eleven-couch rooms, each 6.30 m. square, sharing a narrow anteroom which almost certainly once had a single central opening. The rooms have the inevitable arrangement of off-centre doors, and a smooth, slightly raised band round the edge of the floor on which the couches stood, the remainder of the floor consisting of small pebbles set in plaster. The particular interest of this symposion is that it still contains some of the original couches, which were carved from single blocks of stone, with

11. Athenaeus 538c (book XII), quoting Chares, 10th book of the histories of Alexander.

12. Athenaeus 196a (book V).

13. To be published by me in the *Annual of the British School*, vol. 64.

the features of the more normal wooden couches represented on them. Wooden tables were once set in front of them, with legs that fitted into slots in the plaster floor, to hold them steady.

Similar couches survive in a series of eleven-couch rooms (again about 6.30 m. square) in the Asklepieion of Lerna at Corinth,¹⁴ the reconstruction of which was also carried out at the time that Demetrius Poliorcetes made himself king in Corinth. Here the rooms are side by side, as at Perachora, but this time they face onto an enclosed peristyle court.

A much more elaborate type of symposion building with an enclosed peristyle court is found at the most important of the sanctuaries of Asklepios, that at Epidauros. I mention this not because I can claim it as Macedonian work, but because it affords a useful comparison with my final Macedonian example. There are, it is true, some slight indications that might link it with an Antiochus, but the argument is complex and the result so tenuous that I would not care to use it as evidence.

This is the building more usually known as the Gymnasium or Palaestra. In an article published in 1917¹⁵ A. Frickenhaus remarked on the similarity of arrangement between this and a building in a sanctuary at Troizen, now known to be itself an Asklepieion.¹⁶ This too consisted of smaller rooms and a large hall arranged around a courtyard. Both the hall and the smaller rooms still contained the stone supports of couches, the horizontal parts of which must have been of wood. Similar supports for couches can be seen in a symposion-type building in the Argive Heraion¹⁷ and in the gymnasium at Epidauros. These show that at Epidauros the long halls on the east and south sides were occupied by symposion couches; and though no evidence survives in the hall on the west side the similarity of plan makes it almost certain that this was arranged in the same way. In addition to these halls there are two sets, each of three rooms, in the south-east and south-west corners. One of the south-east set was altered to make an entrance into the building, probably in Roman times when the theatre-like structure usually called an Odeion was built in part of the central courtyard, but originally this room must have been like the others. They are all square, have off-centre doorways, and, needless to say, are 6.30 x 6.30 m. Obviously, they are eleven-couch rooms. Thus we have two classes of couch rooms, the larger, open halls with large numbers of couches, and the smaller select eleven-couch rooms,

14. C. Roebuck, *Corinth XIV*, The Asklepieion and Lerna 51 f.

15. *Jdl* XXXII 1917 114f.

16. G. Welter, *Troizen und Kalaureia* 131f.

17. Frickenhaus, *loc. cit.* Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum* 131f (Tilton)

the same contrast as at Troizen, except that there the smaller rooms only held nine couches. It might perhaps be doubted whether this building was a gymnasium at all; the similar, but smaller building at Troizen certainly was not, for its courtyard is too small for gymnastic exercise. As I shall argue elsewhere, I believe the building was used for sacred feasts, whose participants entered in solemn procession through the splendid propylon (which, significantly, had a ramp up which such processions could move, rather than steps) and who watched the performance of some ritual in the central courtyard, for which the theatre-like Roman structure was subsequently made.

And so, finally, to Vergina. Here, my knowledge derives from the excellent publication of the palace by Prof. M. Andronicos.¹⁸ In the first edition of his book on Greek Architecture, Prof. A.W. Lawrence suggested that the palace there was actually a palaestra with a set of baths. In his second edition, which takes into account the more recent excavations he does accept, perhaps somewhat tentatively, the identification of the building as a palace. Nevertheless, there are obvious similarities in plan and arrangement between the building at Vergina and the so-called palaestra/gymnasium type, as represented by the building at Epidaurus. They are comparable in size. Epidaurus is roughly 80 x 75 m., Vergina 88.5 x 104.5 (but this includes additional external parts which do not occur at Epidaurus). Both have large internal courtyards, whose Doric peristyles have sixteen columns on each side. Both have magnificent formal entrances, though unlike Epidaurus, that at Vergina is on a central alignment. In both, the courtyards are flanked by rooms of varying sizes, and not the open exhedrae that occur, for example, in the gymnasium/palaestra building at Olympia. If the suggestion holds good, that the Epidaurus building is not a palaestra/gymnasium at all but a symposion building, then it follows that the Vergina building cannot be a palaestra either. We must look instead for evidence for symposia.

The most obvious are in the rooms, D, E and G in the south wing; to these H, less well preserved, should almost certainly be added. They have doors that are not in the centre of their walls; they have the raised plinth of smooth plaster round the edge of the floor. Two of them, E and G have a particularly splendid formal entrance through room F, which is in fact an antechamber approached from the court peristyle by its own elaborate colonnaded opening. Room E in addition has its importance demonstrated by its

18. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* XIII: Vergina, The Prehistoric Necropolis and the Hellenistic Palace. For the plan of the palace, see Fig. 10.

magnificent floor mosaic, a feature it presumably once shared with G.¹⁹ I think it is fair to say that these rooms are marked off as the most important in the building. I doubt, though, whether they can strictly be called 'private apartments.' They are both, it appears, a little over 8 metres square. Assuming that they contained the most sumptuous of couches, each fully two and a quarter metres in length, they must both be eleven-couch rooms; and there are two of them, without any real distinction between them, to say nothing of the outer pair D and H entered directly from the court. Clearly, we have on this side of the court the select symposia, with perhaps a distinction between the inner and outer pair, and corresponding to the select rooms in the two corners at Epidaurus. Between them, these rooms accommodated at least forty four revellers. Besides these there are two rooms to the north of the propylon, S and R, of comparable dimensions, and though the details are less certain, it would appear that they have a smooth surround to a pebble and plaster floor, that makes it not unlikely that they too once contained couches.

What appear to be the most important rooms of the building—they are certainly the largest—are in the west wing, rooms M₁, M₂, and M₃. These again would seem to be symposia, for although the positions of the doors into them are uncertain—the possibility has been suggested that M₃ served as an anteroom leading to the other two—they do have features which indicate their use. Again we find the surround to the floor, the main part of which is paved with broken pieces of marble; and in the centre of each room is the opening to a drain—provision for drainage was found in a large number of the Olynthus andrones.²⁰ The fact that this occurs also in the middle room M₃ seems to me to suggest that it is identical to the others, and not an anteroom through which they were approached. The number of couches these rooms could have held is considerable; at least twenty three each, if they were of normal size. Thus these rooms are important only for the number of revellers they could hold; they are less select than the smaller rooms on the south side, and their floors are less impressive; rooms, comparatively speaking, for the less important members of society. We may see here signs of the division of the official 'friends' of the king into grades of differing importance, for which there is clear evidence in 2nd century Ptolemaic Egypt.

Thus we have a building in which it seems likely that the majority of

19. The predominance of floral decoration in this mosaic is interesting, when we remember that the floor in Ptolemy Philadelphus' pavilion was actually strewn with flowers.

20. Robinson and Graham *op. cit.* 175.

rooms on the ground floor at least, were arranged as symposia. Other features, such as the axial alignment of the main entrance, and the provision of rooms or porticoes outside the main structure recall the symposion of Ptolemy Philadelphus. I would suggest, therefore, that at Vergina we have a building whose main function was to accommodate drinking parties; though whether these were the solemn rites of a religious sanctuary, or the more unbridled revels of a Macedonian monarch, is perhaps a matter in which it is more discreet to be silent.

University of Birmingham

R. A. TOMLINSON

DE MACEDONUM SACRIS

GEDANKEN ZU EINER NEUBEARBEITUNG DER GÖTTERKULTE IN MAKEDONIEN

Wenn der vorliegende Beitrag mit dem Titel *De Macedonum sacris* überschrieben wurde, so geschah dies in erster Linie, um damit die Arbeit von Werner Baege zu würdigen, die im Rahmen der Dissertationes Hallenses im Jahre 1913 erschienen ist. Die Würdigung ist in zweifacher Hinsicht aufschlußreich: einmal die Bedeutung der Arbeit hinsichtlich des Forschungsstandes zur Zeit ihrer Herausgabe und — zum anderen der Vergleich dieser Arbeit mit dem Forschungsstand der Gegenwart.

Gerade da in letzter Zeit die Zusammenstellungen von Kulturen aus den Balkanländern erfreulicherweise zunehmen¹ und meines Wissens seit Baege keine geschlossene Darstellung der makedonischen Kulte mehr erschienen ist², wird eine Neubearbeitung notwendig.

Eine Neubearbeitung verlangt nicht nur die kritische Bestandsaufnahme und Ergänzung des vorgegebenen Materials, sie bedarf auch einer kritischen Analyse und Modifizierung der bisher angewandten Methode. Im Gegensatz zu der Zeit Baeges hat sich heute die vergleichende philologisch-historische Religionswissenschaft durchgesetzt³, was den Vorteil hat, daß auch die unterschiedliche Sozialstruktur und Kulturhöhe eines Volkes erfaßt

1. Literatur in: *Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire Romaine*, Bd. I (Leiden 1961) ff., hrsg. v. M. J. Vermaseren. B. Perc, *Beiträge zur Verbreitung ägyptischer Kulte auf dem Balkan und in den Donauländern zur Römerzeit*, Diss., München 1968.

2. Einzeldarstellungen für den heute griechischen Teil: A. Reinach, Rezension in: *RHR* 1914, 1, 251 ff. Ch. Edson, *The Cults of Thessalonica*, in: *Harvard Theological Review* 41, 1948, 181 ff. Für den jugoslawischen Teil: R. Marić, *Antitički kultovi u našoj zemlji*, Diss., Belgrad 1933. B. Perc, o.c. Br. Gavala, *Les religions orientales dans la Macédoine (partie yougoslave)* im Druck bei E. J. Brill, Leiden. Für den bulgarischen Teil: V. Velkov, *Die orientalischen Religionen in Bulgarien*, im Druck bei E. J. Brill, Leiden. D. Dečev, *Der Artemiskult im Gebiet des mittleren Strymon* *Izvestia na Arheol. Institut* XIX, 1955, 95-109.

3. Pfister in: *RE* XI, 2, 2110, 1922.

wird und fehlende Daten durch Vergleich mit anderen Gebieten zum Teil ergänzt werden können.

Bei der Durchsicht der jüngsten Publikationen⁴ fällt allerdings auf, daß es immer noch kein allgemein anerkanntes System zur Wertung der Kultdenkmäler gibt. Definitionen über Informationswert und Brauchbarkeit eines Kultbeleges fehlen meist ganz und wenn sie vereinzelt aufgestellt werden, lassen sie sich nur auf einzelne Gegenstände oder Gruppen beziehen. Es ergibt sich also für den Leser oft die Notwendigkeit, den Erkenntnisweg des Verfassers selbständig nachzuvollziehen, ehe er die Information über einen Kult als Beleg anerkennen und für seine Arbeit weiterverwerten kann.

Unter diesen Voraussetzungen haben wir es uns zur Aufgabe gemacht, die Ausführungen Baeges einmal in der Kritik seiner Zeitgenossen zu sehen und zum anderen ihre Brauchbarkeit für die jetzige Forschung zu untersuchen.

Baeges Dissertation, die von Otto Kern angeregt dem Vorbild der "Lakonischen Kulte" von Sam Wide, 1893, folgt, vereinigt zum ersten Mal das gesamte bis 1911 erschienene Material. Im Gegensatz zu den literarischen, epigraphischen, numismatischen und archäologischen Zeugnissen der Götter und Heroenverehrung kommt die Behandlung der Sekundärliteratur und die eigene Stellungnahme zu kurz. Die Arbeit stellt daher im wesentlichen ein knapp kommentiertes, umfangreiches und durch einen sorgfältigen Index übersichtliches Inventar makedonischer Kultdenkmäler dar. Diese werden nach den einzelnen Göttern und Heroen zusammengestellt und innerhalb dieser Gruppen in Landschaften unterteilt.

Zeitgenössische Rezensenten wie Otto Weinreich, Johann Oehler und Sam Wide lobten die sorgfältige und übersichtliche Zusammenstellung, mit der eine zweifellos schwierige Aufgabe gelöst worden sei⁵. Schwierig, da damals die Publikation der *Inscriptiones Graecae* X in unerreichbare Ferne gerückt schien, Griechenland für Ausländer nur schwer zugänglich war und die systematische Ausgrabung archäologischer Denkmäler in Makedonien erst nach dem Erscheinen dieser Arbeit einsetzte⁶. Jedoch wurde bedauert, daß die neuere Literatur, wie beispielsweise Cumont's "Orientalische Religionen," A. Dieterichs "Nekyia" und E. Küsters' "Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion," nicht ausführlicher zu Rate gezogen wurde. Weinreich unternahm es schließlich, die Arbeit durch die zwischen

4. siehe 1.

5. Rezensionen: Weinreich, *DLZ* 1914,401. Preller, *LZB* 1914,826. Reinach, o.c. Wide, *BPhW* 1915, 17. Steuding, *WKPh* 1915, 413. Oehler, *ZdG* 1915, 1073.

6. *BSA* XXIII, 1918-1919 ff.

1911-1913 erschienenen Publikationen von Woodward, Wace, Avezou, Picard und Svoronos zu ergänzen.⁷

Während sich die Mehrzahl der Rezensionen von 1914/15 lobend über die Arbeit aussprach und diese —außer den gelegentlich fehlenden Hinweisen auf religionswissenschaftliche Monographien—in Bezug auf die zeitgenössische Forschung anerkannte, wandte sich Adolphe Reinach⁸ entschieden gegen diese Arbeit. Er wandte sich vor allem gegen die von Baege angewandte Methode, die er als Gegner der philologisch-isolierenden Religionswissenschaft ablehnte.

Neben einer ausführlichen Ergänzung des von Baege vernachlässigten Materials gehen aus seiner Rezension zwei wesentliche Punkte hervor, die von Baege gar nicht oder nur unzureichend realisiert wurden: es sind die Begriffe Kultlandschaft und Kultepoche. Wir fügen an dieser Stelle den Begriff Kultbeleg hinzu, da dieser weder von Reinach noch von Baege definiert worden ist.

Reinachs beinahe unversöhnliche Kritik ist aus heutiger Sicht grundsätzlich gerechtfertigt, nur füllt er selbst die angegriffene Lücke sehr unbefriedigend aus. Beispielsweise behauptet er, der Hermeskult habe in Makedonien kaum gesicherte Spuren hinterlassen. Dieses Urteil wird sehr schnell gefällt, da er die Münzen, die Baege als Beweismaterial heranzieht, nicht als sichere Quellen anerkennt und auch keine Erklärung für ihre Unbrauchbarkeit als Beleg angibt. Schon aus diesem Grunde sind die Kriterien, mit denen Reinach seine Behauptungen stützt, nur mit Vorbehalt akzeptabel. Entsprechend sieht er in der Geburtslegende, die im Homerischen Hymnos⁹ erwähnt ist, einen sicheren Beleg für den Hermeskult in Pierien, während er das Kerykeion auf Münzen¹⁰ und die Darstellung des Gottes auf Grabstelen der Kaiserzeit¹¹ als unzureichenden Beleg bezeichnet.

Es wirft sich hiermit die dringende Frage für uns auf, welche Belege bezeugen einen Kult ausreichend und welche Belege sind unzureichend?

Im allgemeinen werden literarische Quellen, epigraphische, numismatische und archäologische Denkmäler, die eine Gottheit, ihr Sym-

7. Woodward u. Wace, *BSA* XVIII, 1911/12, 133ff. Avezou u. Picard, *BCH* XXXVII, 1913, 84ff. Svoronos, *Journ. intern. d'archéol. Num.* 1913, 193ff.

8. Reinach, *o.c.*

9. Baege, 72.

10. Baege, 70-72, 75-76.

11. Phila: L. Heuzey, *Le mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie*, n. 23, 1860. Heraclea Lyncestis: *Spoimenik* LXXXV, 5. Beroia: *BCH* LXXXIX, 1965, *Chronique des Fouilles* 1964, 792.

b o l oder eine ihrer K u l t h a n d l u n g e n darstellen, herangezogen, um Informationen über einen Kult zu erhalten.

Es gibt nun unter den makedonischen Gottheiten solche, die wie Herakles in allen Zeugnisgruppen vertreten sind und solche, die hauptsächlich in einer Zeugnisgruppe vorkommen, wie die ägyptischen Gottheiten in Inschriften, der Thrakische Reiter auf Grabstelen und die Flußgötter und Nymphen auf Münzen. Das beweist aber noch nicht, daß alle Zeugnisse die Existenz eines Kultes mit gleicher Sicherheit nachweisen, wie es Baege offenbar noch angenommen hat.

Es besteht die Möglichkeit, alle Kultzeugnisse, die inschriftlich oder bildlich erhalten sind und durch ihren Fundort oder Inhalt an eine Lokalität gebunden sind, als unmittelbare Kultzeugnisse anzusehen, während literarische Quellen diese historische Realität¹² nicht besitzen und nur zu mittelbaren Belegen herangezogen werden können. Das heißt, daß mittelbare Belege eine Bestätigung durch weitere mittelbare oder unmittelbare Belege brauchen, bis der Informationsgehalt für einen Kult ausreicht.

Die Präsenz eines Kultes wird erst vollständig bewiesen, wenn sich der Beleg topographisch und chronologisch einordnen läßt, sich einem Kulturraum und einer Kultepoche zuordnen läßt.

Dieses Arbeitsmodell gilt natürlich nur, wenn die Identität der Gottheit einwandfrei erwiesen ist. Hier liegt aber die besondere Schwierigkeit der archäologischen Denkmäler, die selten in ursprünglicher Form erhalten unterschiedlichen Interpretationen und Wertungen ausgesetzt sind. Zum Beispiel wird ein Archäologe die Götterstatue, die ohne Inschrift und Kultsymbole aufgefunden wurde¹³, durch typologische und ikonographische Vergleiche zu identifizieren versuchen. Damit ist aber noch nicht bewiesen, ob dieser Gegenstand tatsächlich kultischen Zwecken (Kultstatue, Weihgeschenk u. a.) oder den in späterer Zeit häufigen dekorativen Zwecken diente.

Während die Identifizierung der Gottheit ein vorwiegend archäologisches (und auch epigraphisches) Problem darstellt, ist die Frage nach der Kultzugehörigkeit eines Denkmals auch ein literarisches Problem. Gerade da die Informationen aus religiösen, kultbeschreibenden, historischen, philosophischen, epischen und dramatischen Abhandlungen entnommen werden können, ist der Informationswert sehr verschieden.

12. Zum unterschiedlichen Aussagewert der Zeugnisgruppen: Gigon in *Lex. d. Alten Welt*, 2580 ff., 1965.

13. Kopf einer Serapisstatue aus Stobi, B. Perc, o.c., Nr. 101.

Um den Informationswert nicht nur der literarischen Textgruppen sondern auch aller übrigen Denkmäler festzustellen, müssen wir diese einer gemeinsamen Wertung unterziehen. Im folgenden Vorschlag begrenzen wir die Wertung auf vier Fragen:

- 1) Hat der Gegenstand Bezug auf einen Kult?
- 2) Hat der Gegenstand Bezug auf eine bestimmte Gottheit?
- 3) Läßt sich der Gegenstand topographisch einordnen ?
- 4) Läßt sich der Gegenstand chronologisch einordnen ?

Der Informationsinhalt dieser Fragen kann nach folgender Rangordnung¹⁴ beurteilt werden:

- a) Die Information ist zur Bestimmung vollständig.
- b) Die Information ist zur Bestimmung noch ausreichend.
- c) Die Information ist zur Bestimmung brauchbar, aber nicht ausreichend.
- d) Die Information ist zur Bestimmung teilweise unvollständig.
- e) Die Information ist zur Bestimmung nicht vorhanden.

Mit dieser Methode erscheint uns eine präzisere Beurteilung der Kultdenkmäler durchführbar. In unserer Zusammenfassung ergibt sich, daß ein Beleg absolut sicher ist, wenn aus dem Gegenstand der Kult einer bestimmten Gottheit an einem bestimmten Ort und zu einer bestimmten Zeit hervorgeht. Lassen sich die Bestimmungsmerkmale Kult, Gottheit, Ort und Zeit nur annähernd festlegen, sprechen wir von einem relativ sicheren Beleg. Fehlt eine dieser Voraussetzungen ganz oder liegen für mehrere Merkmale unvollständige Informationen vor, handelt es sich nur um einen Teilbeleg. Erst wenn sich eine Gruppe von Teilbelegen um eine Lokalität gruppiert und eine bestimmte Informationsdichte erreicht wird, können die Kulthinweise möglicherweise zu einem Kultbeweis werden.

Entsprechend dieser Überlegungen können wir im Gegensatz zu Reinach das Kerykeion auf den Münzen von Pella und Olynthos noch als Be-

14. Die Rangordnung wird gefunden durch die in der angewandten Psychologie übliche Methode, die Bestimmungsmerkmale durch Fragen nach ihrer Brauchbarkeit zu testen, und den Informationsinhalt durch Punkte zu bewerten. Die weitere Ausarbeitung zu einem Bewertungssystem bleibt der während des "Symposiums" angekündigten Dissertation vorbehalten.

leg (b) ansprechen¹⁵, während die Erwähnung im Homerischen Hymnos durch die fehlende Zeitangabe nur zu einem Teilbeleg (c) reicht. Andererseits ist die Darstellung von Hermes auf Grabstelen der Hinweis auf einen im Volk ausgeübten Totenkult, der Belege (b) findet in Thessalonike durch die Verbindung von Hermes mit Anubis: Hermanubis¹⁶, und in Beroia durch die Verbindung von Hermes mit dem thrakischen Reiter und durch eine Hermes darstellende Grabstele mit der Weihinschrift EPMHI XΘONIΩI¹⁷.

Neben der Wertung der Kultdenkmäler hatte Baege auch die Wertung der Kulte vernachlässigt. Bei der Zusammenstellung der Götternamen und Beinamen vermissen wir sowohl die Untersuchung nach ihrer Kultzugehörigkeit als auch die Untersuchung nach ihrem Ursprung, nach der Dauer ihrer Verehrung und dem Wandel ihrer Kultformen.

Wenn Reinach ihm vorwarf, er habe Apollon als makedonische Gottheit behandelt, obwohl es keine einzige einheimische Epiklese von ihm gäbe, so wies er mit Recht auf die unterschiedliche ethnische Zusammengehörigkeit der in Makedonien verehrten Gottheiten hin. Gerade da Makedonien auf Grund seiner Lage seit vorgeschichtlicher Zeit ein großes Durchgangsland und starken äußeren Einflüssen ausgesetzt war, wird die Bestandsaufnahme der ursprünglich makedonischen Götter und Heroen erschwert.

Reinach unternahm nicht als erster den Versuch, die eigentlich makedonischen Gottheiten aus dem gesamten Pantheon zu lösen. Neben die ursprünglich tiergestaltigen Götter, wie beispielsweise Karanos, Thaulos, Kynadas, Orpheus-Bassareus, und neben die Dämonen, wie Darron, Totoes, und die Vegetationsgötter, wie die Sauadai, Mimallones, Thourides—um nur einige zu nennen—, stellte er fünf der auch in Mittel—und Südgriechenland bekannten Götter, die durch ihre Epiklese eine lange Kultexistenz in Makedonien verraten: Zeus Stratios, oder Hetaireios, oder Hyperberetas (Dion); Athena Alkidemos (Pella); Artemis Gazoreitis und Bloureitis (Skydra); Aphrodite Zeiren; Dionysos Balen oder Sauadios, Pseudanor oder Gigon.

Wenn wir die Bezeichnung "makedonisch" nur auf diese Gottheiten anwenden würden, fände nach Reinach die Geschichte der makedonischen Kulte bereits mit Alexander dem Großen ihren Abschluß. Da wir aber in unsere Betrachtung alle Epochen einbeziehen, erscheint die Übertragung dieser Bezeichnung auf sämtliche in Makedonien verehrten Gottheiten ge-

15. Baege, 71, 75.

16. Avezou u. Picard, o.c., 96.

17. BCH LXXXIX, 1965, Chronique des Fouilles 1964, 792.

rechtfertigt: sei es, daß sie vor den makedonischen und anderen den Griechen verwandten Stämmen ansässig waren, sei es, daß sie mit diesen kamen oder später durch Kolonisation, Verkehr und machtpolitische Interessen aus Süd- und Mittelgriechenland, dem Donaauraum, Kleinasien, Syrien, Ägypten und Rom eingeführt wurden.

Wir überschauen hierbei eine lange Zeitspanne, in deren Endphase, der römischen Kaiserzeit, sowohl die ethnische als auch die kultische Durchdringung als eine natürliche Voraussetzung angenommen werden kann. Vergewärtigen wir uns aber, daß einige Kulte erst in dieser Endphase eingedrungen sind, so müssen wir bei allen Gottheiten generell die Frage stellen, inwieweit sie ihre Ursprünglichkeit bewahrten, inwieweit sie sich im Wandel der Zeit veränderten, mit bereits einheimisch gewordenen Kulturen verschmolzen und "makedonisch" wurden.

Der Raum, in dem diese Gottheiten ihre Spuren hinterließen, stellt eine Kultlandschaft dar, deren Ausdehnung durch die politische Grenze nicht bestimmt aber angedeutet wird. Wenn Baege Alexanders Opfer an Poseidon, am Hellespont oder am Indischen Ozean, als makedonischen Kultbeleg heranzog, so hatte er unvorsichtigerweise die in seiner Praefatio abgesteckten Grenzen überschritten und die räumliche Zusammengehörigkeit der makedonischen Gottheiten nicht respektiert.

Entsprechend der Praefatio ging Baege offenbar von den Grenzen aus, die Makedonien nach der Schlacht bei Pydna im Jahre 167 v. Chr. besaß. Er faßte aber die Nord- und Ostgrenze zu eng, indem er das Gebiet nördlich von Stoboi nicht mehr berücksichtigte und im Osten den Strymon als makedonisch-thrakische Grenze annahm.

In der Zusammenstellung von Fanula Papazoglu¹⁸ wird die Nordgrenze nördlich von Veles (Bylazora) und Štip (Astibo) angenommen und östlich auf das mittlere Struma-Strymonal geführt, so daß die Gebiete der Paionen und Sintier innerhalb des makedonischen Grenzverlaufs liegen. Nach ihren Ausführungen läßt sich die Ostgrenze nicht ohne weiteres festlegen, da die politische Grenze von 167 v. Chr., die über den Nestos hinausging, nicht der ethnischen Grenze entsprach. Ihr Verlauf wird daher nur schätzungsweise zwischen Strymon und Nestos angenommen.

Da wir für eine Neubearbeitung der Kulte die römische Zeit vorgesehen

18. F. Papazoglu, *Makedonski gradovi u rimsko doba*, 1957, 339.

haben, kann von dem hier angedeuteten Grenzverlauf ausgegangen werden. Die unter der Aufsicht von Herrn Prof. Dr. E. Homann-Wedeking stehende Neubearbeitung soll in Form einer Dissertation mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der archäologischen Denkmäler Beiträge zu den Götterkulten in Makedonien liefern. Da Baege mit seiner Arbeit lediglich eine Materialsammlung schaffen wollte, wird es die Aufgabe unserer Neubearbeitung, sein, dieses Material zu vervollständigen und — entsprechend der vorgeschlagenen Wertungen — zu kommentieren.

München

SIEGRID DÜLL

THE EGYPTIAN CULTS IN ANCIENT MACEDONIA

About four hours before this lecture took place in Thessaloniki I found myself a mile or so away from where I was due to speak. I was standing on the pavement outside the building with its red-lettered name ΣΟΒΙΕΤΙΚΑΙ ΒΙΟΜΗΧΑΝΙΑΙ, half way up the sloping eastern side of Odos Dioiketeriou. Mr. Makaronas had kept me company there the previous day. Today my companion, Mr. N. A. Papastravros,¹ was telling me how as a boy he had played amid the ruins of the Serapeum which lay two or three metres under the street just where we stood.

In asking me to write a book about northern Greece a few years ago² the Institute for Balkan Studies was responsible for leading me to think a little about the Egyptian cults in the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman world. Even the casual tourist who pauses to reflect on a visit to Delos or Philippi must see that Egypt's gods seized firm hold on important centres in Greece. For me the question was the relevance of the Egyptian faith to its successor, Christianity. At recent international conferences in Oxford I have dealt with such topics as the importance of the cult of Isis for the Fathers,³ the Io-Isis link with Byzantium against the background of the local divinities Artemis, Selene and Hekate, and the significance of the story told in the First Gospel of the Flight into Egypt.⁴ A paper published three years ago under the title of *Isis-Hellas*⁵ stressed the fact that the missionary journeys of St. Paul, especially the second, took him to centres where the Greeks whom he converted of σερβόμενοι were in a good position to know Isis and the σύνναοι

1. His address is Prolemaion, 1. I owe my introduction to him to the kind offices of Mr. Ch. P. Kontos.

2. *Greece the Beloved* 1965. It contains a dozen references to the cults.

3. Published in *Studia Patristica* (Akademie-Verlag), Vol. VIII, Section vi, *Historica*.

4. This will eventually be printed in the next issue of *Studia Patristica*. My standpoint is that the First Evangelist was writing for a specific group of readers, the Christians of Alexandria.

5. In *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, 192, 1966, 48-69. Mention may also be made of my defence of the use of ἀγάπη in an Isiac context: *Journal of Theological Studies* XIX, Pt. I, 1968, 209-11.

θεοὶ —Philippi, Amphipolis, Apollonia, Thessalonica and Verroia.⁶ My main purpose on this occasion is to pass a few observations on the Egyptian religion in post-Alexandrian Macedonia with particular regard to the emergence there of the Early Christian Church under the driving force of its mainspring of missionary eloquence,⁷ Paul.

For a time-span of some 600 years the amount of material is rather meagre. But the importance of my chosen topic is by no means slight. To deal briefly with sources, a general understanding of the foothold secured by the Egyptian cults on Greek territory can be derived from works (of varying quality) by Rusch, Brady, Magie, El-Samman and others. For epigraphical and numismatic information about Macedonian cults in general we must consult Demitsas, Baege and Gaebler. Pioneers in the field have been Pelekides, Tod, Collart, Picard and Edson. Alas, the joint labours of Professors Edson and Cormack on the Macedonian inscriptions have not yet fully ended and their published results are still impatiently awaited. Happily, however, each of these distinguished scholars has provided me with precious information about inscriptions from the local Serapeion. My debt to their kindness is indeed great.

If we were to rely solely on Baege we might believe that Hellenic Apollo-Artemis and Bacchus were far more popular than the Egyptian gods ever grew to be in northern Greece. The numismatical blankness might also suggest the same conclusion. But the *argumentum e silentio* always has its dangers. Finds turn up oddly enough. When nearly a century ago Lafaye wrote what is still one of the standard books on the history of the Alexandrian divinities outside Egypt he could not have anticipated that an Isiac aretology with a most important bearing on his subject would be discovered in the sands of Oxyrhynchus and that valuable material would come to light in Greece at Delos, Eretria, Philippi, and of course at Thessaloniki itself. During the period under consideration a number of rulers (though only two or three with obvious Macedonian ties) were certainly partial to the gods of Egypt. Alexander himself, who even if he never entered the city of Aphytis in Chalkidiki could hardly have missed seeing its coins showing how fervently Zeus Ammon was worshipped there, is known to have gone out into the Libyan desert on a visit to the famous shrine and to have been acclaimed by the priests there as the god's own son. We are also told of Alex-

6. Cf. *ibid.* p. 61. I have dealt further with this topic at the fourth international congress of New Testament Studies in Oxford, Sept, 1969. This will be included as Chapter XIX in my forthcoming book: *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World*.

7. At Lystra he was taken for Hermes, because he was ὁ ἡγοούμενος τοῦ λόγου.

ander that he resolved to build in his own eponymous city a temple in honour of Isis. A marble statue from Amphipolis shows us a dedication to Serapis, Isis and Philip V.⁸ It was this king who issued an instruction forbidding the Thessalonians to use the funds of their Serapeum for other than cult purposes.^{8a} Not far away from the scene of this lecture is the Arch of Galerius. On it was sculpted the figure of Isis holding her sistrum.⁹ A coin of Galerius depicts her in a similar guise.^{9a} If we direct our minds to Rome during the period of the early Empire we find that after Tiberius¹⁰ and Claudius the cult of Isis was adhered to by one ruler after another. Gaius Caligula, of whom further mention will be made later, built the Aula Isiaca on the Palatine. Otho was the first Emperor who openly took part in Isiac rites, Vespasian and Titus practised incubation in the Iseum at Rome, and Domitian first officially recognised the Egyptian cults on Italian soil. On coins of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Titus, Domitian, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius the head of Isis is often found and in association with Serapis on coins of Commodus, Caracalla, Gordian III, Gallienus, Claudius Gothicus and Diocletian.

In Macedonia itself the numismatic evidence for the local popularity of Isis and Serapis is almost non-existent. A coin from Stobi indeed shows Serapis. At Thessaloniki, however, as at Athens these two main Egyptian divinities apparently never figured on coins and till now evidence has not been found that their cult was important enough for the state to honour them with a municipal priest. In comparison with the Kabeiroi, shown on coins of the Flavian Age as the city's tutelary powers,¹¹ they did not undergo full naturalisation. Such negative evidence as this might incline us at first to accept the view of Perdrizet that "the cult of the Alexandrian divinities was apparently never widespread in Macedonia."¹² These words, however, were written before discoveries which suggest a different conclusion. Already in 1922 Picard considered that the progress of epigraphical research had revealed the

8. See the article by P.M. Fraser on the Cult of Serapis, *Opusc. Athen.* III.

8a. The words of the decree are as follows: Διάγραμμα ὃ ἔθηκε βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος. Τὸν δὲ τοῦ Σαράπιδος χρημάτων μηθεὶς ἀπαλλοτριούτω μηθὲν κατὰ μηθένα τρόπον.

9. Kinch found this clearly carved.

9a. See *Numismatica* VI, 97-8, The date is 305 or 306.

10. His hostility towards Isis and her cognate deities after the scandal of Decius Mundus and Paulina is well-known. Yet he is represented sacrificing in 323 A.D. to Hathor, Horus and Isis (*SEG* 8,654).

11. The Dioscouroi also appear on a coin of Thessaloniki of 89 B.C. (Gaebler 120,17).

12. *BCH* XIX, 419. Picard's corrective view is given *RHR* 1922, 180. See also Collart *BCH* LIII, 99.

cult's diffusion in Macedonia. When the task of Edson and Cormack is ended and the Corpus of Inscriptions is in our hands, we shall be in no doubt that the religion of Egypt had taken firm hold in northern Greece, as it did elsewhere on Greek territory.

We may remind ourselves of the sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods at Delos (exhaustively studied by Roussel), at Tithorea near Delphi (said by Pausanias to be the holiest of all throughout the land), at Gortyna, at Eretria (excavated by Papadakis), and at Thera. The religion of the Nile was well established in Greece before the Christian Era began. As to Macedonia itself, the legend quoted by Diodorus Siculus about Macedon, the eponymous founder of the nation's dynasty, makes him the son of Osiris and so brother of Anubis. Possibly, as Daskalakis suggests, the story was invented because of the desire of the Ptolemies to link Egypt and Macedonia mythologically. Certainly here is a clear indication that in post-Alexandrian times Egyptian religion was regarded as influencing the land from which Alexander himself had come. At Delos in one of the Egyptian sanctuaries has been found a dedication by a Macedonian. Roussel holds that the dedicant could only have come to know the Egyptian gods through having lived at Alexandria. To me this assumption seems unnecessary, for evidence exists that the general relations between Thessaloniki and Delos were cordial. I cannot prove that the Egyptian cult was borne directly from Delos to Thessaloniki. But as I look at the map I notice that Andros, where the longest version of the *Hymn to Isis* was found, and Euboea, where Papadakis unearthed the Iseum at Eretria, are well on the way to the Thermaic Gulf. Nor does there seem any doubt that the cult was known at Cassandrea as it certainly was in Thessaly. As to Philippi, Collart's assumption is surely right that it underwent an expansion particularly in this centre because of navigation ties between the neighbouring port Neapolis and Alexandria.

The Roman Colony of Philippi, at the time of Paul's visit, had developed strong links with the Egyptian gods, particularly Isis, who was worshipped along with the σύννοτοι θεοί in a series of small chapels. After the famous battle of 42 B.C. the Romans installed columns entrusting the city entirely to the goddess' guardianship as its Queen and Saviour. The aqueduct below ground level indicates her special importance. On the face of a representation of Isis Christians afterwards seem to have stamped the mark of the triumph of Jesus over Isis by carving laterally a cross and a dove, both of which symbols, however, could have gratified believers

in the older faith. At Philippi Isis takes precedence over her partners. Apparently Anubis has not so far been found, and Collart may be right in thinking his absence significant. The name of Isis is found in almost all extant inscriptions and two of her priests have their names recorded. A doctor, one Mofius, with a name suggesting Jewish ancestry, dedicates a chapel to her "ex imperio"¹³ in her role of Isis medica, the goddess who can perform miraculous cures and who gives mankind the elixir of immortality.¹⁴ Her association, therefore, is easy with Asklepios, Telesphorus and Hygiaia. Unto her, Courotrophos and Linoeplos, are principally addressed the prayers, the offerings and the devotions of her faithful. Here as in other centres of her worship she enfolds within her maternal lap the purely local deities. As Picard points out it is often quite hard from the archaeological remains to distinguish her from the panhellenic goddesses Hera, Aphrodite and Artemis. Of special significance is her link with perhaps the most important divinity of Macedonia, Artemis;¹⁵ in Sector II the names of Isis Regina and Bendis-Artemis are plentiful. As will appear later on, absolute theocrasia of the Egyptian and the Hellenic goddess was achieved at Thessaloniki and Verroia. It is well-known from such sources as Book XI of Apuleius *Metamorphoses* and *Oxyrhynchus Papyrus* 1380 that Isis swallowed up the whole Hellenic pantheon and more besides: una quae es omnia, numen multiformi specie nomine multiuigo uenetratur orbis.

The god-fearing Greeks (οἱ σεβόμενοι Ἑλληνες) whom Paul is stated to have converted at Thessaloniki would have reason to compare his new gospel in closest detail with the old cults they had forsaken. His terminology, most skilfully chosen for protreptic purposes, would surely have reminded them of the Egyptian worship in which such terms as εὐχαριστήριον and ἐκκλησιαστήριον were in current use. To the Philippians who received his *Letter* the words ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πάντων ὀνομάτων, ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πάντων γόνων κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων could have been read as an unmistakable challenge to Isis in an age when her name was a household word. Hers indeed was a faith without racial

13. Vide *infra* note 24. It is interesting that the Jewish colony at Thessaloniki should have dedicated to Theos Hypsistos (plausibly identifiable with Jahweh) an offering according to the Greek formula κατ' ἐπιταγὴν (*BCH* XXXVII, 100).

14. See my article in *C.Ph.S. proc.* p.49, where I remark that the Christian writer Ignatius may have been indebted to Isiacism.

15. The paper by Prof. McKay read at the Symposium has drawn my attention to the importance of Artemis on Macedonian coins.

and social distinction and prejudice as surely as the one where οὐκ ἐνι Ἑλλήνι καὶ Ἰουδαίῳ, βάρβαρος, Σκύθῃ, δοῦλος, ἐλεύθερος ἀλλὰ πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν Χριστός. The name of Paul's companion, Silvanus, would recall to those for whom he wrote the woodland deity worshipped at Philippi (as at Ostia) side by side with Isis. The name of the ship from Alexandria that carried Paul to Rome, *Dioscouroi*, would have suggested the pagan hope of salvation from shipwreck. The Dioscouroi were by this date identifiable with the Cabeiroi,¹⁶ were important at Thessaloniki,¹⁷ and in consequence of the eclecticism of those days could be held to derive from Isis their power to save men σὺ Διοσκούριος σωτήρας ἐποίησας.¹⁸

As M. N. Tod has remarked, theophoric names in ancient Macedonia provide good evidence of the popularity of the Egyptian gods, especially Isis. Tod cites Anoubion, Sarapion and Harpocraton, and draws attention to ones found outside Macedonia in the Iseum at Eretria: Εἰσιδώρος, Εἰσιδώρα, Εἰσιγένη, Ἰσιάς (found twice) and Σεραπίας. A Thessalonian woman bore the goddess' very name. In an inscription which is assigned to about 50 A.D. (and so is contemporary with the Pauline Epistles) Εἰσίας is referred to as ἀκατάγνωστος, (an epithet applied to λόγος ὕγις in the *Epistle to Titus*). In an inscription at Megisti Lavra on Mount Athos is found Servilia Isis, who is called Ἄγη. Less happily named, we may think, was the Thessalonian lady Cassia Eisia Copria. Names taken from Demitsas are "Selene and Isigenes", Eisdotos, and [Eisidoros. Other examples are provided by Pelekides: Isidorus Aurelius, Isidorianus Aurelius Isidorus, and Isidora Aurelia. In Christendom itself the gift of Isis' name can be very clearly marked. We find Isidores of Gaza, Pelusium, Russia, Seville, and Thessaloniki. Here in the local telephone directory¹⁹ are to be seen surnames suggestive of Isis and Serapis.²⁰

The Egyptian cult appears in inscriptions found at Apollonia, Anthemus and Amphipolis. At Verroia the marble dedicatory plaque, details of which were published by Cormack when it was still in the Church of St. George seem to indicate that Isis, with her symbolic sistrum, was the city's

16. As is pointed out by Chapouthier and accepted by Edson.

17. They are shown on a Thessalonian coin: *vide n.11 supra*.

18. Chapouthier, 251, n.5.

19. I have found twenty "descendants or gifts of Isis" in the telephone directory of Athens!

20. The influence of the Egyptian religion on the choice of names at a time when that religion was either waning or had been supplanted is not to be minimised. One may also think of one of the greatest theologians of the Christian church, Origen, "born of Horus."

patroness as at Philipppi. Under her epiclesis of Lochia she and the city receive the homage of a thankful Roman grandfather and his wife upon their daughter's safe delivery of a child. Here the function traditionally assumed in Greece by Artemis is fulfilled by Isis, the compassionate mother, who from her own experience understands suffering, especially of women in labour, being at all times a very present help in trouble.

It is to the same Isis that the Roman Ovid appeals as his paramour hovers between life and death: "In dubio uitae lassa Corinna iacet" "Huc adhibe uultus et in una parce doobus." The goddess of the Nile was tender-hearted. When asked for help (as Paul was asked in a dream by the Macedonian) she was not asked in vain by those who had suffered mishaps: "Dulcem adfectionem miserorum casibus tribuis." Ἐλθέ μοι, θεὰ Θεῶν, ὡς γινόμενη ἐπάκουσον, ἐλέησον. Her religion entailed humility, a readiness to confess sins, and repentance: "Dea, erravi, ignosce, rediui." To those, however, who followed her in faith she afforded (like the Christ of *Philippians* and *Second Thessalonians*) the gifts of salvation, comfort, of love and eternal life.

In the city where our symposium is being held the cult of the Egyptian gods was thriving enough for the Serapeum with the excavation of which the names of Pelekides and Makaronas must be associated, to have been built before the beginning of the second century B.C.²¹ As Prof. Edson has observed, here is the source of "a body of evidence, archaeological and epigraphical, second only to that of Delos and covering a much longer period of time." My own brief glances at the material in the two Museums of Thessaloniki²² hardly fit me to deal with it in detail. But the epigraphical remains have been glanced at in the company of Prof. Edson, to whose kind help I owe much. One or two inscriptions which attract me particularly can be precisely dated to the reign of Augustus—23 B.C. and 15-14 B.C. There is also a stele from the temple with an inscription which fascinates me and this is dated by Edson to 64-5 A.D.

Dr. Makaronas has vividly recounted his feeling of awe when in 1939 he stepped down into the crypt of the Serapeum with Pelekides,²³ who thought that here the Cabeiroi might have carried out their secret rites. The

21. *Vide n. 8^a supra.*

22. My thanks are due to the Director Dr. Petsas for enabling me to visit rooms where the material is still in process of reorganisation.

23. Makaronas seemed πρῶτος ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἀπροσδοκῆτου καὶ μυστηριωδῶς ὑποβλητικοῦ περιβάλλοντος, *Macedonica* I, 1940, 465, n.l.

site possessed other edifices of secondary importance. Unluckily the exhibits in the Museums relevant to my topic are still unclassified and some are perhaps from other sites in the city. I have in fact seen in the New Museum a figure of Isis with a frigid stole, a fine head of Serapis, Harpocrates characteristically holding his finger to his lips, and Aphrodite Omonoia. One object reported to have been found which I did not myself see was a small sphinx in black stone.

In the Serapeum incubation is recorded to have been practised. A pathway, the long Egyptian walk or *dromos* known from other sources, called Ἰδρόμος Ὀσείριδι (inscr.999), led to the shrine itself. An important find is a small fragmentary version of the Isiac aretology better preserved in the *Hymn from Andros*. From the variety of the evidence one may guess that in the temple at Thessaloniki the rites of the Nile were performed zealously.

Baege published the poem written by Philip of Thessaloniki in praise of Isis Pharia who saved Damis from shipwreck and whose escape resembles that of the dedicant of the stele I have mentioned. To her he proffered gifts of spikenard and frankincense. Thessaloniki possessed a religious group called "worshippers of the god Hermanubis." Another body known as ἱεράφοροι συνκληταὶ may be compared in some respects to a modern Freemasons' Lodge. There was a board of at least fourteen priests for the performance of the Egyptian rites. This took place in public. But they met in private for convivial purposes.

Through the kindness of Professor Cormack I can add a little information about the temple inscriptions. Thirty six of these name the Egyptian gods and all but five either explicitly or implicitly refer to Isis. Serapis is found in 17, Osiris in 5, Anubis in 4, and Harpocrates in two. Worshipers in the Thessalonian Serapeum as elsewhere could offer votive representations of feet, signifying perhaps that the path had been ritually trodden, or of hands, or of ears. Sometimes this was done explicitly κατ' εὐχὴν or according to divine command κατ' ἐπιταγὴν.²⁴

It is not by accident that Isis is honoured with epicleses commonly bestowed on Artemis. Thessaloniki came to know Isis as she was known to the novelist Xenophon of Ephesus, whose heroine Anthea was first in the service of Ephesian Artemis but set out on typically Isiac adventures which took her as far as Memphis and to "holy Isis on the banks of the River Nile." One inscription belonging to the Museum at Thessaloniki

24. An inscription from Mount Athos (Megisti Lavra, Demitsas 780) to Artemis is couched in a similar way: Ἀρτέμιδι Ἀγροτέρῃ Νεβρίῳ ἐπιταγὴν ἀνέθηκεν.

specifically names the Temple and Portico of Isis, goddess of Memphis. The epithets *λοχία* and *ἐπήκοος* and the name *Νύμφη* also point to the assimilation of Isis with Artemis, a topic with which I have dealt elsewhere. Exhibit 986 introduces us to Isis Orgia (*Εἰσιν Ὀργίαν*). The adjective *ὄργιος* is apparently not found elsewhere, although in Appian the Roman Volumnius is labelled *ὄργιαστὴς τῆς Ἰσιδος* and in Ox. Pap. 1380 the goddess is invoked as *μύστις*.²⁵ Exactly what mystic rites were carried out by Macedonians in the name of the Nile gods is unknown. From Apuleius it is clear that in the Egyptian as in other ancient cults indispensable elements were preparation, ceremonial purification, and nocturnal initiation. A nativity drama may have been enacted, for in Egypt itself, for instance at Philae, within the precincts of Isis could be found the House of Incarnation—the Mammisium—and in one of the Coffin Texts is the statement “I saw her hidden mysteries in that she let me see the birth of the great God.” A point of difference between the cult of Isis and her associated deities was the requirement that the divine sign, given in a dream, must be patiently awaited. The stele from the Serapeum, whether dedicated to Theos Hypsistos or to Serapis himself, reveals language strongly suggestive of the Egyptian religion: *Κατ’ ὄνειρον χρηματισθεὶς καὶ σωθεὶς ἐκ μεγάλου κινδύνου τοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν εὐχαριστήριον*.²⁶

Whatever the underlying distinctions between the contending cults in the Hellenistic world may have been, we ought not to imagine that in an age when syncretisation was rife and when Isis made her catholic claims her religion remained foreign and apart from the people of Macedonia. On the Island of Samothrace she was worshipped in Roman times as *ταυρωτός*. Accordingly it is reasonable to suppose that in the city of Thessaloniki, where the Cabeiroi were as deeply revered as on Samothrace, similar associations were established. Another point may be made. In the *Second Epistle to the Thessalonians* with its warning against the wrong path and idolatry (*ἐκ πλάνης, ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων*) mention is made of the mystery of iniquity and of the Anomos who is to be destroyed by the Epiphany of the Lord’s coming. New Testament scholars have detected here a reference to Caligula, the Antichrist who had attempted to profane the Temple at Jerusalem. Now it has been recently shown by Ernst Koeberlein that the mysteries instituted by Caligula and linked with Emperor worship partook of Isiacism, the colossal statue intended for in the Temple at Jerusalem

25. Applied to Osiris in another of the inscriptions.

26. The resemblances between the words used here and Chapter II of the *First Gospel*

being a blend of Neos Gaius and *Zeus Epiphanes*.²⁷ If I were allowed a guess, I might consider Paul in the Anomos passage to be hitting out possibly at a Thessalonian cult in which Emperor worship was combined with the cult of Isis and Serapis.

There is no room now for further discussion. If the opportunity presents itself I hope to look more closely at the Egyptian cult in Macedonia. I am sure of its importance in this part of Greece and of its prominence in the background against which palαιο-Christianity first took shape.

University of London

REX WITT

are striking.

27. See further Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius*, 139.

ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΑ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑΣ

Τὸ πρόβλημα τῆς γλώσσας τῶν ἀρχαίων Μακεδόνων παρουσιάζει γοητευτικό ἐνδιαφέρον, τὸ ἴδιο ποὺ παρουσιάζει καὶ ἡ ἱστορία τῆς ὥραιας αὐτῆς χώρας. Ἄν τὸ κοιτάξῃ κανεὶς μέσα στὸ εὐρύτερο πλαίσιο τῆς ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσας καὶ τοῦ ἐλληνικοῦ λαοῦ, θὰ διαπιστώσῃ ἀπὸ τὴν μιὰ μεριά ὅτι οἱ Μακεδόνες εἶναι ἄγνωστοι στὸν Ὅμηρο. Ὁ ποιητὴς φέρνει τοὺς συμμάχους τῶν Τρώων ὡς τὸν Ἀξιό (B 848-50 αὐτὰρ Πυραΐχμης ἄγε Παίονας ἀγκυλοτόξους / τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀμυδῶνος, ἀπ' Ἀξιοῦ εὐρὺ θέοντος, / Ἀξιοῦ, οὗ κάλλιστον ἔδωκε ἐπικίδναται αἶαν), ἐνῶ οἱ Ἕλληνες φτάνουν ὡς τὶς ὑπάρειες τοῦ Ὀλύμπου, στὴν περιοχή τῆς Ἐλασσόνας (B 739 Ὀρθῆν Ἡλώνην τε πόλιν τ' Ὀλοοσσόνα λευκίην)¹. Μολαταῦτα, ἡ περιοχή δυτικὰ τοῦ Ἀξιοῦ τοῦ εἶναι πολὺ καλὰ γνωστή, γιατί ὁ ποιητὴς ξέρει καὶ τὴν Πιερίαν καὶ τὴν Ἡμαθίαν καὶ τὰ ὄρια τῆς κοντινῆς Θράκης, ποὺ ἄρχιζε τότε ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀξιό. Αὐτὸ φαίνεται ἀπὸ τὸ πῶς ξεκινᾷ ἡ Ἡρα ἀπὸ τὸν Ὀλύμπο, γιὰ νὰ παγιδεύσῃ τὸν Δία, στὸ Ξ τῆς Ἰλιάδας (225-9 Ἡρῆ δ' αἴξασα λίπεν ἔλον Οὐλύμπιοι, / Πιερίην δ' ἐπιβάσα καὶ Ἡμαθίην ἐρατεινὴν / σεύατ' ἐφ' ἱπποπόλων Θρηκῶν δρεα νιφόντα, / ἀκροτάτας κορυφάς· οὐδὲ χθόνα μάρπτε ποδοῖν / ἐξ Ἀθώα δ' ἐπὶ πόντον ἐβήσετο κυμαίνοντα)². Αὐτὸ τὸ στοιχεῖο πρέπει νὰ παρουσιάξῃ ἐνδιαφέρον ἀπὸ τὴν ἀποψη τῆς συνθέσεως τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν πλοίων, γιατί θά ἦταν δύσκολο ἓνας ποιητὴς ποὺ γράφει στὴν Θεσσαλία π.χ. νὰ παραλείψῃ τὴν περιοχή,

1. Γιά τὴν Ἡλώνην βλ. RE V, 2, 2453. Τίποτε δὲν ἐμποδίζει νὰ σώθῃκε ἐκτός ἀπὸ τὴν Ὀλοοσσόνα) Ἐλασσόνα καὶ ἡ Ἡλώνη - Ἡλώνα) Ἐλοῦνα) τὴν Ἐλοῦνα) τὴ - νελοῦνα) Μελοῦνα ἀπὸ ἀνομοίωση. Ἡ γλωσσικὴ ἀποψη εἶναι εὐνοϊκὴ, ἀν ἄλλα στοιχεῖα δὲν τὴν ἀποκλείουν. Ὁ Στράβωνας 9,440 λέει ὅτι ἡ Ἡλώνη μετέβαλε τοῦτομα Λειμώνη μετονομασθεῖσα· κατέσκαπται δὲ νῦν. Ἄν ἡ πληροφορία εἶναι σωστὴ, ἡ μετάβαση (Λειμώνη) Λεμόνα) Μελοῦνα εἶναι ἐξίσου δυνατὴ. Στὴν τελευταία μελέτη γιὰ τὸν κατάλογο τῶν πλοίων (R. Hope Simpson and J.F. Lazenby, *The Catalogue of the Ships in Homer's Iliad*, Oxford 1970) οἱ συγγραφεῖς τοποθετοῦν (σ. 146-7) τὴν Ἡλώνη στὸ στενὸ τῆς Μελοῦνας, χωρὶς βέβαια νὰ ὑποψιάζωνται τὴν ἐνδεχόμενη ταύτιση τοῦ ἀρχαίου μὲ τὸ νέο τοπωνύμιον: «The quantity and quality of the Mycenaean remains here, the nature of the site at the southern end of the Meluna pass, all lend support to its identification with Elone, though not in themselves sufficient to prove it»

2. Ἐνδιαφέρουσα εἶναι ἡ ἀναχώρηση τοῦ Ἑρμῆ, στὸ ε 50, ὁ ὁποῖος φεύγοντας ἀπὸ τὸν Ὀλύμπο γιὰ νὰ πᾶν πρὸς Δυσμὰς στὴν Ἰγυγίαν, «ἐπιβαίνει» μόνο τὴν «Πιερίην» καὶ ἀμέσως πέφτει στὴν ἀπέραντη θάλασσα (Πιερίην δ' ἐπιβάς ἐξ αἰθέρος ἔμπεσε πόντῳ), πράγμα ποὺ δείχνει ὅτι ὁ πόντος εἶναι ἀκαθόριστα δυτικὸς (Ἀδριατικὴ, Δυτικὴ Μεσόγειος, Ὠκεανός).

είτε από τὸν κατάλογο τῶν Ἑλλήνων είτε ἀπὸ τὸν κατάλογο τῶν Τρώων. Ἀπὸ τὴν Μ. Ἀσία ὅμως ἢ ἀκόμα κι ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀθήνα μιὰ τέτοια παράλειψη δὲν εἶναι ἀδύνατη.

Ἀπὸ τὴν ἄλλη μεριά ὑπάρχουν μέσα στὸν ἴδιο τὸν κατάλογο δυὸ ἔμμεσοι ὑπαινιγμοὶ καὶ γιὰ τὴν ἐπαφὴ καὶ ἐπικοινωνία ἀνάμεσα στὴν Μακεδονία καὶ τὴν Θεσσαλία καὶ γιὰ τὴν συγγένεια τὴν ἐθνικὴ τῶν δυὸ λαῶν. Ὁ πρῶτος ἀφορᾷ τοὺς Μάγνητες, ποὺ κατοικοῦν στὸ Πήλιο καὶ στὸν Πηνειό, καὶ μὲ ἀρχηγὸν τὸν Πρόθοο, γιὸν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνα, παίρνουν μέρος μὲ 40 πλοῖα μαζί μὲ τοὺς ἄλλους Θεσσαλοὺς (B 756-9). Οἱ Μάγνητες ὅμως ξέρουμε ἀπὸ τὸν Ἡσιόδο ὅτι ἔχουν γενάρχη τὸν Μάγνητα, ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Μακεδόνο, τοῦ γενάρχη τῶν Μακεδόνων, ποὺ κι οἱ δυὸ μαζί εἶναι γιοὶ τοῦ Δία ἢ τοῦ Αἰόλου καὶ τῆς Θυίας, τῆς κόρης τοῦ Δευκαλίωνα καὶ ἀδελφῆς τοῦ Ἑλλήνα³. Ὁ δεῦτερος ὑπαινιγμὸς ἀφορᾷ τὶς φοράδες τοῦ Εὐμηλοῦ, τοῦ γιοῦ τοῦ Ἀδμήτου, γιοῦ τοῦ Φέρητα, ποὺ ἦταν, σύμφωνα μὲ τὴν συναισθηματικὴ παρέκβαση τοῦ ποιητῆ στὸ τέλος τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν Ἑλλήνων (B 760 κέ.), οἱ πιὸ γρήγορες μέσα στὸ Ἑλληνικὸ στρατόπεδο, κι αὐτές, σύμφωνα μὲ τὴν γραφὴ τῆς vulgata ποὺ τὴν δέχονται πολλοὶ ἐκδότες καὶ τὴν υἱοθετεῖ κι ὁ Allen στὴν μεγάλη του ἐκδοσὴ τῆς Ἰλιάδας (1931, Oxford), ἀνατράφηκαν στὴν Πιερί (B 766) ἀπὸ τὸν ἀργυρότοξο Ἀπόλλωνα. Τὸ πράγμα δὲν πρέπει νὰ μᾶς ἐκπλήττει, γιὰ καὶ τὶς ἀγελάδες του ὁ Ἀπόλλωνας τὶς ἀνέτρεφε στὴν ἴδια περιοχὴ⁴, κι ἀπ' ἐδῶ τοῦ ἔκλεψε πενήντα⁵ στὸ πρῶτο του κατόρθωμα ὁ νεογέννητος Ἑρμῆς. Μάλιστα ἡ περιγραφή ποὺ ἔχουμε στὸν Ὑμνο στὸν Ἑρμῆ (στ. 74 κέ.) δείχνει καθαρὰ πῶς ὁ ποιητὴς τοῦ Ὑμνου ξέρεي καὶ τὴν Ἡμαθία, γιὰ μᾶς δίνει τὴν ἐτυμολογικὴ τῆς ἀνάλυση (75 διὰ ψαμαθῶδεα χῶρον). Τὸ ἴδιο συμβαίνει καὶ μὲ τὸν Ὑμνο στὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, ὁ στίχος ὅμως ἐκεῖ (217 Λέκτον ἡμαθόεντα, v.l. Ἡμαθίαν τε) δὲν εἶναι βέβαιος. Θὰ μπορούσε νὰ προσθέσει κανεὶς ἀκόμα καὶ τὴν μυθολογικὴ πληροφορία ποὺ ὑπάρχει στὸ Μέγα Ἑτυμολογικόν (195, 36) στὴν λ. Βέροια, ἡ ὁποία κτίστηκε τάχα «ἀπὸ Φέρητός τινος», πράγμα ποὺ μᾶς φέρνει πολὺ κοντὰ πρὸς τὶς φοράδες τοῦ Εὐμηλοῦ, ἐγγονοῦ τοῦ Φέρητα⁶.

3. Βλ. Ἡσιόδ. Ἀποσπ. 5 (Rz.) Ἡ δ' ὑποκυσσάμενη Διὶ γέλιντο τετρακυκράνῃσι/υἱε δ' αὖτο, Μάγνητα Μακεδόνα θ' ἐπιτοχάμεν, /οἱ περὶ Πιερίην καὶ Ὀλυμπον δώματ' ἔναιον. Μιὰ ἄλλη καταγωγὴ τοῦ Μάγνητα ἀπὸ τὸν Ἄργον, τὸν γιὸ τοῦ Φριζοῦ, καὶ τὴν Περιμήλη, κόρη τοῦ Ἀδμήτου· βλ. Ἡσιόδ. Ἀποσπ. 153 Rz.

4. Τὰ ἀθάνατα βόδια τῶν ἀθάντων θεῶν εἶχαν τὶς μάντρες τοὺς στὴν Πιερί: Ὑμν. Ἑρμ. 70-72 Πιερίης ἀφίκανε θεῶν ὄρεα σκυόεντα, /ἐνθα θεῶν μακάρων βόες ἀμβροτοὶ σὺν ἔχουσιν/βοσκόμενοι λειμῶνας ἀκηρασίους ἐρατεινοὺς.

5. Ἐκατὸν δεκατρία κεφάλια, σύμφωνα μὲ τὸ ἀπόσπ. 153 (Rz.) τοῦ Ἡσιόδου.

6. Τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Λιτοχώρου, τοῦ χωριοῦ ποὺ βρίσκεται κάτω ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπιβλητικὴ χα-

Τὰ στοιχεῖα αὐτὰ δείχνουν τὴν ἐπαφὴ ἀνάμεσα στὴν Θεσσαλία καὶ τὴν Μακεδονία τῆς περιοχῆς τοῦ Ὀλύμπου, αὐτὴν ποὺ ἦταν στὴν ἀρχὴ ἡ *Κάτω Μακεδονία*, μὲ ἀνατολικό σύνορο τὸν Ἀξιό. Μποροῦμε νὰ προσθέσουμε καὶ πάλι τὴν γνωστὴ μαρτυρία τοῦ Ἡσιόδου, ὁ ὁποῖος ἐνῶ ξεκινᾷ τὴν *Θεογονία* του μὲ ἐπικλήση στὶς Ἑλικωνιάδες Μοῦσες (*Θεογ.* στ. 1, πβλ. καὶ *Ἔργ.* 658), ὥστόσο σὲ λίγο ἐπικαλεῖται τὶς «Ὀλυμπιάδες Μοῦσες, κόρες τοῦ Δία» (στ. 25,966, 1022), τὰς ἐν *Πιερίῃ Κρονίδῃ τέκε πατρί...Μνημοσύνη* (*Θεογ.* 52-3) στὴν Ἀσπίδα τοῦ Ἡρακλῆ (206) ὀνομάζονται πιά μόνο *Πιερίδες*, καὶ στὸν 1. στίχο τῶν *Ἔργων*: *Μοῦσαι Πιερίθην ἀοιδῆσι κλείουσαι* ⁷. Ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁ Ἡσιόδου, ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀσκρα τῆς Βοιωτίας, θὰ ἤξερε τὶς Πιερίδες Μοῦσες, ἂν αὐτὲς δὲν εἶχαν ἀπὸ χρόνια τοποθετηθῇ ἐδῶ ἀπὸ τοὺς ποιητὲς καὶ μάντιες τῆς περιοχῆς; Καὶ πῶς θὰ ἔφθαναν αὐτὲς στὴν Βοιωτία, ἂν δὲν εἶχαν μείνει χρόνια ἐλληνικὲς φυλὲς ἐδῶ, ὥστε νὰ τὶς πάρουν ὕστερα μαζί τους σὰν ποιητικὴ καὶ θρησκευτικὴ ἐμπειρία, ὅταν μετακινήθησαν πρὸς νότον; Ποιὸς θὰ ἤξερε τὰ Πιέρια τότε καὶ ποιὸς τὰ ξέρει καὶ τώρα, ἂν δὲν τὰ ἐξη ἐπισκεφθῇ ἡ διδασχθῇ ἀπὸ καλὸν δάσκαλο στὸ δημοτικὸ σχολεῖο;⁸ Θὰ ξαναμιλήσουμε ὁμῶς γι' αὐτὸ σὲ συσχετισμὸν μὲ τὸν Ὀλύμπο.

Εἶναι ἀνάγκη νὰ κοιτάξουμε μυθολογικὰ καὶ τὴν περιοχὴ τῆς Ἄνω Μακεδονίας, αὐτῆς ποὺ σύμφωνα μὲ τὶς εἰδήσεις τῶν ἀρχαίων ἱστορικῶν ἀπετέλεσε τὸ ὄρμητήριό τῆς Μακεδονικῆς «ἀρχῆς». Θὰ ἀναφερθῶ στὴν γνωστὴ

ράδρα τοῦ Ὀλύμπου, αὐτὴν ποὺ βλέπει πρὸς τὸν Θερμαϊκό, ἴσως θὰ μπορούσε νὰ συνδεθῇ μὲ τὴν πληροφορία ποὺ ὑπάρχει στὸν *Στέφανο τὸν Βυζάντιο* στὸ τοπωνύμιον *Λυταί, χωρίον Θεσσαλίας*, διὰ τὸ λῦσαι τὰ *Τέμπη Ποσειδῶνα* καὶ σκεδάσαι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ὕδωρ. Ἄν ἡ σύνθεση καὶ ἡ ἐρμηνεία τοῦ ὀνόματος ἔχουν κάποιον λόγο, τίποτε δὲν ταιριάζει καλύτερα ἀπὸ τὴν περιοχὴ τοῦ *Λυτο-χώρου*, τὸ ὁποῖο εἶναι χτισμένο στὴν ἄκρῃ μιᾶς ἀγρονῆς πλαγιᾶς ποὺ μοιάζει νὰ ἀποτελέσθηκε ἀπὸ ἄμμον, κροκάλες καὶ λίγα χῶματα, κουβαλήματα ὅλα ἀπὸ τὶς χαράδρες τοῦ Ὀλύμπου.

7. Καὶ στὸ Β τῆς Ἰλιάδας (484, 491) οἱ Μοῦσες ὑμνοῦνται τὴν πρώτη φορὰ ὡς Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι, ἐνῶ τὴν δεύτερη καθαρὰ φῶς Ὀλυμπιάδες Μοῦσαι Διὸς αἰ-γύχοιο/θυγατέρες.

8. Στὴν ἱστορικὴ ἐποχὴ, ὁ Αἰσχύλος βάζει στὸ στόμα τοῦ προἱστορικοῦ βασιλεῖ τοῦ Ἀργεῶς, Πελασγοῦ, τὰ ἑξῆς λόγια (*Ἰκέτ.* 252 κέ.): *ἐμοῦ δ' ἀνακτος εὐλόγως ἐπώνυμον/γένος Πελασγῶν τήνδε καρπούται χθόνα./καὶ πᾶσαν αἶαν, ἧς δι' ἀγνὸς ἐργεται/Στρυμῶν, τὸ πρὸς δύνοντος ἡλίου, κρατῶ./ὀρῶμαι δὲ τήν τε Περραιβῶν χθόνα,/Πίνδον τε τὰπέκεινα, Παιδῶν πέλας,/ὄρη τε Δωδωναία/ συντέμνει δ' ὄρος/ὕγρῳς θαλάσσης/ τῶνδε τάπιδ' αὐτὴ κρατῶ.* Τουλάχιστο βλέπει κανεὶς ἔτσι πῶς αἰσθάνονταν οἱ νότιοι Ἕλληνες τὴν ἐνότητα τοῦ ἐλληνικοῦ χώρου καὶ φυσικὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐλληνικοῦ ἔθνους στὸ β' τέταρτο τοῦ 5. αἰ. Δὲν πρέπει νὰ θεωροῦμε ἐξ ἄλλου συμπτωματικὸ τὸ ὅτι ἐνσωματώθηκαν τόσο τέλεια στὴν ἐλληνικὴ σκέψη οἱ πρὸ σπουδαῖοι καὶ πρὸ ἀρχαῖοι μουσικοὶ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος Αἰνός, Ὀρφείας, Θάμυρις, ποὺ προέρχονται ἀπ' αὐτὴν τὴν περιοχὴ ἢ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀμέσως γειτονικὴ τῆς θρακικῆς. Βλ. καὶ Χατζιδάκη, *Γλωσσολ.* μελ. 1,82. *Γλωσσολ.* *ἔργον* 1,250.

εἶδηση πού περιέχεται στην Περίληψη τῆς *Χρηστομάθειας* τοῦ Πρόκλου ἀπὸ τὴν *Τηλεγονία* τοῦ Εὐγάμωνα τοῦ Κυρηναίου, πού ἦταν τὸ τελευταῖο ἀπὸ τὰ ἔπη τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ κύκλου καὶ στηριζόταν πιθανῶς σὲ μιὰν παλιότερη *Τηλεγονία* τοῦ Κιναίθωνα τοῦ Λακεδαιμόνιου. Ἐκεῖ, στὸ α' μέρος, τὴν *Θεσπρωτίδα*, ὁ Ὀδυσσεύς φεύγει ἀπὸ τὴν Ἰθάκη μετὰ τὴν μνηστοροφονία—σύμφωνα καὶ μὲ τὸ τελευταῖο μέρος τῶν χρησμών τοῦ Τειρεσία (λ 119 κέ.)—καὶ ἐπικεφαλῆς τῶν Θεσπρωτῶν πολεμᾷ πρὸς τοὺς *Βρύγους* (Hom. *Op.* τ. V, ed. Allen, σ. 109). Οἱ Βρύγοι αὐτοὶ εἶναι, ὅπως γίνεται δεκτό⁹, μιὰ φωνητικὴ παραλλαγή τῶν *Φρυγῶν*, καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν μιὰ μεριά μᾶς γνωρίζουν, μὲ αὐτὴν τὴν πρῶμην ἐξωιστορικὴ μαρτυρία, μιὰν ἀποτυχημένη πιθανῶς ἀπόπειρα νὰ κατεβοῦν καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἡπειρο, ὕστερα ἀπὸ τὴν ὁποία φαίνεται ὅτι στράφηκαν πρὸς τὰ ἀνατολικά καὶ πέρασαν στὴν Θράκη καὶ τὴν Μ. Ἀσία, ὅπου ἐγκαταστάθηκαν τελικά¹⁰ ἀπὸ τὴν ἄλλη ὁμῶς—καὶ αὐτὸ μοῦ φαίνεται σπουδαιότερο, ἂν ἡ συσχέτιση αὐτὴ εἶναι σωστὴ—μᾶς δίνουν τὸ πρῶτο δείγμα τοῦ γνωστοῦ φωνητικοῦ φαινομένου τῆς ἀρχαίας μακεδονικῆς διαλέκτου, σύμφωνα μὲ τὸ ὁποῖο ἓνα δασὺ σύμφωνο + ρ ἐξελλίσσεται στὸ ἀντίστοιχό του μέσο, μὲ λίγα δείγματα τροπῆς καὶ τῶν ἀπλῶν δασέων. Ἐνα ἀκόμα στοιχεῖο σ' αὐτὴν τὴν σειρὰ εἶναι καὶ ἡ συσχέτιση τοῦ ὀνόματος *Ἐδεσσα* μὲ τὴν φρυγικὴ λέξη *βέδν*: ὕδωρ (Κλημ. *Στρωμ.* 5. 8, 46), συσχέτιση ἡ ὁποία γίνεται δεκτὴ μὲ λίγες ἐξαιρέσεις¹¹ ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐρευνητές, πράγμα πού ἴσως ρίχνει ἓνα ἀμυδρὸ φῶς σ' αὐτὴν τὴν μυθικὴ ἐκστρατεία τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύς, καὶ ἴσως ἀποτελεῖ ἀνάμνηση τῆς πάλης τῶν δυτικῶν ἑλληνικῶν φύλων ἐναντίον τῶν βόρειων γειτονικῶν τοὺς Ἰλλυρικῶν καὶ τῶν Θρακικῶν, ἀπὸ τὰ ὁποῖα ἓνα ἦταν καὶ τὸ φρυγικό. Ἡ πάλη αὐτὴ μπορεῖ νὰ σχετισθῇ μὲ ὅ,τι μᾶς εἶπε ὁ κ. Hammond (βλ. παραπ. σ. 58) γιὰ τὴν κοινὴ φυλετικὴ καταγωγὴ τῶν Πελαγόνων, Λυγκηστῶν καὶ Ὀρεστών· μιὰ τελευταία φάση τῆς μπορεῖ νὰ ἦταν, σύμφωνα μὲ τὴν μαρτυρία τοῦ Ἡροδότου (1, 56)¹², καὶ ἡ διείσδυση τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀπὸ τὴν περιοχὴ τῆς Β. καὶ Α. Θεσσαλίας καὶ τῆς Πίνδου πρὸς τὴν περιοχὴ τῆς Κάτω Μακεδονίας, στὴν στενὴ λωρίδα πού ὀρίζεται ἀπὸ τὸν Ὀλυμπο, τὰ Πιέρια, τὸ Βέρμιο καὶ τὸν Ἀξιό. Ὁ Ἡρόδοτος (1, 56) μᾶς πληροφορεῖ ὅτι τὸ «ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος» *ἐπὶ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλλήνος* (οἴκεε) *τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσαν καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον χώραν, καλεομένην δὲ Ἰστιάιωτιν*. Ἀπ' ἐδῶ τὸ ξεσήκωσαν οἱ Καδμεῖοι καὶ τὸ ἐσπρωξαν πρὸς τὴν Πίνδο· τὸ ὄνομά του ἦταν *Μακεδόν* (*μακεδόν* καλεόμε-

9. Βλ. Oberhammer στὴν *RE* III 1,520 στὸ ἄρθρο Bryges.

10. Στὰ 490 π.Χ. ὤφειλχαν ἀκόμα Βρύγοι στὴν περιοχὴ τοῦ Στρυμόνα καὶ τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς (*Ἡρόδ.* 6, 45).

11. Βλ. λεπτομέρειες στοῦ J. Kalléris, *Les anciens Macédoniens* 1, 118 - 30.

12. Βλ. καὶ Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen* 258.

νον). Ἀπ' ἐδῶ αὐτοὶ σηκώθηκαν μόνοι τους κι ἐπῆγαν στὴν Δρυοπίδα καὶ τέλος στὴν Πελοπόννησο, ὅπου ὀνομάσθηκαν *Δωριεῖς* (*δωρικὸν γένος*). Τὰ ἴδια περίπου λέει περιληπτικὰ στὸ 8, 43, ὅπου μιλώντας γιὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμόνιους, Κορινθίους, Σικωνίους, Ἐπιδαυρίους καὶ Τροιζηνίους τοὺς χαρακτηρίζει (*πλὴν Ἑρμιονέων*) *δωρικὸν τε καὶ μακεδνὸν ἔθνος, ἐξ Ἑρинеοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα ὀρμηθέντες*. Πρέπει λοιπὸν νὰ ὑποθέσουμε καὶ σύμφωνα μὲ τὸν Ἡρόδοτο ὅτι τὸ μακεδνὸν ἔθνος δὲν ξεσηκώθηκε ὅλο μαζὶ ἀπὸ τὴν Πίνδο πρὸς τὴν Πελοπόννησο, ἀλλὰ ὅτι ἓνα τμήμα του ἔμεινε στὴν Πίνδο, ἀπ' ὅπου πέρασε τότε ἡ ἀργότερα, ἀπὸ τὴν περιοχὴ τῆς Πίνδου—δηλ. τῆς σημερινῆς δυτικῆς Μακεδονίας—πρὸς τὴν περιοχὴ τὴν πέρα ἀπὸ τὸν Ὀλύμπο, ὅπου δημιούργησε τὶς νέες ἱστορικὲς τύχες του¹³. Μέσα σ' αὐτὴν τὴν κίνησι πρέπει νὰ δημιουργήθηκε ἡ ἀνάμειξι μὲ τὰ αἰολικὰ φύλα τῆς Θεσσαλίας καὶ μὲ τὰ πρῶιμα ἀχαϊκὰ φύλα ποὺ θὰ βρῆκε στὴν κάτω Μακεδονία. Πότε ἔγιναν αὐτά, εἶναι δύσκολο νὰ τὸ ὀρίσουμε. Συνδυάζοντας ὁμῶς τὴν διήγησι τοῦ Ἡροδότου μὲ αὐτὰ ποὺ λέει ὁ Θουκυδίδης γιὰ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Δωριεῖς (1, 12, 3), καθὼς καὶ μὲ τὰ γενεαλογικὰ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν Τημενιδῶν¹⁴, μποροῦμε νὰ πᾶμε πρὸς τὸ τέλος τοῦ 12. αἰῶνα. Ἔτσι θὰ δικαιολογοῦνταν ἐκεῖνοι ποὺ πιστεύουν στὸν δωρικὸ χαρακτηρισμὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τῆς γλώσσας τους.

Ἀπὸ τὴν ἄλλη μεριά, ἡ σημερινὴ εἰκόνα τοῦ μυκηναϊκοῦ πολιτισμοῦ ἔχει διευρυνθῆ σημαντικὰ χάρις στὰ ἀρχαιολογικὰ εὐρήματα—κι ὁ συνάδελφος κ. Ἀνδρόνικος μᾶς εἶπε σημαντικὰ πράγματα καὶ γιὰ τὴν Μακεδονία¹⁵—, καὶ χάρις στὴν ἀνάγνωσι τῆς μυκηναϊκῆς γραφῆς. Αὐτὴ ἡ διεύρυνσι, μαζὶ μὲ τὴν φτωχὴ γιὰ τὴν ὥρα παρουσία γλωσσικῶν στοιχείων κοινῶν στὴν ἀρχαία μακεδονικὴ καὶ στὸ ἔπος ἢ τὴν ἀρχαία κυπριακὴ διάλεκτο (ἡ ὁποία, ὅπως εἶναι γνωστὸ, ἔχει περισσότερα στοιχεῖα κοινὰ μὲ αὐτό), καθὼς καὶ ἡ γνωστὴ κοινότητι ἀνάμεσα στὶς αἰολικὲς διαλέκτους, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτὲς ἰδιαίτερα ἀνάμεσα στὴν κυπριακὴ καὶ τὴν ἀρκαδική, μποροῦν νὰ μᾶς ὀδηγήσουν ψηλαφητὰ λίγο πιὸ πίσω ἀπὸ τὴν ἐποχὴ ποὺ κερδίσαμε ἀπὸ τὴν διήγησι τοῦ Ἡροδότου. Αὐτὸ ὁμῶς τὸ λίγο χρονικὸ ἀνέβασμα ἴσως μᾶς ἐπιτρέπει νὰ συνδέσου-

13. Στενὴ σχέση τῆς κεραμικῆς Ἡπείρου-Μακεδονίας στὴν ἐποχὴ ὕστερα ἀπὸ τὸ 1700 π.Χ. διαπιστώνει ὁ N.G.L. Hammond, *Epirus*, Oxford 1967 σ. 307. Χρήσιμη ἐνημέρωσι γιὰ τὴν σημερινὴ κατάστασι τῆς ἐρευνας βλ. στοῦ Φ.Μ. Πέτσα, Χρονικὰ ἀρχαιολογικὰ 1966-67, *Μακεδονικὰ* 9, 1969, σ. 103-108 (ἀπ' ὅπου [σ. 105, σημ. 2] καὶ ἡ μνεῖα τοῦ Hammond).

14. Ὁ Τήμενος εἶναι δισέγγονος τοῦ Ἡρακλῆ, γιὸς τοῦ Κλεοδαίου, γιοῦ τοῦ Ὑλλου, γιοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλῆ ἀπὸ τὴν Δηϊάνειρα (βλ. Ἀπολλοδ., *Βιβλ.* II, 8, 5 κέ.)

15. Βλ. ἐδῶ σ. 168-169. Βλ. καὶ Πέτσα, *ἐ.δ.* σ. 105 «μυκηναϊκὸ ξίφος ἀπὸ τὸ Τέτοβο, τώρα στὸ Μουσεῖο τῶν Σκοπίων....»

με την εμφάνιση των Μακεδόνων στην Πιερία-Μακεδονία με την παρουσία των Ἀχαιῶν τοῦ μυκηναϊκοῦ πολιτισμοῦ στὴν Ἑλλάδα, ποὺ τὰ τελευταῖα τοὺς γλωσσικά λείψανα ἔμειναν κυρίως στὴν Ἀρκαδία καὶ τὴν Κύπρο. Συνδυάζοντας τὰ ἀρχαιολογικά στοιχεῖα μετὰ τὰ πολὺ λίγα γλωσσικά ἀποκτοῦμε ἴσως μιὰν ἀμυδρὴ ἐνδειξὴ ὅτι οἱ Μακεδόνες ἀποτελοῦν ἓνα τμήμα τοῦ ἀχαικοῦ κύματος ποὺ ἦρθε στὴν Ἑλλάδα, κι ἔμειναν στὴν περιφέρεια αὐτοῦ τοῦ πρώιμου ἑλληνισμοῦ,¹⁶ ἓνα ἐθνικὸ καὶ γλωσσικὸ ὑπόλειμμα ποὺ ἀνακατεύθηκε μερικὸς αἰῶνες ἀργότερα μετὰ προδωρικὰ φύλα καὶ διατήρησε τὴν ἀνάμνηση τῆς κοινῆς καταγωγῆς μέσα ἀπὸ τοὺς μύθους καὶ εἶχε τὴν ἴδια ἀρχαϊκότητα στοὺς θεσμοὺς καὶ στὴν γλῶσσα, σὰν τοὺς Κυπρίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀρκάδες τότε, σὰν τοὺς Ποντίους, Κυπρίους καὶ τοὺς Τσάκωνες καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνόφωνους τῆς Κάτω Ἰταλίας σήμερα. Καὶ ἦταν φυσικὸ νὰ τοὺς συνοδεύουν οἱ ἴδιες παρεξηγήσεις καὶ ἀγνοίες ποὺ συνοδεύουν καὶ σήμερα τίς ὁμάδες ποὺ ἀναφέραμε καὶ τίς διαλέκτους τοὺς. Οἱ μαρτυρίες τοῦ Ἡροδότου καὶ Θουκυδίδου πρέπει νὰ ἀναφέρονται, ὅπως εἶπαμε, στίς μεταγενέστερες περιπέτειες τῶν ἑλληνικῶν φύλων ποὺ θέλησαν νὰ προχωρήσουν πρὸς νότον. Πότε ὀνομάσθηκαν Μακεδόνες, πόσα φύλα ὑπέταξαν ἢ ἀφομοίωσαν, πόσα καὶ ποιά γλωσσικά στοιχεῖα πῆραν ἀπ' αὐτά, εἶναι προβλήματα ποὺ γιὰ τὴν λύση τοὺς δὲν πρέπει νὰ εἰμαστε βιαστικοί. Τὰ στοιχεῖα ποὺ ἔχουμε ὥς τώρα εἶναι πολὺ λίγα.

Ἐνα σοβαρὸ στοιχεῖο γιὰ τὴν ὑποστήριξη αὐτῆς τῆς κορείας νομίζω πὼς μᾶς προσφέρει ἀκόμα ἡ μυθολογία καὶ ἡ θρησκεία. Καὶ στὸν Ὀμηρὸ καὶ στὸν Ἡσίοδον ὁ Ὀλύμπος εἶναι πᾶς τὸ κέντρο τῆς ἑλληνικῆς θρησκείας. Ὁ Wilamowitz (*Der Glaube der Hellenen* 1,53, σμ. 2) λέει καὶ γιὰ τὴν Πιερία καὶ γιὰ τὸν Ὀλύμπον ὅτι ἐδῶ κατοίκησαν καθαροὶ Ἕλληνες, ποὺ πῆραν μαζί τοὺς στὴν Μ. Ἀσία τὴν ἀνάμνηση τοῦ Ὀλύμπου, τοῦ Δία, τῶν Μουσῶν, τῆς Πιερίας, ὅπως δείχνει τὸ ἔπος τοὺς. Σὲ ἄλλο σημείον (αὐτ. 1, 225, σμ. 1) προσδιορίζει σαφέστερα ὅτι αὐτοὶ «δὲν ἦσαν Πελοποννήσιοι (Ἀργεῖοι), ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωποι ἀπὸ τὴν Φθίαν καὶ τὴν κατοπινὴ Θεσσαλία, οἱ Αἰολεῖς, ποὺ τοὺς συναντοῦμε στὴν Κύμῃ (ἐνν. τῆς Μ. Ἀσίας), οἱ ἴδιοι ποὺ πῆραν μαζί τοὺς τὸν Ἀχιλλέω».

Θὰ ἤθελα νὰ τονίσω μιὰν σημαντικὴ λεπτομέρεια, ποὺ ἴσως δὲν τὴν προσέχουμε ὅσο πρέπει. Ὅταν μιλοῦμε γιὰ τὸν Ὀλύμπον, ἔχουμε μπροστά μας τὴν παράσταση τοῦ βουναῦ, ὅπως φαίνεται ἐπιβλητικὸ ἀπὸ τὴν μεριὰ τῆς Μακεδονίας, κι ὄχι ἀπὸ τὴν μεριὰ τῆς Θεσσαλίας,¹⁷ ἀπὸ τὴν ὁποία φαίνεται

16. Γιὰ ἰωνικὴ ἐγκατάσταση στὴν κοιλάδα τοῦ Ἀξιοῦ, βλ. Ἱ.Κ. Βογιατζίδου, Ἡ προϊστορικὴ ἑλληνικὴ ἀμφικτυονία τῶν πόλεων τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἀξιοῦ, *Πρακτ. τῆς Ἀκαδ. Ἀθηνῶν* 31, 1956, σ. 75-90.

17. Ἀπὸ τὴν Λάρισα π.χ. Καὶ οἱ στ. Β 48-49 τῆς Ἰλιάδας προϋποθέτουν κοίταγμα τοῦ Ὀλύμπου ἀπὸ τὴν μεριὰ τῆς Μακεδονίας.

μᾶλλον χαμηλὸ στὸ βάθος. Τελευταῖα (1961) ἀπὸ τὴν μεριά τῆς Μακεδονίας βρέθηκαν ἀπὸ μίαν καλὴ σύμπτωση, λίγο πῶς κάτω ἀπὸ τὴν κορυφή, σημαντικὰ λατρευτικὰ εὐρήματα¹⁸. Καὶ τὸ Δῖον, τὸ θρησκευτικὸ κέντρο τῆς περιοχῆς, βρισκόταν πρὸς τὴν μεριά τῆς Μακεδονίας. Ἄν λάβουμε μάλιστα ὑπόψη μας ὅτι ἡ ἐπικράτηση μιᾶς θρησκείας, ἀκόμα καὶ ὅταν αὐτὴ ἐπιβληθῇ ἀπὸ πάνω, χρειάζεται συνήθως μερικοὺς αἰῶνες, προπάντων γιὰ νὰ δημιουργηθῇ τὸ τελετουργικὸ καὶ νὰ καθορισθῇ ἡ λατρεία της, μπορούμε νὰ υποθέσουμε ὅτι οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ θὰ ἔμειναν ἐδῶ πολλὰ χρόνια, γύρω ἀπὸ τὸν Ὀλυμπο καὶ τὰ Πιέρια, ἐγκατέστησαν τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς στὸν Ὀλυμπο, τοὺς ὁποίους ὀργάνωσαν μὲ τὸν τότε μυκηναϊκὸ τρόπο¹⁹, καὶ τὶς Μοῦσες στὰ Πιέρια, συνδυασμένες ἴσως μὲ τὶς μυστηριακὰς λατρεῖες τοῦ Διονύσου, τοῦ Ὀρφέα καὶ ἄλλες παρμένες ἀπὸ τοὺς γειτονικοὺς Θράκες, λατρεῖες ποὺ ἐντυπωσίασαν τοὺς τραγικοὺς κι ἔκαμαν τὸν ὀρθολογιστὴ Εὐριπίδη νὰ γράψῃ πρὸς τὸ τέλος τῆς ζωῆς του τὶς *Βάκχες* του, ἓνα βαθὺ κοίταγμα πρὸς τὴν δύναμη τοῦ ὑπὲρ-λογικοῦ ἢ ἄλογου στοιχείου τῆς ψυχῆς²⁰. Ὑστερα, καθὼς προχώρησαν—ὅσοι προχώρησαν—πρὸς τὰ κάτω, μετέφεραν μαζί τους ὅλο τὸ σύστημα τῆς λατρείας, ἀφήνοντας πίσω στὴν Μακεδονία μίαν ὀπισθοφυλακὴ. Ἡ ὀπισθοφυλακὴ αὐτὴ, μὲ τὴν πτώση τοῦ μυκηναϊκοῦ πολιτισμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀναστάτωση ποὺ ἐπακολούθησε ἀπὸ νέες εἰσβολὰς καὶ κοινωνικὲς ἀνακατατάξεις, ἀνακατεύθηκε μὲ Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ Μακεδονοδωριεῖς, κατέκτησε ἢ ἀφομοίωσε Θράκες καὶ ἄλλους ξένους λαοὺς κι ἀπομονώθηκε μισοξεχασμένη, καὶ ἴσως παραπονεμένη—ἂν κρίνουμε ἀπὸ τὰ σημερινὰ—ἐδῶ ἐπάνω, κι ἔμειναν μόνο οἱ γενεαλογικοὶ μῦθοι γιὰ νὰ θυμίζουν τὴν κοινὴ καταγωγὴ, εἴτε μὲ τὴν μορφή τῶν ἀναφορῶν τοῦ Ἡσιόδου εἴτε μὲ τὸν ἀνεκδοτολογικὸ χρωματισμὸ τῶν γενεαλογικῶν τοῦ μακεδονικοῦ βασιλικοῦ οἴκου, ποὺ πρῶτος μάρτυράς τους εἶναι ὁ Ἡρόδοτος. Εἶναι ὁμως χαρακτηριστικὸ ὅτι κι αὐτὸς μόνο ἑπτὰ προγόνους τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Α' μπορεῖ

18. Στὴν κορυφὴ Ἅγιος Ἀντώνιος (ὕψ. 2817), 100 μέτρα χαμηλότερα ἀπὸ τὸν Μύτικα (2917) ἡ «καλὴ σύμπτωση» ὀφείλεται στὴν ἀπόφαση τοῦ κ. Β. Κυριαζοπούλου, καθηγητῆ τῆς Μετεωρολογίας, νὰ ἐγκαταστήσῃ μετεωρολογικὸν σταθμὸ, κι ἔτσι ἔγινε γνωστὸ τὸ μοναδικὸ αὐτὸ εὐρημα μὲ διάφορα ἀφιερῶματα καὶ ἐπιγραφές. Βλ. Β. Κυριαζοπούλου Γ. Λιβαδά, Ἀρχαιολογικὰ εὐρήματα ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ Ὀλύμπου Ἅγιος Ἀντώνιος, *Αρχαιολ. Δελτίον* 22, 1967, 6-14.

19. Βλ. M. Nilsson, *Gesch. d. griech. Religion* 1, 330-1: «Der Ursprung des griechischen Götterstaates geht also in die Urzeit zurück, in der Zeus...Vater als der patriarchische Hausherr aufgefasst wurde».

20. Ὁ Εὐριπίδης δὲν ἦταν βέβαια ὁ πρῶτος ποὺ δραματοποίησε τὸ θέμα τῶν *Βακχῶν*. *Βάκχες* ἔγραψαν καὶ ὁ Αἰσχύλος, ὁ Κλεοφάντας, ὁ Ἰοφάντας, ὁ Ξενοκλῆς. Οἱ *Βάκχες* τοῦ Εὐριπίδη γράφτηκαν σύμφωνα μὲ τὸν *Πενθέα* τοῦ Αἰσχύλου. Βλ. Schmid-Stählin, *GGL* 1, 2,258, σμ. 4. Τὸ περιεχόμενο τῆς *Λυκούργειας* τοῦ Αἰσχύλου μᾶς εἶναι ἄγνωστο.

νά ονοματίσει, δηλ. μόλις μπορεί νά φθάσει στο 730 περίπου π.Χ., αφήνοντας ένα μεγάλο κενό ανάμεσα στον Τήμενο και τον Περδίκκα τον Α' που ήταν ο πιο νέος από τους τρεις αδελφούς των *Τημένου απογόνων* (8,137), ενώ Σπαρτιάτες ονοματίζει 20 από τον Λεωτυχίδη ως τον 'Ηρακλή (8,131). 'Ο κ. Δασκαλάκης ἐμνημόνευσε²¹ τὴν πληροφορία τοῦ Σύγκελλου με τοὺς 11 βασιλιάδες τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀπὸ τὸν Γαυάνη ὡς τὸν 'Ηρακλῆ, δηλ. 18 συνολικά μαζί με τοὺς 7 τοῦ 'Ηροδότου. Τὰ 600 αὐτὰ χρόνια ποὺ κερδίζουμε ἀπ' αὐτοὺς, ὅταν προστεθοῦν στὰ 500 π.Χ. περίπου τοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ Α', μᾶς πᾶν στὸν 12. αἰ. καὶ τὴν εἰσβολὴ τῶν Δωριέων ἢ κάθοδο τῶν 'Ηρακλειδῶν. Μόλις ὁμοῦ παρουσιάσθηκε ξανὰ ἡ διεύρυνση τῶν ὁρίων τοῦ 'Ελληνισμοῦ χάρις στὴν πολιτιστικὴ προπαρασκευὴ καὶ τὴν οἰκονομικὴ ἀνάπτυξη ποὺ ἐξασφάλισαν οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ 'Ιωνες στὸν νησιωτικὸ καὶ θρακοασιατικὸν ἑλληνισμό, καὶ τὴν ἐνοποιητικὴ τάση ποὺ δημιουργήσαν οἱ βασιλιάδες τῆς Μακεδονίας, ἡ κοινότητα αὐτὴ ξαναβρῆκε τὸν ἑαυτὸ τῆς γλωσσικὰ καὶ πολιτιστικὰ, ὅπως καὶ στὴν μυκηναϊκὴ ἐποχὴ. 'Απὸ ποθενὰ δὲν ἔχουμε κανέναν ὑπαινιγμὸ γιὰ δυσκολίες ποὺ νὰ δοκίμασαν οἱ Μακεδόνες γιὰ νὰ ἐνταχθοῦν γλωσσικὰ μέσα στὴν πανελλήνια κίνηση, κι ἀπὸ τὸ τέλος τοῦ 5. αἰ. ὁ Εὐριπίδης καὶ ἄλλοι ἀνέβαζαν θεατρικὰ ἔργα στὴν αὐλὴ τοῦ 'Αρχέλαου, ποὺ δὲν τὰ παρακολουθοῦσαν βέβαια μόνον αὐλικοί, οὔτε μεταφράζονταν αὐτὰ στὸ κοινὸ καθὼς ἀπαγγέλλονταν. 'Αντίθετα πάλι, σήμερα ἀνθεὶ ἓνα ἀξιόλογο διαλεκτικὸ ποντιακὸ θέατρο, Κυπριακὴ ποίηση, ποὺ οἱ ἄπειροι δύσκολα τὰ καταλαβαίνουν, ἢ ἐπαφῇ ὁμοῦ με τοὺς Ποντίους, τοὺς Τσάκωνες, τοὺς Κυπρίους καὶ ἀντίστροφα γίνεται χωρὶς ἰδιαίτερες δυσκολίες.

Αὐτὲς εἶναι οἱ τύχες ἢ ἀτυχίες τῶν περιφερειακῶν διαλέκτων. Μένουν ἀρχαϊκὲς καὶ πολὺτιμες γιὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς γλώσσας στὴν ὁποία ἀνήκουν, κινδυνεύουν ὁμοῦ πάντα ἀπὸ τὶς παρεξηγήσεις. Γι' αὐτὸ ἔχει ἰδιαίτερη σημασία ἡ ἀνίχνευση κοινῶν γλωσσικῶν στοιχείων. 'Η ἔλλειψη ἐπιγραφῶν σὲ μακεδονικὴ διάλεκτο δὲν εἶναι ἐκπληκτικὴ. Πρῶτα πρῶτα δὲν ἔχουν γίνῃ ἀκόμα συστηματικὲς ἀνασκαφὲς σὲ θρησκευτικὰ κέντρα σὰν τὸ Δῖον ἢ οἱ Αἰγές καὶ δὲν ἔχει ἀνασκαφῇ ὡς τώρα κανένα μακεδονικὸ ἱερό. Δεύτερο, οἱ ἀρχαϊκὲς ἐπιγραφὲς κι ἀπὸ τὰ ἄλλα κέντρα τῆς 'Ελλάδας δὲν εἶναι πολὺ ἀριθμῶν. Τρίτο, πρέπει νὰ ἔχουμε ὑπόψιν μας τὸν βαθμὸ τῆς ἐγγραμματοσύνης τῆς Μακεδονίας. Μέσα στὸν 4. αἰῶνα ὁ Φίλιππος παίρνει τὸν 'Αριστοτέλη, ἀπὸ τὴν Χαλκιδική, σπουδασμένον στὴν 'Αθήνα, δάσκαλον τοῦ γιοῦ του, κι ὅχι ἓναν ἄλλον ἀπὸ τὶς Αἰγές ἢ τὴν Πέλλα.

Μὲ τὶς συνθήκες ποὺ ἐκθέσαμε, εἶναι φυσικὸ ὅτι δὲν εἶναι δυνατό νὰ

21. Βλ. ἐδῶ σ. 159.

ἐρμηνεύσουμε ἱκανοποιητικὰ πάντοτε τίς περισσότερες ἀπὸ τίς ἀρχαῖες λέξεις ἢ φαινόμενα ποὺ παρουσιάζονται σὰν μακεδονικὲς στὰ διάφορα λεξικά καὶ συγγραφεῖς, ἀφοῦ δὲν ξέρουμε σχεδὸν καθόλου τοὺς φωνητικοὺς νόμους μὲ τοὺς ὁποίους κινεῖται ἡ ἀρχαία μακεδονικὴ διάλεκτος. Ἡ ἔλλειψη αὐτὴ κάμνει ἐπικίνδυνη καὶ ἐπισηφαλὴ τὴν χρησιμοποίησιν καὶ τῶν λίγων ἀκόμα φωνητικῶν φαινομένων ποὺ νομίζουμε ὅτι ξέρουμε, γιὰτι ἔχουμε τὴν διάθεσιν νὰ ἀναγάγουμε σ' αὐτὰ καὶ νὰ ἐρμηνεύσουμε μὲ αὐτὰ ὅλες τίς λέξεις. Τὴν ὑπερβολὴ αὐτὴ κανένας δὲν μπορεῖ νὰ τὴν ἀποφύγῃ, ὅσο κι ἂν προσπαθῇ ἢ νομίζῃ ὅτι ἐφαρμόζει αὐστηρὴν ἐπιστημονικὴν μέθοδο. Γι' αὐτὸ θὰ κινηθοῦμε ἐδῶ μὲ προσοχή, κι ἐλπίζω νὰ μοῦ συγχαρεθῇ τὸ ὅτι ἡ προσφορά μου θὰ εἶναι περιορισμένη, καὶ σὲ πολλὰ θὰ ἔχῃ ἀνάγκη καὶ ἀλλων ἀποδείξεων. Κινεῖται σὲ δυὸ χρονικὲς πορεῖες, στὴν ἀρχαιότητα καὶ τὴν συνέχισή της στὰ νέα μακεδονικὰ ἢ σὲ ἄλλα νεοελληνικὰ ἰδιώματα, κι ἀπ' αὐτὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαιότητα, ὅσο εἶναι δυνατό. Τὸν δρόμο τὸν ἐδειξε ἡδη ὁ Hoffmann, μόνο ποὺ ἐκεῖνος ἤξερε λιγότερο τὰ νεοελληνικὰ ἰδιώματα. Ἡ ἀρχὴ εἶναι αὐτὴ ποὺ ὀρίσθηκε ἀπὸ τὸν Max Müller (Vorlesungen über die Wissenschaft der Sprache 2,266 τοῦ Κ. Πανταζίδου, *Λεξικὸν Ὀμηρικόν*, Ἀθ. 1888, σ. 18'): «Wenn die alten Sprachen auf den Ursprung der neueren Mundarten Licht werfen, so können doch wieder viele Geheimnisse in der Natur der toten Sprachen nur durch die Zeugaussagungen der lebenden erklärt werden».

Θὰ ἐξετάσω πρῶτα τὴν λ. *ἀγχαρμον*, κυρίως γιὰτι ἐμφανίζει ἓνα δεῖγμα φωνητικοῦ νόμου τῶν αἰολικῶν καὶ δωρικῶν διαλέκτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ γιὰτι τὸ β' συνθετικὸ της εἶναι πολὺ ἐνδιαφέρον. Ἡ λ. εἶναι γνωστὴ ἀπὸ δυὸ παραθέματα τοῦ Ἡσυχίου: «*ἀγχαρμον* ἀνωφερῇ τὴν αἰχμὴν», «*κἀγχαρμον* τὸ τὴν λόγχην ἄνω ἔχειν». Ἡ λ. εἶναι φανερό ὅτι προήλθε ἀπὸ τὸ στρατιωτικὸ παράγγελμα *ἄνα χάρμαν* μὲ ἀποκοπὴ²² τῆς ἐπιρρηματικῆς πρόθεσης *ἀνά-*, ἀποκοπὴ ποὺ διαπιστώνουμε καὶ στὸ ἔπος (βλ. Τσοπανάκη, *Ἑρμηνευτικὰ στὸν Ὀμηρο*, 11 κέ.). Ἐχουμε λοιπὸν ἐδῶ ἓνα μακεδονικὸ στρατιωτικὸ παράγγελμα, ὅπως αὐτὸ διαμορφώθηκε στὸ στόμα τοῦ λαοῦ. Φυσικὰ τὸ παράγγελμα αὐτὸ μπορούσε νὰ σχηματισθῇ καὶ παντοῦ ἄλλου, ὅπου ὑπῆρχε φάλαγγα καὶ δόρατα καὶ ἐπιζοῦσε καὶ ἡ λ. *χάρμα*. Φαίνεται ὅμως ὅτι δὲν ἐσχηματίσθηκε, γιὰτι δὲν ἔχουμε μαρτυρίες οὔτε ἀπὸ τὰ τότε συγγράμματα μὲ πολεμικὸ περιεχόμενο οὔτε ἀπὸ τὰ λεξικά, μολονότι ξέρουμε ὅτι οἱ Δωριεῖς ἤξεραν τὴν λέξιν (βλ. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache* κλπ. σ. 88)²³. Κερδί-

22. Βλ. J. Kallérís, *Les anciens Macédoniens* σ. 82, σημ. 7.

23. Σχόλιον στὸν 9. Ὀλυμπ. τοῦ Πινδάρου, στ. 86: οἱ δὲ περὶ *Ἴβυκον καὶ Στησίχορον χάρμην τὴν ἐπιδορατίδα φασίν*.

ζουμε λοιπόν τον φωνητικό νόμο της αποκοπής της πρόθεσης *ἀνά*, ή οποία αποκοπή μπορεί να ἐνισχυθῇ μετὰ τὴν ἀποκοπή της παρὰ στήν λ. *Παρμενίων* (: ὁ παραμένων: ὁ σταθερός, ὁ ἀνδρεῖος). Νομίζω ὅμως ὅτι ἀξίζει τὸν κόπο νὰ ἀσχοληθοῦμε περισσότερο μετὰ τὴν λ. *χάρμα*. Ἡ λ. εἶναι γνωστὴ καὶ στὸ ἔπος: εἰδότε *χάρμης*, *μνησώμεθα χάρμης* κλπ. Ὁ σχηματισμός της λ. εἶναι ἀρχαϊκός μετὰ τὴν κατάληξη-μη, -μα (*μνή-μη*, *φή-μη*, *ὀδ-μή*, *γραφ-μή*) γραμμῆ, τι-μῆ, ὀρ-μῆ κλπ.) προσθεμένη σὲ ρηματικὸ θέμα *χαρ-*, τὸ ὁποῖο συνδυάζεται συνήθως μετὰ τὸ *χαίρω*. Δὲν ξέρω κατὰ πόσο ἡ συσχέτιση αὐτὴ εἶναι δυνατὴ, νομίζω ὅμως ὅτι εἶναι προτιμότερο νὰ στραφοῦμε πρὸς μιὰν ἀκόμα μακεδονικὴ λέξη: ὁ *χάρων*: ὁ λέων, ἴσως καὶ στήν ὁμώνυμη κοινὴ ὁ *Χάρων* καὶ προπάντων στὸ ὁμηρικὸ ἐπίθετο τῶν σκυλῶν *καρχαρόδους* (*χαρ-χαρ-ὀδούς*), πού ὀλοφάνερα καὶ ἀναμφισβήτητα σημαίνει «μετὰ κοφτερὰ δόντια». Ὁ Ἡσίοδος λέει *ἄρπη καρχαρόδοντα* (*Θεογ.* 180), πού σημαίνει ἀπλῶς δρεπάνι κοφτερό (ἐκτός ἂν ἐννοῇ κι ἐδῶ μετὰ κοφτερὰ δόντια, ἀπὸ ἀνάμνηση τοῦ πριονιοῦ). Ἡ *χάρμη* ἐπομένως εἶναι ἡ κοφτερὴ λόγχη καὶ συνεκδοχικὰ ὁ πόλεμος, ἡ μάχη. Ὁ ἄνθρωπος πού δὲν ξέρει ἀπὸ λόγχη, δὲν ξέρει «ἀπὸ σπαθί», «ἀπὸ ντουφέκι», «ἀπὸ πόλεμον». Γι' αὐτὸ νομίζω ὅτι πρέπει νὰ παραμερισθῇ ἡ ἐρμηνεία *the joy of battle* (Lidd.) καὶ νὰ ἀνακαταταχθοῦν οἱ σημασίες τῶν συνθέτων καὶ παραγῶγων μετὰ τὸ θέμα *χαρ-*, γιατί ἄλλα προέρχονται ἀπὸ τὸ *χάρ-μα* (*μενέ-χαρμος*, *μενεχάρμης*, *ἵππιοχάρμης*, *χαροπός*, *χάρων*), κι ἄλλα ἀπὸ τὸ *χαίρω* ²⁴ Μετὰ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀφετηρία καὶ τὸ *χαροπός* (λ. 611) καὶ τὸ μακεδονικὸ «*χάρων*» ὁ λέων, ἀπὸ τῆς *χαροπότητος*, πρέπει νὰ πάρουν τὴν σημασία τοῦ *ἄγριος-ἄγριάδα* ἀντίστοιχα (*χαρ-οπ-ότης*) ²⁵. Κι ὁ *Χάρων* ἴσως ἔτσι βρίσκει τὴν σημασία του, γιατί θερίζει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ συνάπτεται ἔτσι μετὰ ἓνα ἀρχαϊκὸ, ἴσως μυκηναϊκὸ θέμα.

Γιὰ τὸ δίγαμμα θὰ προσπαθήσουμε νὰ μιλήσουμε ἄλλοτε. Σήμερα μπορούμε νὰ ποῦμε μόνο ὅτι φαίνεται πῶς ὑπῆρχε, καὶ σώθηκε στὶς λ. *σαντορία*: *σωτηρία*, *Κρατεύας*, ἴσως καὶ στὸ *Ἑορδαία* (Ἑφορδαία;).

Ἐνα σημαντικὸ φαινόμενο, πού μαρτυρεῖται ὡς μακεδονικὸ κι ἔχει προκαλέσει πολλὰς ἀντιγνώμεις καὶ συζητήσεις, εἶναι ἡ τροπὴ τῶν δασέων σὲ μέσα, ὅπως ἀναφέραμε. Ἄλλοι νομίζουν ὅτι κάθε δασὺ στήν ἀρχαία μακεδονικὴ διάλεκτο γινόταν μέσο, ἐπομένως προσπαθοῦν νὰ ξεκαθαρίσουν τίς λέξεις τῆς μακεδονικῆς διαλέκτου ἀπὸ κάθε δασύ, ἢ ἀντίστροφα κάτω ἀπὸ κάθε μέσο νὰ βροῦν ἓνα δασύ. Ἄλλοι νομίζουν ὅτι μόνο ὁ συνδυασμός δασέος + ρ δίνει αὐτὸ τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα. Ὑπάρχουν βέβαια μερικὰ ἀναμφισβήτητα

24. Βλ. Kallérís, *Les anciens Macédoniens* 1,274

25. *ἵππιοχάρμης*, *μενέχαρμος*, *μενεχάρμης*, *πολύχαρμος*, *χάρμων*, *μεθυχάρμων*, *χάρμα*, *κατάχαρμα*, *ἐπίχαρμα*

παραδείγματα εξέλιξης τοῦ ἀπλοῦ δασέος σὲ μέσο (*δώραξ, Βάλακρος, Βερενίκα* κτλ.)· νομίζω ὅμως ὅτι ἂν ὑπῆρχε φωνητικὸς νόμος, αὐτὸς θὰ ἐκάλυπτε βασικά μόνο τὰ συμπλέγματα δασέος + ρ, ἴσως μάλιστα δασέος + ρ, λ, ν. Φυσικά εἶναι δύσκολο νὰ ξέρουμε καὶ τὴν ἀκριβῆ προφορὰ τῶν μέσων. Τὴν τροπὴ τῶν ἀπλῶν δασέων θὰ πρέπη ἴσως νὰ τὴν ἐρμηνεύσουμε μὲ ἄλλους τρόπους (ἀναλογία, παρετυμολογία) ἢ μὲ τὸν ὑπερβολικὸ ζήλο τῶν γλωσσογράφων. Γιὰ τὴν ἀναμφισβήτητη *Βερενίκη* π.χ. θὰ πρότεινα τὴν εξέλιξη *Φερενίκη* > *Φρενίκη* (πβλ. *Φερνίκη*) > *Βρενίκη* - *Βερενίκη*. Ἄν τὸ φαινόμενο εἶναι καὶ φρυγικόν, ὅπως μᾶς εἶπε σὲ μιὰν παρέμβασή του ὁ συνάδελφος κ. Mihailov, αὐτὸ σημαίνει ὅτι οἱ Μακεδόνες ὑπέταξαν ἢ ἀφομοίωσαν καὶ Φρύγες, ἀπὸ τοὺς ὁποίους πῆραν τὸ φαινόμενο. Ὁ Ἡρόδοτος ἐξ ἄλλου (7, 73) μιλά καθαρά γιὰ συνοίκηση τῶν Φρυγῶν μὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνες: οἱ δὲ *Φρύγες*, ὡς *Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπαῖοι ἐόντες σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι*. Ἐχῶ ὑποδείξει ἄλλοις τὴν ἀφομοίωση Βλάχων, ἀπὸ τὴν μελέτη τοῦ Σιατιστικοῦ ἰδιώματος²⁶. Νομίζω πάντως πῶς εἶχε ἔκταση νόμου τὸ συμπλέγμα δασέος+ὕγρὸ γιὰ δυὸ λόγους· ὁ πρῶτος εἶναι ἡ γενικὴ τάση τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσας γιὰ τὴν ἐξομάλυνση τῶν ποιοτικῶν ἢ ἀρθρωτικῶν διαφορῶν στὰ συμπλέγματα συμφώνων καὶ φωνηέντων (*ἐγβολή, τὸμ μέγαν* κτλ.), κι ὁ δεῦτερος, ποὺ εἶναι καὶ σημαντικότερος, εἶναι ὅτι τὸ φαινόμενο δὲν ἦταν ἄγνωστο καὶ στὴν Κύπρο—καὶ ἐξακολουθεῖ νὰ ὑφίσταται ἀκόμα ἐκεῖ, καθὼς καὶ στὸ ἀρχαικότατο ἰδίωμα τῶν Ἀπολλώνων τῆς Ρόδου—μὲ καθολικὴ ἔκταση: *γρουσός* (χρυσός), *βράγκος* (<Φράγκος), *δρέφω* (<θρέφω), κλπ. Σημειῶνω ὅτι ὁ νόμος αὐτὸς δὲν ἐπηρεάσε οὔτε στὴν Κύπρο οὔτε στὰ Ἀπόλλωνα τῆς Ρόδου τὴν τύχη τῶν ἀπλῶν δασέων.

Δίνω καὶ δυὸ παραδείγματα, στὰ ὁποῖα ἴσως ἔχουμε τροπὴ τοῦ ἀπλοῦ δασέος σὲ μέσο. Εἶναι γνωστὰ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀλόγων τοῦ Ἀχιλλέα (Π 149 κ.ά. *Ξάνθον καὶ Βαλλίον*). Τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτὰ εἶναι σχεδὸν βέβαιο ὅτι δόθηκαν στὰ ἄλογα ἀπὸ τὸ χρῶμα τους (πβλ. *ὁ παρής, ὁ γρίβας, ὁ μαῦρος μου ἦταν γρήγορος* κλπ.)· *βάλιος* ἴσως ἦταν ὁ αἰολικὸς τύπος. Μὲ τὸν τύπο *βαλιός* πάλι, γιὰ ἐνδειξὴ χρώματος, βρίσκουμε τὸ ἐπίθετο καὶ στὸν Εὐριπίδην (*Εκ. 90 βαλιὰν ἔλαφον*, *Ἀλκ. 579 βαλιαὶ λύγκες*, καὶ μὲ ἐρμηνεῦμα στὴν *ΙΑ 222 λευκοστίκτω τριχὶ βαλιούς*), στὸν Καλλίμαχον (*Βερ. πλ. 53 βαλιά πτερά*) καὶ σὲ ἄλλους. Τὸ ἐπίθ. σημαίνει: παρδαλός, διάστικτος ἢ μὲ ἄσπρο σημάδι στὸ μέτωπο. Ἡ Σούδα ἐρμηνεύει: *βαλιάν*· τὴν ἔλαφον τὴν κατάστικτον. Ὁ Σχολιαστὴς τοῦ Θεοκρίτου (8,27) μᾶς δίνει τὴν λέξη μὲ ἀρχικὸν τύπο μὲ φ. Ἐρμηνεύοντας τὸ: *«κῶν ὁ φάλαρος»* λέγει: *«φάλιος»* λευκός... *φαλιόν* δὲ καὶ

26. Βλ. Ἀγαπητοῦ Γ. Τσοπανάκη, *Τὸ Σιατιστινὸ ἰδίωμα, Μακεδονικά 2*, 1950, 266-298. Γιὰ τὴν ἀφομοίωση Βλάχων, αὐτ. 277-8.

βαλιὼν λέγουσι καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ λευκὸν ἔχοντα ὁμοίως». Εἶναι λοιπὸν φανερὸν ὅτι ὁ Βαλῖος, τὸ ἄλογο τοῦ Ἀχιλλέα, δίνει ἓνα πρῶτο δείγμα τροπῆς φ)β.

Τὸ πρᾶγμα ὅμως δὲν σταματᾷ ὡς ἐδῶ. Τὸ ἐπίθ. *μπάλιος* μὲ τις ἴδιες σημασίες (στικτός, παρδαλός, μαῦρος μὲ ἄσπρο πρόσωπο) σώθηκε καὶ σήμερα στὴν Μακεδονία, Ἡπειρο καὶ Πελοπόννησο (Μπουντιώνας, *Βελβεντό* 88, Ἀραβαντινός, *Ἡπειρωτικὸν Γλωσσάριον* 63, Ν. Πολίτη, *Παροιμίαι*, 1, 593), πάλι γιὰ τὸ χρῶμα τοῦ τριχώματος τῶν ζώων. Τὸ πιὸ σημαντικό εἶναι ὅτι ἡ λ. σώθηκε καὶ στὰ Βλάχικα ἰδιώματα τῆς Μακεδονίας μὲ τὸν τύπο *μπάλιου*²⁷ (γιὰ τὴν τροπὴ β)μπ βλ. Τσοπανάκη, *Γλώτται* σ. 56).

Μιὰν ἄλλη λέξη μὲ τροπὴ φ)β ἔχουμε στὴν ἀντιστοιχία *φαλλός - βαλλίον* (τὸ δεύτερο τὸ βρίσκουμε στὸν Ἡρόνδα 6,69) καὶ στὸ ἐπίθ. τοῦ Διονύσου *Φαλλήν* σὲ συνδυασμὸ μὲ τὸ *Βαλλήναδε* τοῦ Ἀριστοφάνη (*Ἀχ.* 234), ποὺ ἀποτελεῖ ὑπαινιγμὸν στὸν *φαλλόν* κι ὄχι στὸν δῆμο τῆς Παλλήνης, ὅπως νομίζει ὁ Σχολιαστὴς (λίγους στίχους παρακάτω [234] γίνεται ἀναφορὰ στὸν φαλλό). Ὁ τύπος *βαλλός - βαλλίον* δὲν μαρτυρεῖται ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχαία μακεδονικὴ, σώζεται ὅμως ἀκόμα καὶ σήμερα μὲ τὸν τύπο *βηλλί* (μεγεθ. *βήλλα*) στὴν Κύπρο καὶ στὴν Ρόδο, καὶ μὲ τὸν τύπο *viddo, vidda* στοὺς ἐλληνοφώνους τῆς Κάτω Ἰταλίας (βλ. Rohlf, *Lex graecan. Ital. infer.* 1964, σ. 85), μὲ τὴν σημασίαν τοῦ ἀνδρικοῦ μορίου.

Στὸν Ἡσύχιον ἔχουμε τὶς λέξεις *βριμάζει*: ὀργᾷ εἰς συνουσίαν. *Κύπριοι*, καὶ *βριμάζων* τῇ τοῦ λέοντος χρώμενος φωνῇ. *βριμῶν* ἀπειλῶν. *βριμοῦσθαι* θυμοῦσθαι, ὀργίζεσθαι. Βρίσκουμε ὅμως καὶ τὸ ἀφηρ. οὖσ. *βρίμη* στοὺς Ὀμηρ. ὕμνους (2, 10) ὑπὸ *βρίμης γλανκώπιδος*, στὰ Ὀρφ. Ἀποσπ. (79 Kern) *Βρίμας ταυρεῖους*, στὸν Ἀπολλώνιο τὸν Ρόδιο (4, 1677) *Μηδείης βρίμη*, ποὺ ὁ Ἡσύχιος τὸ ἐρμηνεύει: «ἀπειλὴ καὶ γυναικεῖα ἀρρητοποιία». Τὸ *Βριμῶ*, ἡ (: ἰσχυρά, Ἡσύχ.) ἦταν ἐπίθετο τῆς Ἑκάτης καὶ τῆς Περσεφόνης. Τὰ ῥήματα *βριμᾶσθαι*, *ἐμβριμᾶσθαι*, *βριμοῦσθαι* χρησιμοποιήθηκαν ἀπὸ τὸν Αἰσχύλο, Εὐριπίδη, Ἀριστοφάνη, Ξενοφῶντα (βλ. Λεξ.) καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν Παλαιὰ καὶ Καινὴ Διαθήκη.

Τὸ κυπριακὸ ῥήμα *βριμάζειν* μὲ τὴν ἴδια, καθὼς φαίνεται, σημασίαν τὸ βρίσκουμε καὶ στὸν Θεόκριτο μὲ τὸν τύπο *φριμάσσεσθαι* (5,141 *φριμάσσεο*) καὶ στὸν Πολυδεύκη (1,216 «φρύαγμα ἵππου, χρεμετισμός.. *φριμαγμός*» χρεμετίζειν, *φριμάττεσθαι*), κι αὐτὸ μᾶς ἐξασφαλίζει νομίζω γιὰ πρώτη φορὰ τὴν παρουσία τῆς τροπῆς δασέος+ὕγρὸ καὶ στὴν ἀρχαία Κυπριακὴ διάλεκτο καὶ προφανῶς καὶ τὴν συνέχεια τῶν φαινομένων στὴν σημερινὴ Κυπρια-

27. Ἡ λ. *ballus* ὑπάρχει βέβαια καὶ στὰ λατινικά, μὲ παράλληλον τύπο *badius* ὁ ὁποῖος φαίνεται ὅτι ἦταν ὁ λαϊκός, ἂν κρίνῃ κανεὶς ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπιβίωσή του στὶς νεολατινικὰ γλῶσσες: *bigio, beige*.

κή διάλεκτο (καὶ στὴν Ρόδο). Ἡ ἐξαφάνισις τῶν φαινομένων ἀπὸ τὰ σημερινὰ μακεδονικὰ ἰδιώματα ἀποτελεῖ βέβαια ἓνα σοβαρὸ πρόβλημα, θέλω ὅμως νὰ ἐλπίζω ὅτι δὲν ἐξαντλήθηκαν οἱ ἀναζητήσεις μας στὸν τομέα αὐτόν. Ἐχω τὴν ὑποψία ὅτι ἡ Ἰδια ἢ λέξι *βρίμη* σώθηκε σήμερα καὶ στὰ μακεδονικὰ καὶ σὲ ἄλλα ἰδιώματα στὸν τύπο *Δρίμες*, γιὰ τὶς ὁποῖες ἔχει γίνεи πολλὸς λόγος κι ἔχουν προταθῇ πολλὰς ἐρμηνεῖς. (Βλ. κυρίως Σ.Π.Κ [υριακίδην], *Ἐγκύκλ. Λέξ.* [Ἐλευθερουδάκη] τόμ. Δ' σ. 767.) Δὲν μπορῶ ὅμως νὰ ἐπεκταθῶ σ' αὐτὸ τὸ θέμα, κυρίως γιὰτὶ κατὰ τὸ μεγαλύτερο τοῦ μέρους τὸ πρόβλημα εἶναι θρησκευολογικὸ - λαογραφικόν. Ὅπωςδὴποτε οἱ σημερινὲς *Δρίμες* μόνο ἀπὸ τύπον *βρίμες* μποροῦσαν νὰ προκύψουν κι ὄχι ἀπὸ *φρίμες*.

Φωνητικὸ φαινόμενο μεγάλης ἀρχαιότητος κοινὸ καὶ στίς αἰολικὰς διαλέκτους καὶ στὴν Κύπρο προσφέρει καὶ τὸ κύριο ὄνομα *Πτολεμαῖος*, τὸ ὁποῖο προϋποθέτει ὅτι ὁ τύπος *πτόλεμος* ἦταν γνωστὸς στὴν μακεδονικὴ διάλεκτο. Ἡ λ. *ἐταῖρος* μὲ πιθανὸν σχηματισμὸ ἀπὸ τὸ *ἐταρ-ιος* εἶναι κοινὸ καὶ στὸ ἔπος, πιθανῶς μὲ τὴν Ἰδια σημασίαν.

Σημαντικὸ πρόβλημα φωνητικὸ μοῦ φαίνεται ὅτι παρέχει καὶ τὸ τοπωνύμιο *Ἡμαθία*, μαρτυρημένο μῖαν φορὰ στὸν Ὅμηρο, ὅπως εἶπαμε (Ξ. 226). Ξεκινώντας ἀπὸ τοὺς παράλληλους καὶ ταυτόσημους τύπους *ἄμαθος* - *ψάμαθος*, ἀπὸ τοὺς ὁποῖους ὁ πρῶτος ἔδωσε διάφορα τοπωνύμια *Ἀμαθοῦς*, (< ἄμαθόεις) μὲ πιδὸ γνωστὸ τὴν *Ἀμαθοῦντα* τῆς Κύπρου (ὕστερα *Ἀμμόχωστο*), ἐνῶ ὁ δεῦτερος σώθηκε σὰν δωρικὸ ἢ ἀρχαϊκὸ κατάλοιπο στὰ *Ψωμαθία* τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (<ὁ *Ψαμαθέας*, μὲ παρετυμολογία πρὸς τὸ *ψομί*²⁸, βρίσκουμε ὅτι ἡ ἑκταση καὶ τροπὴ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ βραχέος *α* σὲ *η* εἶναι δυσκολοεξηγήτη. Ξέρουμε βέβαια ἀπὸ τὸν Ὅμηρο ἀρκετὰς λέξεις μὲ ἑκταση καὶ τροπὴ ἀρχικοῦ βραχέος *α* σὲ *η* (*ἡγάθεος*, *ἡγερέθομαι*, *ἡερέθομαι*, *ἡλιτόμηνος*, *ἡμαθόεις*, *ἡνεμόεις*, *ἡγορέη*, *ἡπεδανός*), γιὰ τὶς ὁποῖες μὴ πρόχειρη ἐξήγησις—ὄχι ὅμως πολὺ πιθανή—εἶναι ἡ μετρικὴ ἑκταση, γιὰ νὰ δημιουργηθῇ χορίαμβος: *ἡγαθέην*, *ἡγορέη*, *ἡμαθόεντα*, *ἡνεμόεντα*, *ἡερέθονται* κλπ.). Ἡ λ. *Ἡμαθία* ρίχνει τὴν χαριστικὴν βολὴν σ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐρμηνείαν, ὄχι γιὰτὶ δὲν εἶναι χορίαμβος, ἀλλὰ γιὰτὶ οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι ποὺ σχηματίσαν τὴν λ. τὴν χρειάζονταν σὲ χοριαμβικὸν ρυθμὸ, οὔτε αὐτὴ μποροῦσε νὰ σχηματισθῇ αὐθαίρετα ἀπὸ τὸν ποιητὴ γιὰ μετρικοὺς λόγους καὶ νὰ περάσῃ ὕστερα σὲ κοινὴν χρῆσιν. Στὴν περίπτωσιν αὐτὴν ὁ ποιητὴς θὰ εἶχε μῖαν πλαστὴν λέξιν, ἐνῶ ὁ κόσμος θὰ ἔλεγε *Ἀμαθία*. Καὶ ἡ κατάληξις τῆς εἶναι παράδοξις γιὰ τὴν δήλωσιν ἑνὸς τόπου μὲ ἄμμο. Ἀπὸ ποιὸς λοιπὸν πρέπει νὰ ἔγινε ὁ σχηματισμὸς αὐτός, ἀπὸ Ἰωνες ἢ ἀπὸ Αἰολεῖς, ἀπὸ Μακεδόνες ἢ ἀπὸ νότιους Ἕλληνες;

28. Βλ. Ἀγαπητοῦ Γ. Τσοπανάκη, Βυζαντιὰ διαλεκτικὰ στοιχεῖα στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν, *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς Παν. Θεσσ.* 8, 1960, 10.

Ὑποθέτω πῶς ὅλες αὐτὲς οἱ λέξεις μὲ τὸ ἀρχικὸ ἢ ἀντὶ γιὰ τὸ βραχὺ α ὀπακοῦν σὲ κάποιον νόμο ποὺ μᾶς διαφεύγει. Θὰ τολμοῦσα νὰ προτείνω, μὲ κάθε ἐπιφύλαξη πρὸς τὸ παρόν, μιὰν ὕπαναχώρηση, ποὺ τὴν παρατηροῦμε πολὺ συχνὰ σὲ περιπτώσεις ποὺ ἓνα διαλεκτικὸ φαινόμενο μὲ κάποιαν καθολικότητα ἔχει γίνῃ παλαικὸ καὶ συγκρούεται μὲ πιὸ νεωτερικὲς τάσεις ποὺ ἔρχονται ἀπὸ γειτονικὲς διαλέκτους ἢ ἀπὸ τὴν Κοινὴ τῆς ἐποχῆς. Οἱ Γάλλοι γλωσσολόγοι τὸ ὀνόμασαν *excès de purisme* = ὑπερβολικὸν καθαρευουσιανισμό, καὶ τέτοια φαινόμενα ἔχουν περιγραφῇ καὶ γιὰ τὰ νέα ἑλληνικὰ καὶ γιὰ τὰ ἀρχαῖα²⁹. Τὸ πιθανότερο εἶναι ὅτι κάτω ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπίδραση ἰωνικῶν διαλέκτων ἔχουμε αἰολικὴν ὕπαναχώρηση ὥστε ἀπὸ τὴν καθολικὴ μετατροπὴ τοῦ πανελλήνιου ἢ σὲ α στὶς αἰολικὲς καὶ δωρικὲς διαλέκτους. Γιατὶ ἂν ἡ ὕπαναχώρηση ἦταν ἰωνικὴ, δὲν θὰ μπορούσε νὰ ἐπηρεάσῃ τὸν ἀρχικὸ αἰολικὸ τύπο *ἀμαθία*, ποὺ θὰ τὸν βρῖσκαμε ἔτσι στὴν Μακεδονία.

Θὰ δώσω τώρα μερικὲς λέξεις ἀπὸ τὰ σύγχρονα νεοελληνικὰ καὶ μακεδονικὰ ἰδιώματα ποὺ εἶναι ἀρχαῖες μακεδονικὲς ἢ ποὺ ἡ παρουσία τους στὰ σημερινὰ μακεδονικὰ ἰδιώματα δείχνει τὴν κοινότητα τοῦ γλωσσικοῦ πλούτου ἢ τὴν παρουσία ἀρχαϊκῶν λέξεων μὲ τρόπον ποὺ νὰ ἀποκλείῃ ὅσο εἶναι λογικὰ δυνατό τὸν «ἐξελληνισμό» τῆς ἀρχαίας μακεδονικῆς διαλέκτου.

Ἀρχίζω μὲ τὴν λ. *σίγυννος*, ὁ (καὶ *σιγύνη*, ἡ) ποὺ εἶναι μαρτυρημένη ὡς ἀρχαία μακεδονικὴ καὶ κυπριακὴ. Σύμφωνα μὲ τὴν μαρτυρία τῆς Σούδας ἐσθίμηναι «τὰ δόρατα παρὰ Μακεδόσι». Σύμφωνα μὲ τὴν μαρτυρία τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλη (*Ποιητ.* 1457β) ἡ λ. ἦταν κοινὴ στοὺς Κυπρίους, ἀρχαϊκὴ ὅμως στοὺς ἄλλους (*Κυπρίοις μὲν κύριον ἡμῖν δὲ γλῶσσα*). Ἡ λ. σώζεται καὶ σήμερα στὴν Πελοπόννησο μὲ τὸν τύπο, *τσίγκανο*, τό³⁰, καὶ, πιὸ εὐδιάκριτα, σὲ μιὰν σύνθετη ροδιακὴ τὸ *πευκοζίενο* ((τὸ πευκοσίγυννον) καὶ σημαίνει τὸ ζευγαρωτὸ βελονοειδὲς φύλλο τοῦ πεύκου (γι' αὐτὸ καὶ ἡ ἡχηροποίηση τοῦ σ ἀπὸ παρετυμολογία πρὸς τὸ *ζυγός-ζευγάρι*)³¹. Τὰ δόρατα τοῦ πεύκου λοιπόν. Τὸ πρόβλημα εἶναι βέβαια ἀπὸ ποῦ προέρχεται ἡ ροδιακὴ λέξη:

29. Βλ. Ἀ. Γ. Τσοπανάκη, *Ἑρμηνευτικὰ στὸν Ὅμηρον*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1950, σ. 19-25, *Τὸ Σιατιστινὸ Ἰδιώμα* (βλ. σημ. 26), σ. 278.

30. Βλ. *Ἰστ. Λεξ.* 3, 279 b ἑ.λ. *ἀτσίγγανο* (!) Συμπληρωματικὲς πληροφορίες ἀπὸ τὸ Ἀρχεῖο τοῦ Ἱστορικοῦ Λεξικοῦ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, τίς ὁποῖες χρῶσθαι στὴν καλωσύνη τοῦ κ. Ἀ. Καραναστάση, καὶ γιὰ τίς ὁποῖες τὸν εὐχαριστῶ, προσθέτουν τοὺς τύπους *πευκοτσίγγανο* Πελοπ. (Καλαβρ.), Σκύρος, *πευκατσίγγανο* Χίος, *πιφκουτσίγγανον* καὶ *πιφκατσίγγανον* Σάμ., *πευκατσίνια*, τὰ (= τὰ κατὰ γῆς φύλλα τοῦ πεύκου) Λέσβ. *πευκοζύανο* Ἰκαρ., Κρήτ., οἱ ὅποιοι γενικεύουν ἔτσι τὴν εἰκόνα.

31. Ὁ J. Kallérís, *Les anciens Macédoniens* 1, 260 σημ. 2, ἀναφέρει καὶ τὸν *ζιγύνη*. Γιὰ τὴν τροπὴν *ι>ε* στὰ ροδιακὰ ἰδ. βλ. ἐλεφάντινος) *ἀλαφαντρός*, ξύλινος) *ξύλενος* κλπ.

ἀπὸ τὴν Μακεδονία ἢ ἀπὸ τὴν Κύπρο. Τὸ πιὸ πιθανὸ εἶναι ὅτι ἡ λ. ἦταν γνωστὴ καὶ στὴν Ρόδο ἀπὸ τὸ ἴδιο ἀχαϊκὸ-μυκηναϊκὸ ὑπόστρωμα. Ὅπως δὴποτε ἀρχαία ἢ μακεδονικὴ καὶ κυπριακὴ λέξις ξαναβρέθηκε.

Τρεῖς λέξεις ποὺ διασώζονται ἀρχαῖο αἰολοδωρικὸ αὐτὰ σημερινὰ μακεδονικὰ ἰδιώματα εἶναι τὸ ἐπίθ. *ἀμαρούκωτος* (μὲ διάφορες φωνητικὲς παραλλαγές), τὸ *μπλάζω* καὶ τὸ *μάζω*. Τὸ πρῶτο ἔχει τὴν σημασία: αὐτὸς ποὺ δὲν πρόφθασε νὰ κάμῃ κάτι, ὁ βιαστικός, ποὺ δὲν πρόφθασε δηλ. νὰ *μηρυκάσῃ* («ἔφυγεν ἀμαρούκωτος»), ἀντίστοιχο μὲ τὸ κοινὸ «ἔφυγε ἀναυλος»³². Τὸ ρῆμα *μπλάζω* σημαίνει «συναντῶ ξαφνικὰ κάποιον, πέφτω ἐπάνω σὲ κάποιον». Εἶναι κι ἐδῶ περίεργο ὅτι τὸ ρῆμα σώζεται καὶ στὴν Κύπρο μὲ τὴν ἴδια σημασία. Σὲ ἄλλη θέσις ἔχω δείξει³³ ὅτι δὲν ἔχει σχέση μὲ τὸ *πελάζω-ἐμ-πελάζω*, ὅπως ἴσως θὰ σκεφτόταν πρόχειρα κανεὶς, ἀλλὰ μὲ τὸ *ἐμπλήττω*, δωρ. *ἐμπλάσσω - ἐνέπλαξα*. Τὸ ρῆμα μὲ τὴν ἴδια περίπου σημασία βρίσκειτῃς ἤδη στὸν Ὅμηρο (Ο 344 *τάφρω καὶ σκολόπεσσιν ἐνιπλήξαντες ὀρνυκτῇ*), καὶ ὁ Ἡσυχίος μᾶς δίνει τίς σημασίες «*ἐμπλήξαι*· ἐμπεσεῖν, ἐγγίσει». Διατήρηση δωρικοῦ ἃ ὑπάρχει ἐπίσης στὸν σχηματισμὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ρήματος *μάζω*, ὅπως λέγεται στὰ μακεδονικὰ ἰδιώματα τὸ *μαζεύω*, τὸ ὁποῖο ἐγινε ἀπὸ τὸ *ἀμάω-ἄμασα* *μάζω*³⁴.

Δὲν εἶναι ὅμως μόνο αὐτὸς ὁ τομέας, στὸν ὁποῖο πρέπει νὰ ἀναζητήσουμε στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὴν συνέχιση τῆς ἀρχαίας μακεδονικῆς στὰ νέα ἰδιώματα τῆς περιοχῆς. Ὑπάρχουν καὶ ἄλλα λεξιλογικὰ στοιχεῖα ποὺ ἔχουν ἐντονη ἀρχαϊκὴ σφραγίδα, καὶ μολονότι δὲν μποροῦν νὰ εἶναι τόσο ἀναμφισβήτητα ὅσο τὰ προηγούμενα, δείχνουν ὥστόσο μὲ τὴν μοναδικότητα ἢ τὴν σπανιότητά τους τὸ γλωσσικὸ κλίμα ποὺ ἐπικρατοῦσε στὴν περιοχὴ. Π.χ. τὸ ρ. *παταγώννομαι* εἶναι ἀμάρτυρο ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχαία ἐποχὴ καὶ φαίνεται νεωτερικὸς σχηματισμὸς ἀπὸ τὸ οὖς. *πάταγος*, τὸ ὁποῖο εἶναι γνωστὸ ἀπὸ τὸν Ὅμηρο μὲ τὴν σημασία τοῦ ξηροῦ κρότου, τοῦ τριξίματος (Ν 283 π. *ὀδόντων* κ.ά.). Καὶ ἡ λ. *πάταγος*, καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖο ρῆμα *παταγέω* καὶ τὸ *πατάσσω* χάθηκαν ἀπὸ τὸ μεγάλο ρεῦμα τῆς ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσας³⁵.

Γλαφτήρι, τὸ (*γλαφτήρη*· Σιάτ.) ὀνομάζουν στὴν Δ. Μακεδονία αὐτὸ ποὺ σὲ ἄλλα μέρη ὀνομάζουν *τυπάρι* (Ρόδ., (τύπος - τύπτω), ἢ *σφραγίδα*, τὸ στρογγυλὸ ἢ τετράγωνο γλυπτὸ σφραγιδοειδὲς ξύλο μὲ τὸ ὁποῖο σφραγίζουν τὰ ψωμιά λίγο πρὶν τὰ φουρνίσουν. Ἡ λέξις εἶναι ὑποκοριστικὸ τοῦ *κολαπτήρη*, *nomen agentis* ἀπὸ τὸ ἀρχαῖο, ἴσως διαλεκτικὸ (αἰολικο-δωρικὸ),

32. Βλ. *Μακεδονικά* 2, 1962, 449.

33. Βλ. *Μακεδονικά* 2, 1962, 454-5.

34. Βλ. Ἀ.Γ.Τσοπανάκη, *Συμβολὴ στὴν ἔρευνα τῶν ποιητικῶν λέξεων*: αἱ γλῶτται, Ρόδος 1949, σ. 52-3.

35. Βλ. *Μακεδονικά* 2, 1962, 456.

κολάπτω: χτυπῶ (πβλ. κόλαφος), ἐγχαράσσω κάτι σὲ σκληρὴ ὕλη, τσιμπῶ μὲ τὸ ράμφος (συνθ. ἐγκολάπτω, ἐκκολάπτω, δρυκολάπτῃς). Ὁ κολαπτήρ ἦταν βέβαια τὸ ἐργαλεῖο μὲ τὸ ὁποῖο ἐκόλαπτον, ἓνας τεχνικὸς ὁρος ποὺ μποροῦσε νὰ διαδοθῇ παντοῦ καὶ νὰ διατηρηθῇ κάπου περισσότερο. Εἶναι ὅμως ἀπὸ τὰ πιὸ περίεργα ὅτι ὁ τεχνικὸς αὐτὸς ὁρος ἀνευρίσκεται πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἐδῶ, πράγμα ποὺ ὁδηγεῖ στὴν πιθανὴ ὑπόθεση ὅτι μᾶλλον διατηρήθηκε ἀπὸ τὰ παλιὰ χρόνια ³⁶.

Ἡ λ. *τούμπα* σώθηκε στὴν Μακεδονία, ὅπου εἶναι πολὺ κοινὴ· σημαίνει τοὺς τεχνητοὺς λοφίσκους ποὺ ἔχουν πάντα ἀρχαιολογικὴ σημασία. Πουθενὰ δὲν σημαίνει *τάφος*. Στὴν Θεσσαλία οἱ λοφίσκοι αὐτοὶ λέγονται *μαγουῖλες*. Ἡ λέξη παράγεται ὁλοφάνετα ἀπὸ τὸ *τύμβος*, ὁ, γνωστὸ ἤδη ἀπὸ τὸν Ὅμηρο μὲ τὴν ἴδια σημασία, ἐνῶ ἀργότερα ἴσως παίρνει καὶ τὴν σημασία τοῦ ὑπερυψωμένου ταφικοῦ μνημείου. Στὴν Μακεδονία λοιπὸν ἔχουμε τὴν πρώτη, τὴν ἀρχαϊκὴ σημασία. Ἐχουμε ὅμως καὶ ἓναν μεταπλασμό ἀπὸ τὸ ἀρσενικὸ σὲ θηλυκὸ: ὁ *τύμβος* - ἡ *τύμβα*, ὁ ὁποῖος δὲν εἶναι οὔτε μοναδικὸς οὔτε σπάνιος στὴν ἀρχαία ἐλληνικὴ: ὁ *στάμνος* - ἡ *στάμνα*, ὁ *δρύανος* - ἡ *δρύαση*, ὁ *κόσσυμβος* - ἡ *κοσσύμβη*, ὁ *κάλαμος* - ἡ *καλάμη*, ὁ *κόρυμβος* - ἡ *κορύμβη*. Ἄν ἐπομένως ὁ τύπος *τύμβη* ἦταν μαρτυρημένος ἀπὸ τὴν μεταγενέστερη ἐποχὴ, πράγμα ποὺ δὲν ἀποκλείεται, θὰ ἦταν ἐξίσου δυνατό καὶ ἡ κατάληξη σὲ *α* νὰ εἶναι αἰολοδοωρικὴ, πιθανῶς δὲ καὶ ἡ προφορὰ *υ*ου. Πῶς τώρα ἀποφάσισαν οἱ Kirsten - Kraiker (*Griechenlandkunde* 1955, 380) νὰ γράψουν ὅτι ἡ μακεδονικὴ *tumba* εἶναι «eine wlachische oder aromunische Form (eigentlich Grab, wie italienisch tomba)», αὐτὸ μοῦ φαίνεται ἀνεξήγητο. Πρῶτα πρῶτα, ἡ λατινικὴ ἀντίστοιχη λέξη τοῦ *τύμβος* - *τούμπα* ἦταν ἡ λ. *tumulus*, ἐνῶ ἡ λ. *tumba* τῆς ὁψιμῆς ἐποχῆς ἐσήμαινε τάφον, καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν τύπο αὐτὸν προήλθαν οἱ νεολατινικὲς λ. *tomba* (ἰταλ.), *tombe-tombeau* (γαλλ.), ποὺ σημαίνουν ἐπίσης τάφον, ταφικὸ μνημεῖο. Δεύτερο, ἂν ἡ σημερινὴ μακεδονικὴ *τούμπα* προερχόταν ἀπὸ τὰ βλάχικα - λατινικά, θὰ περιμέναμε: α) νὰ σημαίνει *τάφον*, πράγμα ποὺ δὲν συμβαίνει· β) νὰ εἶναι διαδομένη τουλάχιστο καὶ στὴν Θεσσαλία καὶ Ἡπειρο—ἀντὶ γὰρ τὸ σλαβικὸ *magula*=*τύμβος*—, ὅπου ὑπάρχει σημαντικὴ ἀνάμειξη μὲ Βλάχους τῆς Πίνδου. Τρίτο· ἂν ἡ λατινικὴ λέξη ἐπηρέαζε κάποιαν περιοχὴ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, δὲν εἶναι εὐκόλο νὰ ἐξηγηθῇ γιατί ὁ ἐπηρεασμὸς θὰ σταματοῦσε μόνο στὴν Μακεδονία καὶ δὲν θὰ ἐπεκτεινόταν περισσότερο, ὅπως συμβαίνει μὲ τίς πιὸ πολλὰς λατινικὰς λέξεις ποὺ πέρασαν σὲ κοινὴ χρῆση στὴν ἐλληνικὴ γλῶσσα. Ἀντίθετα μάλιστα ἡ μὲν βλαχικὴ λέξη *τούμπα* σημαίνει ὕψωμα, *τύμβος*, ὅπως καὶ ἡ μακεδονικὴ (βλ. Κ. Νικολαΐδου, *Ἑτυμολογικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς*

36. Βλ. *Μακεδονικά* 2, 1962, 452-3.

Κουτσοβλαχικῆς διαλέκτου, Ἀθῆναι 1909, σ. 537), καὶ πρέπει νὰ εἶναι δάνειο ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχαία μακεδονικὴ διάλεκτο, ἐνῶ τὰ λατινικὰ λεξικά θεωροῦν τὴν λ. *tumba*, *tumbus* δάνειο ἀπὸ τὴν ἑλληνικὴ. (Βλ. Du Cange, *Gloss. Méd. et inf. Latinit.* 8,206 *tumba*, *tumbus*, *sepulcrum* ex gr. τύμβος). Ἡ παρουσία τοῦ τύπου *tumba* στὸν Prudentius (4. αἰ. μ.χ., βλ. Du Cange, *έ.δ.*) ἐνισχύει τὴν ἀποψή μας γιὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τῶν τύπων *τύμβη* ἢ *τύμβα*. Τέλος ἂν ἡ λ. ἦταν ἰταλική, ἔπρεπε νὰ σώζεται κυρίως στὶς περιοχὲς ποὺ γνώρισαν ἰταλικὴν ἐπίδραση ἢ θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ εἶχε γενικώτερη ἑκταση, καὶ προπάντων ἔπρεπε νὰ ἐστήμαινε τάφος. Δὲν ἀποκλείεται οἱ λ. τύμβος καὶ *tumba* νὰ ἀποτελοῦσαν κοινὰ στοιχεῖα στὰ ἑλληνικὰ καὶ λατινικὰ ἢ ἀντίθετα ὁ λατ. τύπος *tumba* νὰ εἶναι δάνειο ἀπὸ τὴν ἑλληνικὴ.

Τὸ ἀρχαῖο ρῆμα *θροοῦμαι* σώθηκε σὲ διάφορα μέρη τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ τῆς Θράκης. Ἡ λ. ἦταν ποιητικὴ, δηλ. ἀρχαιότερα διαλεκτικὴ,³⁷ καὶ ἀπὸ διαλέκτους χρησιμοποιοῦντο καὶ στὴν Κοινὴ (ΠΔ' Ἀσμ. ἀ. 5,4, ΚΔ' Ματθ. 24, 6, 2, Θεσσαλ. 2,2) μὲ τὴν σημασίαν τοῦ τρομάζω, φοβοῦμαι, ποὺ ἔχει καὶ σήμερα ἐδῶ (Παναζίδης, *Φιλίστωρ*, 3,214 *ξεθροιάζω*: ἐκθροέω: τρομάζω, ἐκφοβίζω. *θροίζομαι* ἀπὸ τὴν Φιλιππούπολη, Ἀθηνᾶ 36+159: ἐξαφνίζομαι· *φρλθῆκα* στὴν Σιάτιστα ἀπὸ τὸ *ἐθροήθηκα*). Ἀπὸ ποιὰν διάλεκτο πέρασε στὴν Κοινὴ εἶναι ἀγνωστο.

Σὰν δείγματα ἀρχαιότητος δίνω ἀκόμα δυὸ λέξεις.

Ἡ *φολῖς* - *ἰδος* σύμφωνα μὲ τὶς σημασίαις ποὺ δίνουν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι λεξικογράφοι σημαίνει τὸ σκληρὸ κερατοειδὲς σκέπασμα τοῦ δέρματος ὀρισμένων σαυροειδῶν, ποὺ μοιάζει μὲ θώρακα, καὶ ὕστερα τὶς μικρὲς ἐπάλληλες πλάκες τοῦ θώρακα τῶν μεταγενέστερων πολεμιστῶν. Φαίνεται ὅτι ἡ λ. χρησιμοποιήθηκε καὶ βαρύτονη *φόλῖς* - *φόλιδος* (πβλ. *κονῖς* - *ιδος*: *κόντα* (κόνιδα), γιὰ τὴν ἐξήγησιν καλύπτεται τὸ σύγχρονο μακεδονικὸ *φούλτακας*, μεγεθυντικὸ ἀπὸ βασικὸ ἢ *φόλτα* (φόλιδα) καὶ ρῆμα *φουλτακιάζω* μὲ τὴν σημασίαν τῆς φούσκας ποὺ βγαίνει στὸ δέρμα, ἀπὸ κάψιμο κλπ. Ἡ τροπὴ *ο* *λου*, ἀπὸ τὸ *ἄτονο φολτακίζω* *φουλτακίζω*-*φούλτακας*. Γάβρο, τό, εἶναι ἕνας θάμνος μὲ ξύλο γκριζοῦ χρώματος ποὺ δίνει δυνατὴ φλόγα, ὅχι ὅμως καλὸ κάρβουνο, ὅπως τὸ πουνάρι ἢ ἡ βαλανιδιά. Νομίζω ὅτι τὴν λ. τὴν βρίσκουμε στὸν Ἀμερία (ποὺ ἔχει συγκεντρώσει μακεδονικὰς λέξεις): «*Ἀμερίας δὲ γράβιον τὸν φανόν*». Ὁ Ἀθήναιος (15,699ε), ποὺ μᾶς προσφέρει αὐτὴν τὴν πληροφορίαν, προσθέτει: *Σέλευκος δὲ οὕτως ἐξηγεῖται ταύτην τὴν λέξιν· γράβιον ἐστὶν τὸ πρόνιον ἢ δρύινον ξύλον, ὃ περιεθλασμένον καὶ κατεσχισμέ-*

37. Βλ. Ἀ.Γ. Τσοπανάκη, *Συμβολὴ στὴν ἐρευνὰ τῶν ποιητικῶν λέξεων*: αἱ γλῶτται σ. 9 κέ.

νον εξάπτεσθαι καὶ φαίνειν τοῖς ὁδοιποροῦσιν. Ἡ λ. ἦταν γνωστὴ καὶ στὴν Σικελία (Ἀθήναιος 699).

Τὰ παραδείγματα αὐτὰ μποροῦν νὰ πολλαπλασιασθοῦν μὲ πῶς συστηματικὴ μελέτη ὅλων τῶν μακεδονικῶν ιδιωμάτων. Ἐχῶ τὴν πεποίθησιν ὅτι τὰ βλάχικα ιδιώματα τῆς Μακεδονίας ἀποτελοῦν τὰ τελευταῖα λείψανα τοῦ ἐκλατινισμοῦ τῆς Βαλκανικῆς, ὁ ὁποῖος ἀπὸ τὴν μιὰ μεριὰ σταμάτησε στὰ σημεῖα πού συνάντησε τὴν ἑλληνικὴ γλῶσσα καὶ τὴν ἑλληνικὴ ἐγγραμματοσύνη —μὲ μικρότερες ἢ μεγαλύτερες ἐπιδράσεις ἀνάλογα μὲ τὶς ἐγκαταστάσεις λατινόγλωσσων ἀποίκων ἢ ἐκλατινισμένων βετεράνων—, κι ἀπὸ τὴν ἄλλη χάθηκε στὶς μεγάλες περιοχὲς τῆς σημερινῆς Γιουγκοσλαβίας καὶ Βουλγαρίας ἀπὸ τὶς σλαβικὲς ἐγκαταστάσεις στὶς περιοχὲς αὐτές. Ἡ Δακία πού βρέθηκε ἔξω ἀπ' αὐτὴν τὴν κίνησιν καὶ ὀρισμένες ὀρεινὲς περιοχὲς τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ Ἡπείρου ἔμειναν τὰ τελευταῖα λείψανα αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐκλατινισμοῦ, δυὸ λατινογενεῖς νησίδες τῆς νοτιοανατολικῆς Εὐρώπης. Ὅσες ὁμοιότητες παρουσιάζουν μετὰξὺ τους, ὀφείλονται στὸ ὅτι σὲ ὅλην αὐτὴν τὴν βαλκανικὴ ἑκτασὴ εἶχε δημιουργηθῇ μιὰ νεολατινικὴ γλῶσσα στὰ 700 καὶ περισσότερα χρόνια τῆς ρωμαϊκῆς διοικήσεως· οἱ διαφορὲς τους ὁμῶς ὀφείλονται στὸ ὅτι στὶς δυὸ περιοχὲς ἀφομοιώθηκαν γλωσσικὰ λαοὶ πού μιλοῦσαν διαφορετικὲς γλῶσσες. Ὁ ἀγῶνας νὰ ἀποδειχθῇ ὅτι οἱ Βλάχοι τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ Ἡπείρου ἤρθαν ἀπὸ τὴν Δακίαν εἶναι περιττὸς καὶ μάταιος καὶ ἀποτελεῖ παράρτημα τοῦ ἄλλου, νὰ ἀποδειχθῇ δηλ. ὅτι ἡ μακεδονικὴ γλῶσσα δὲν εἶναι ἑλληνικὴ, γιὰ τοὺς ἰδίους λόγους. Δὲν ξεσηκώνεται κανένας ἀπὸ τὴν εὐλογία τῆς Ρουμανίας, γιὰ νὰ τυραννιέται στὰ κατσάβραχα τῆς Πίνδου καὶ τοῦ Βοῖου. Οἱ Ρουμάνοι ἐπιστήμονες ἔχουν ἀναλάβει ἀπὸ χρόνια μιὰν ἀξιόλογη καὶ ἀξιώπαινη προσπάθεια νὰ βροῦν τὰ προρωμαϊκὰ (δακικά) στοιχεῖα πού ἀφομοιώθηκαν στὴν νεολατινικὴ τους γλῶσσα, καθὼς καὶ τὰ σλαβικὰ πού μπῆκαν ἀργότερα. Ἄν ἡ ἀποψή μου εἶναι σωστὴ, ὅπως πιστεύω, τότε πρέπει ν' ἀρχίσουμε νὰ ψάχνουμε κι ἐμεῖς μέσα στὰ βλάχικα ιδιώματα τῆς Μακεδονίας γιὰ ἀρχαῖες μακεδονικὲς λέξεις, καὶ φαινόμενα ἴσως, πού νὰ ἐπέζησαν ὥς τὶς μέρες μας· εἶναι πολὺ ἀμφίβολο ἂν μπορεῖ νὰ περιμένῃ κανεὶς τὸ ἴδιο κι ἀπὸ τὴν μελέτη τῶν σλαβικῶν ιδιωμάτων τῆς περιοχῆς. Σ' αὐτά, ἐκεῖνο πού μπορεῖ νὰ ἐλπίζῃ περισσότερο κανεὶς, εἶναι στοιχεῖα τῆς νεολατινικῆς διαλέκτου πού ἐξεσλαβίσθηκε καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα μπῆκαν ὕστερα ἐξαιτίας τῆς πολιτιστικῆς καὶ θρησκευτικῆς ἐπαφῆς τῶν Σλάβων μὲ τὸ Βυζάντιο. Ἐμεῖς ὁμῶς εἴμαστε ἀκόμα ἀρκετὰ μακάριοι καὶ δὲν ἔχουμε, ὅσο ξέρω, κανέναν ἐπιστήμονα πού νὰ μελετᾷ γλωσσικὰ οὔτε τὰ βλάχικα οὔτε τὰ σλαβικά, ἀφήνοντας αὐτὴν τὴν φροντίδα ἢ στὸν ἀξιώπαινο πατριωτικὸ καὶ τοπικιστικὸν ζῆλο ἐρασιτεχνῶν ἢ στὸν ζῆλο ξένων ἐπιστημόνων, ἀπὸ τοὺς ὁποῖους δὲν εἶναι λίγοι ἐκεῖνοι πού ὑποτάσσουν τὴν ἐπιστὴμὴν στὴν πολιτικὴ σκοπιμότητα.

Ἐπὶ τὴν μελέτη καὶ ἓνα ἄλλο γενικώτερο γλωσσικὸ θέμα ποὺ προβάλλει ἀπὸ τὴν μελέτη τῶν νεοελληνικῶν ἰδιωμάτων τῆς περιοχῆς. Εἶναι γνωστὸ ὅτι στὴν περιοχή τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς, ἀπὸ τὸν καιρὸ ποὺ ἦταν ἀκόμα μέρος τῆς Θράκης, καθὼς καὶ σὲ ἄλλες ἐπικαίρες περιοχὰς τῆς βόρειας παραλίας καὶ τῶν νησιῶν ἔχουμε ἐγκαταστάσεις Ἰωνῶν κυρίως. Μὲ τὴν ἀνάπτυξη τοῦ ἑλληνισμοῦ στὴν ἀλεξανδρινὴ καὶ ρωμαϊκὴ περιοχὴ, πραγματοποιήθηκε μιὰ ἀξιόλογη ἀνάμειξη τῶν ἀρχαίων διαλέκτων στὴν περιοχή τῆς Μακεδονίας, ἀπὸ τὴν ὁποία ἀνάμειξη μεγάλα δείγματα εἶναι ἀπὸ τὴν μιὰ μεριά ὁ βόρειος χαρακτήρας ὄλων αὐτῶν τῶν ἰδιωμάτων, ὁ ὁποῖος ὀφείλεται πιθανῶς στὸ αἰολικὸ ὑπόστρωμα τῆς Θεσσαλίας καὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας³⁸, καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν ἄλλη μιὰ ἐπέκταση τῆς ἰωνικῆς, ὅπως φαίνεται ἀπὸ τὴν ἀνάπτυξη τῆς κατάληξης -οὔδι-οὔδα ἀπὸ τὴν Μακεδονία ὡς τὴν Μ. Ἀσία³⁹. Ἡ ἀναζήτησις καὶ σ' αὐτὸν τὸν τομέα μποροῦμε νὰ περιμένουμε ὅτι θὰ εἶναι καρποφόρα. Δὲν ξέρω ἂν μπορῶ νὰ προσφέρω ἐδῶ ὡς λεξιλογικὸν ἰωνισμό τὸ μακεδονικὸ καὶ εὐρύτερα γνωστὸ στὰ βόρεια ἰδιώματα (βλ. Πανταζίδης, *Φιλίστωρ* 3,130) *δοκιοῦμαι* - *ἀδοκίβ(η)κα*, πιθανῶς ἀπὸ τὸ *δοκεῖ μοι* (ὁ Πανταζίδης, ἀπὸ τὸ *δοκέομαι*) = *μοῦ φαίνεται*, *μοῦ φάνηκε*, ἢ μήπως πρέπει νὰ τὸ κατατάξουμε καὶ αὐτὸ στὰ κατάλοιπα τῆς ἀρχαίας μακεδονικῆς.

Στὴν τόσο γνωστὴ μελέτη τοῦ γιὰ τὴν γλῶσσα τῶν ἀρχαίων Μακεδόνων ὁ Ο. Hoffmann (*Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum*, Göttingen 1906) ἔθιξε σωστὰ (σ.68) καὶ τὸ θέμα τῆς στενῆς γλωσσικῆς συγγένειας ἀνάμεσα στὴν Μακεδονία καὶ τὴν Κύπρο. Πρὸς τὴν κατεύθυνση αὐτήν, ἡ ὁποία ἔχει σχέση μὲ ὅσα εἶπαμε γιὰ τὴν ἐπέκταση τῆς γνώσεώς μας γιὰ τὸν μυκηναϊκὸ πολιτισμὸ καὶ γιὰ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς-Αἰολεῖς ποὺ πρέπει νὰ ἔμειναν στὴν Μακεδονία, πρέπει ἐπίσης νὰ στρέψουμε περισσότερο τὴν προσοχή μας. Τὰ ἀποτελέσματα χωρὶς ἀμφιβολία θὰ εἶναι περισσότερο ἐνθαρρυντικά.

Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης

ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΣ Γ. ΤΣΟΠΑΝΑΚΗΣ

38. Βλ. Agapitos G. Tsopanakis, I dialetti Greci dell' Italia meridionale rispetto a quelli neogreci, *L' Italia Dialettale* 31 (N.S. 8), 1968, 12-13. Γιὰ τοὺς Βλάχους, *ἀντ.* σ. 2, σημ. 3.

39. Βλ. Α.Γ. Τσοπανάκη, Μιὰ ἰωνικὴ παραγωγικὴ κατάληξις: οὔδι (-οὔδα, -οὔδης) *Ἐπιστημ. Ἐπετ. Φιλολ. Σχολ. Πανεπ. Θεσσ.* 10, 1968, 283-307.

EARLY ELEMENTS IN THE ALEXANDER ROMANCE

I

After the publication in 1954 of Reinhold Merkelbach's monograph, *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans*, it has become necessary to assess anew the dates, the underlying purposes, and the origins of the several strains that constitute "The Alexander Romance."¹ What we call "The Alexander Romance," falsely attributed to Callisthenes of Olynthus, in its many recensions and versions, has been generally considered the product of late antiquity. In fact, because of the later proliferation of recensions in Greek, the innumerable later versions of it, and of its popularity during the Middle Ages, the Romance has often seemed a subject of study appropriate to the medievalist rather than the student of Hellenistic history.

Though this novelistic treatment of Alexander's life and career was preferred by the medieval reader to the more sober and authentic treatments of Alexander—like Arrian's, or at the other end of the spectrum, Quintus Curtius—the Romance, upon closer inspection, contains elements that are far earlier than the time at which the earliest of our extant Alexander-Historians wrote. Indeed some portions of the Romance antedate those Alexander-Histories now lost to us, like those by Ptolemy, Aristobulus and Cleitarchus, and are as early as or earlier than those by Nearchus and Onesicritus. Before discussing the earliest of these elements and their import, it is necessary to have before us the basic structure and sources of the Romance.

Merkelbach described two bodies of material utilized by the author of the Romance:² First, as the basic framework he used an historical source from the Hellenistic age which apparently paid less attention to historical reality than what we find in the more colorful portions of Diodorus XVII, Quintus Curtius, or Justin's Epitome of Trogus. This hypothetical document ap-

1. R. Merkelbach, *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans* (München, 1954).

2. *Ibid.*, cf. his introduction, pp. 1-10, and his summary, pp. 188-189.

pears to have been written in the tradition of romantic historiography about Alexander, traditionally ascribed to Cleitarchus. Secondly, onto and into this historical source, the author introduced a conglomerate of materials which may have been published in a body before the author of the Romance used them.³ This collection consisted of three sorts of material:

a.) A Letter-Romance in which a chain of letters, purportedly written by the persons involved, related the main events of Alexander's career. This correspondence, attributed to leading personalities, apparently originated in the rhetorical schools, since, analogous to the model-declamation, they were written to fit the character and situation of important historical personages.⁴ These Romance-Letters date from 100 B.C. or earlier, and were published as a unified collection at some point before they were appropriated by the author of the Romance. The latter conclusions are both based on papyri copies of the Letters which prove their early date and their circulation independent of "The Alexander Romance."⁵

b.) Two smaller writings, "The Conversation with the Gymnosophists" (Ps. Call. III. 6) which has been preserved in its independent form on papyrus,⁶ and "The Last Days" (Ps. Call. III. 30-33) whose original separate structure is witnessed to by a Latin translation.⁷ The "Conversation" has been discussed in detail by Wilcken, and proves to be earlier than 100 B.C. It apparently originated with the Cynics since it reflects their hostility to Alexander and portrays him as a tyrant misled by blindness. Merkelbach himself has undertaken an elaborate analysis of "The Last Days" which shows that this originally was a tendentious document by a partisan of Perdikkas produced as propaganda against Antipater during the conflict between Perdikkas and Antipater

3. It does not appear to me essential to Merkelbach's argument that the three portions of the second group of materials were in one collection before the author of the Romance used them.

4. Merkelbach, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

5. *Ibid.*, cf. pp. 32-33, pp. 195-219 contain an appendix in which the letters are rearranged in the order Merkelbach believes was that of the original Letter-Romance. This arrangement is based on letters from Ps. Call., from Pap. Soc. It. 1285, Dino Pieraccione, ed., in *PSI* (Firenze, 1951) XII,2, and from Pap. Hamb. 129, R. Merkelbach, ed., in *P. Hamb.* (Leipzig, 1954), Bd. II, pp. 51-74. Pap. Soc. It. 1285 dates from the second century A.D., Pap. Hamb. 129 from the first century B.C.

6. Pap. Berol. 13044, edited by U. Wilcken as "Alexander der Grosse und die indischen Gymnosophisten," in *SBPreuss.* (Berlin, 1923), pp. 160-183. The "Conversation" is also described by Plut., *Alex.* 24, whose report is supplemented by *Epit. Mett.* 84.

7. *Epit. Mett.* 87-103. In one passage Merkelbach finds Pap. Vindob. 31954 to be another witness to the independent form of "The Last Days." Cf. Merkelbach, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

in 322/321 B.C.⁸ "The Last Days," which contains the testament of Alexander and the story of Alexander's poisoning by Antipater and his sons, has been restored by Merkelbach from the *Epitoma Rerum Gestarum Alexandri et Liber de Morte eius*, usually referred to as the *Metzer Epitome*, and the Greek text of "The Alexander Romance." He has supplemented this with an examination of the later Greek recensions and Latin translations of the Romance. In one crucial passage he reconstructs the original course of the testament from a medieval recension of the Latin translation of the Romance made by Archpriest Leo of Naples in the tenth century A. D.⁹ This late reading, if Merkelbach is right, alone reproduces the Greek original published in 322/321 B. C. Here we are told that Alexander gave his soldiers freedom to elect whomever they wished to be king. When they elected Perdiccas, Alexander is supposed to have handed over to him the kingdom and his wife Roxane. Arguing that only this reading explains other details in the document, Merkelbach asserts that "The Last Days" is the oldest source in the body of material exploited by the author of the Romance.

c.) Finally, in addition to the Letter-Romance, "The Conversation with the Gymnosophists," and "The Last Days," the author of the Romance utilized letters purporting to be from Alexander to Aristotle about India (Ps. Call. III. 17), and to his mother Olympias about his return from the East (Ps. Call. III. 27, 28). These letters are found in the oldest Greek recension of the Romance, in Recension A.¹⁰ In the later Greek recension, Recension β,¹¹ in the Armenian translation,¹² and the versified Byzantine version of the Romance,¹³ a longer letter (Ps. Call. II. 23, 32, 33, 36-41), addressed jointly to Aristotle and Olympias, tells of Alexander's journey to the end of the world, his quest for the land of the blessed and the water of life. These letters, which I shall call the Miracle-Letters, differ sharply from the Romance-Letters; while the Romance-Letters relate what may be construed or imagined as appropriate to the writer's character and situation, the Miracle-Letters revel in the obviously fabulous and fictitious.

8. Merkelbach, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 230-231. O. Zingerle, *Die Quellen von Alexander des Rudolf von Ems; Im Anhang: Die Historia de Proellis* (Breslau, 1885) p. 263, 2-10.

10. G. Kroll, *Historia Alexandri Magni* (Berlin, 1926).

11. L. Bergson, *Der griechische Alexanderroman. Recension β* (Stockholm, 1965.).

12. R. Raabe (ed. and trans.), *Ἰστορία Ἀλεξάνδρου* (Leipzig, 1896).

13. Siegfried Reichmann, ed., *Das byzantinische Alexander Gedicht* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1963).

II

Merkelbach in his discussion of the two sources of "The Alexander Romance," by calling attention to the Hellenistic historical source and the large body of material comprising the Letter-Romance, "The Conversation with the Gymnosophists," "The Last Days," and the Miracle-Letters, has already demonstrated an early date for several among the sources employed by the author of the Romance. However interesting and valuable these findings are to the Hellenistic historian, we learn little more from them about the feelings Alexander's contemporaries had toward his career and character. And certainly research in the early elements in the Romance is based on the hope that we might find some vestige of the contemporary estimate of Alexander to supplement the meager remains in the extant Alexander-Historians. Merkelbach, also noting this deficiency in our sources, suggested that the residue of a living and early saga about Alexander is most likely to be found in the Miracle-Letters.¹⁴

Of the three Miracle-Letters I believe "Alexander's Letter to Aristotle about India" (Ps. Call. III. 17) contains just such a contemporary expression about Alexander. Furthermore I think, as I shall indicate in the course of this discussion, that the prototype of this Letter was published sometime between 316-308 B.C. But before discussing what was the probable original course of the Letter, the basis for this early date, and the apparent intention of its author, something must be said about the texts.

Like the other sources of the Romance, this Letter is found both in the Romance and in an independent form: in the Romance the Letter is Ps. Call. III. 17, and in its independent form a Latin translation of the Greek original which was epitomized by the author of the Romance. To reconstruct the prototype of the Letter, the various recensions and versions of Ps. Callisthenes must be brought to bear, especially Recension A, the oldest Greek recension which is supported by the Armenian translation and the Latin translation made by Julius Valerius in fourth century A.D. In its independent Latin version, the Letter is available in two Latin translations. First, an older Latin version which shall be referred to as *Epistola*. An edition of this translation, based on sixty-seven manuscripts, was made available in 1953 by Walther W. Boer.¹⁵ Secondly, a later version, to be cited here as *Epistola* (Ba), is a transposition of the older Latin version into Italian-Latin.¹⁶ In pro-

14. Merkelbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 and 188.

15. Walther W. Boer, ed., *Epistola Alexandri ad Codicum Fidem Edita et Commentario Critico Instructa* (Hague, 1953).

16. F. Pfister, *Kleine Texte zum Alexanderroman* (Heidelberg, 1910).

ceeding, we must assume, since the independent Latin translation offers the most detailed text, that whenever we find a Greek text in agreement with it, we have made contact with the original story. However, at several points the critic must proceed eclectically,¹⁷ often making choices between variant readings on internal grounds when the texts are defective or incoherent.¹⁸ Thus we must stipulate that in dealing with this carelessly preserved tradition, at some crucial points the principle of adequacy has to prevail in the choice of one reading over another; this was precisely the case when Merkelbach found that only a late reading was sufficient to explain other features of "The Last Days."

III

With a flavor of authenticity Alexander tells Aristotle about his Indian adventures in first person. In the month of May, presumably May 326 B.C.,¹⁹ after the conquest of Darius' empire, Alexander says that they marched toward the interior of India. After entering a luxuriant area he refreshes his army, and decides to pursue Porus by a more difficult route with the help of Indian guides. These mislead them into places where they must fight beasts and snakes.

Though dangers force Alexander to keep his soldiers in arms and in formation, nevertheless he rejoices in his good fortune while gazing upon his soldiers' gold-plated arms. Suddenly, as though *peripetela* must come, they are without water. Their search for water is frustrated but accompanied by heroics: to encourage his troops, Alexander pours on the ground water offered by a sympathetic soldier. He feels deep pity for his men. Finally a native of the area leads them to water. Here they camp for the night. A night of terrors follows, during which the Macedonians fight manfully against outlandish monsters. The next day, after a meeting at which Alexander encourages his men, they march back to Bactria.

There they spend twenty days in camp. With rested and refreshed troops

17. Merkelbach, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

18. *Ibid.*, 61-62.

19. The adventure is supposed to begin in the month of May. Though the legend pays heed neither to time nor space, we do know from Arr., *Anab.* 5.9.4. and 5.19.3. that the battle with Porus took place in May, 326 B.C., just after the summer solstice, in the Attic month of Munychion. Three other references are made by the Letter to the time of year: their arrival in Fasian India in the last part of July (*Epistola* 3.12), their penetration of the uninhabited regions of India in August (*Epistola* 6.13), and the storm as taking place in October (*Epistola* 34. 6).

Alexander sets out to pursue Porus. As they face one another, protracted maneuvering and a semi-hostile atmosphere prevails between the two encampments. The battle with Porus is passed over without comment while several details are provided about Alexander's confirmation of Porus in his original position, about how Porus shared his wealth with the Macedonians, and led Alexander to the boundaries of the East where the Indians had erected statues of Heracles and Dionysus.

Alexander wants to visit the outer ocean beyond the boundaries visited by Heracles and Dionysus. Presumably this would bring him to the end of the world. Again they encounter beasts, and the trip to the outer ocean ends with no particular result.

On the journey back to Fasian India,²⁰ in the month of October, a storm severely damages Alexander's army. When the soldiers complain that their misfortune is the product of Alexander's hubris, he asserts that the storm occurred because of the autumnal equinox. After the storm they march past the Nysaeon mountain and the cave of Dionysus.

The Indians keep telling Alexander there is nothing more to see, and so they march southward toward the Fasis. Two old men intercept them. They advise Alexander to visit the oracle of the trees. After hesitation and expressions of incredulosity, he decides to heed his soldiers who encourage the expedition. With a contingent of his army he arrives there after passing through a desert full of beasts.

The priest who explains how the oracle works dominates the opening scene at the sacred grove. Alexander, after humbling himself by kissing the trunks of the oracular trees, consults them three times:

- 1). He asks whether he will return to Macedonia in triumph to his family. The oracle tells him his fate is to die away from home, though he will conquer the world.
- 2). He wonders where he will die. The oracle answers that he will die in Babylon by the hand of one whom he least suspects.
- 3). He questions the trees about the identity of his assassins, and the

20. *Fasiace* or *Phasiace* apparently refers to the Phasis river. Presumably the Phasis was understood to be the waterway between Ocean and the Black Sea since the Caspian Sea was commonly considered a gulf of the outer sea, in spite of Hdt. 1.202 who knew the truth about the Caspian Sea. It is clear that the Phasis, if it was believed to be the passageway from the Black Sea to Ocean was considered the end of the world; thus E. Diehl, *RE.*, 19, s.v. "Phasis," col. 1887-1888, 1938. If the reference in the Letter is indeed to the Phasis then his purpose must be to stage these events at the end of the world. On the other hand, *Fasiace* or *Phasiace* could refer to the location of the mutiny at the Hyphasis.

fate of his mother and sisters. The oracle refuses to tell him who the assassin will be lest Alexander confound the fates; he only learns that the instrument will be poison. However, the trees prophesy a dreadful death for his mother Olympias, that her body will lie unburied in the street, the prey of birds, and at the same time predict a long and prosperous life for his sisters.²¹ The consultation concludes with a reaffirmation of his coming lordship over the world.

They leave the oracle with no expressed destination, visit a valley where they again fight beasts, and then arrive at a river. The Letter describes in detail reeds along this river and the fish-eaters living there. Suddenly, with no explanation of their itinerary, they are at the Ganges. Apparently striving to intensify the hyperbole, Alexander says he will pass over what he saw there to avoid the appearance of being a storyteller. Their last visit, before they return to the Fasis through the Caspian Gates, is among the Seres. After a difficult march back Alexander orders his legate to erect memorials in the area of the Persians and Babylonians, and in India. These latter, though less in number, are intended to exceed in height those erected by Heracles and Dionysus.

IV

Obviously the visit to the oracular trees must be construed as the climax of the Letter. Here are also the grounds for its early date. At the third consultation what Alexander was told about his mother's fate coincides with what is known from our historical sources: Olympias was killed, and her body thrown out and left unburied in the spring of 316 B. C.²² But as to the fate of Alexander's sisters, the text of the independent Latin translation stands in direct contradiction to the oldest Greek recension, Recension A, Ps. Call. III. 17.41, which says that both Olympias and the sisters will die shortly after Alexander.²³ The oldest Latin form of the Letter says the sisters are fated to be happy a long time (*sororesque tuae felices erunt fato diu* ²⁴). Here, as often happens in a tradition so carelessly passed on as these texts have been, one text may preserve the right reading against the entire field. Merkelbach held this to be true in the text of "The Last Days," where, as we have seen, a late

21. *Epistola* 50.10-51.2: "Mater tua miserando turpissimoque exitu sepultura carebit iacebitque in via, praeda avium ferarumque, sororesque tuae felices erunt fato diu."

22. Diod. 17.118.2; 19.51.5; Just., *Epit.* 14.6.11-13; Paus. 9.7.2.

23. Ps. Call. III. 17.41: 2. «Μετά δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον καὶ ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ ἡ γυνή σου κακὴν κακῶς ἀπολοῦνται ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ αἱ ἀδελφαί σου ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ σέ.»

24. *Epistola* 51.1-2.

much interpolated recension of Archpriest Leo's translation preserves the correct reading.²⁵ We are in a more fortunate situation: generally, and particularly in the matter of the oracular responses, the text of the oldest independent Latin translation preserves the most detailed and correct readings. Thus when the text says the sisters will live on happily, I believe we have a real clue to the Letter's date. No doubt it reflects the real state of affairs: after the death of Olympias both sisters, Cleopatra and Thessalonike, were much sought after and played important roles in political affairs. As Justin said, referring to Cleopatra: "The veneration of Alexander's power was so great that the support of his sacred name was sought even through the (distinguished) descent of women."²⁶ Moreover, after the death of Olympias, Cassander married Thessalonike, Alexander's half-sister.²⁷ But both later suffered disastrous deaths: Cleopatra, Alexander's full sister, was slain at Sardis through the efforts of Antigonos in 308 B. C.,²⁸ and Thessalonike was killed by Antipater, her second son by Cassander, in 296 B. C.²⁹ The reading of *Epistola* 51. 1-2 dates the Letter: Olympias died in 316 B. C., and Cleopatra in 308 B. C. For this eight year period the reading of the oldest Latin translation reflects the true state of affairs; after 296 B. C. a redactor who knew how Alexander's sisters perished would of course change the text to match the outcome, and thus produce the reading in the oldest Greek recension, Recension A.³⁰

25. Merkelbach, *op. cit.*, p. 131 ff.

26. Just. *Epit.* 14.1.8; also Diod. 20.37.4.

27. Diod. 19.52.1; Just., *Epit.*, 14.6.13.

28. Diod. 20.37.3-6.

29. Just., *Epit.*, 16.1.1; Plut., *Demetr.*, 36.1; Paus. 9.7.3.

30. Cynane, the daughter of Philip II and the Illyrian princess, Audata (Polyaen. 8.60) was killed in 322 B. C. by Alceas, the brother of Perdikkas when she marched to Asia in order to force Philip Arrhidaeus to marry her daughter, Eurydice. Polyaen. *loc. cit.*, *FGrH* 156 (Arrianos) F.9 (23). Cf. Berve, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 229.

Though Cynane, the half-sister of Alexander, was dead, this would not affect a well-informed partisan of Alexander's family. She had refused to remarry after Alexander put to death Amyntas (Polyaen. *loc. cit.*), the son of Perdikkas II, who was a threat to Alexander's accession to the throne. Alexander apparently did not forget Amyntas' plot against this life (Curtius 6.9.17; 6.10.24), and so she would hardly qualify as a "dear sister." It is more certain still that Cynane's death could not be considered a disaster for Alexander's family when we see what later happened between Eurydice (also called Hadeia), Cynane's daughter, and Olympias. In 317 B. C., on the Illyrian-Macedonian border, these led armies into battle against one another, but when Eurydice's troops deserted to Olympias because of loyalty to the memory of Alexander, Olympias captured her and forced her to commit suicide (Diod. 19.11.1-7; Just., *Epit.* 14.5).

If the prototype of the Letter dates from sometime between 316 B.C.—308 B.C., what point of view does its author wish to convey? The Letter tells a tale combining interminable frustrations with unprecedented successes. The splendors balanced with the troubles attending the initial march into India provide a rough model for the ensuing narrative. During this march Alexander exalts in his good fortune, but fortune, as he says, in these circumstances usually strikes a harsh note. They are without water. Their search is unsuccessful, yet again there are heroics (Alexander's) which sustain them until they find relief. The night of terrors follows, and whereas the leadership of Alexander sustained them through the drought, the unwavering courage of the Macedonians prevails throughout the night against the beasts. Nevertheless their march into inner India is curtailed; they return to Bactria for a twenty day rest. The glory of it is not their achievement, but that they survived.

Once again they set out for India, now in pursuit of Porus. This succeeds. Yet the triumph is passed over quickly, to be followed by a successful journey to those boundaries visited by Heracles and Dionysus, and thence a projected visit to the outer ocean, and thus presumably to the end of the world. Again they encounter beasts obstructing their progress. The excursion ends with no specified result, leaving the impression that there was nothing further to do but return to the Asian region. After an uneventful march to a luxurious city, misfortune strikes again in the form of a dreadful storm.

Alexander's restlessness, his curiosity, and fortitude are challenged by the reports he hears of the oracle endowed with the power to tell the future. The encouragement of the Macedonian soldiers overcomes his hesitation and incredulity. At the oracle the double character of Alexander's experience is epitomized: he is told of his approaching lordship over the whole world, of his impending death, the happy lives predicted for his sisters, and the wretchedness of his mother's death. He hears the positive prophecy that he will gain the whole world both during the first and last consultation, but three times he hears that he must lose his life.

The events described following the visit to the oracle could be construed as an implied criticism. After leaving with no expressed destination, they visit a valley where they again engage beasts, and thence a river about which there are reeds of unusual size and fish-eaters of extraordinary generosity. These transactions our Letter describes in detail. But suddenly they are at the Ganges, and whatever wonders the fancy might have ascribed to that journey and the arrival at that place, they are passed over to forestall the impression that the writer is a story-teller (*fabulosus*!). But his order to his legate

at the conclusion of the Indian expedition to set up memorials exceeding those of Heracles and Dionysus may reflect the opinion that the reports exceeded the facts, or that he was, after all, hubristic.

This equilibrium between frustration and achievement, or the balancing and contrasting of action with report, are perhaps devices participating in the larger picture of Alexander that the Letter intends to convey. To Europeans, Alexander's Indian expedition has to rank among the most brilliant, if not the most brilliant, of his achievements. Anyone setting out to dramatize his career, and to estimate, evaluate and describe his character through this genre (the Miracle-Letter), would understandably be drawn to the Indian campaign. Penetrating and defeating the Persian kingdom had been a hope nourished among Greeks, but by going to India and subduing parts of it, Alexander had accomplished what Europeans scarcely dreamt possible: moreover, he and his soldiers had seen people, customs, and varieties of plant and animal life in India about which Greeks like Ctesias of Cnidus could do little more than speculate, or knew only from hearsay and gossip. Obviously the choice of India as the country to be described by Alexander in a letter to Aristotle, is in itself an estimate, by the author, of Alexander's accomplishments. In fact, he underscores it by repeatedly calling attention to the belief that Alexander had gone further than Heracles and Dionysus, not because he was an "imitative character"³¹ but because he had gone beyond boundaries visited by any mortal.

Alexander's mortality, however, is not merely implied. In what must be considered the climax of the Letter, the consultation of the oracular trees, it is so emphasized that alongside his outstripping the gods in his travels, his death becomes ironic. Similarly in the prophecies, the promise that he would gain lordship over the whole world, hardly an attainment appropriate to human-kind, pronounced at the same time as the fact that he must die as any other human being, makes either his death or his lordship ironic. Or perhaps this suggests that a kind of frustrated messianism is an ingredient of the author's thinking: he may be reciting for his readers how his high expectations had to be juxtaposed to the realities. If so, it is ironical that he and others should have acquired such hopes considering how obviously Alex-

31. Tarn believes that Cleitarchus, adopting stories from the Poetasters, pictured Alexander as imitating Dionysus, Achilles, and Semiramis. Cf. Tarn, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 50, 60 and 127. The story of Alexander emulating Semiramis in crossing the Gedrosian desert, as told by Nearchus (*FGrH* 133 [Nearchus] F.3 = Arr. *Anab.* 6.24.3 and Strab. 15.1.5), perhaps as Tarn suggests (Tarn *op. cit.*, p. 49-50), requires a different explanation.

ander's explorations are thwarted and curtailed like those of any mere mortal, and that he must die as the least among men.

The situation of the reader of the Letter is not unlike that of a viewer or reader of Attic tragedy. The Letter assumes that the reader knows the scene, that he knows the basic elements of the story, and the eventual outcome. The efforts, then, of the leading character are ironic. The reader sees in the hero's struggle to overturn the fated outcome only irony, for his efforts do nothing but seal his fate. This is obvious to all except the leading character: Alexander's efforts and achievements are meritorious, even astonishing compared to those of ordinary mortals. But this does not alter one basic fact about his life; it too must end. And so by the device of a letter purporting to have been written by Alexander, published after the event, the author calls upon his reader to be sympathetic, for only Alexander, in the dramatic situation, does not know the denouement.

By making Aristotle the Letter's addressee, the author added another dimension to the irony. Here again it is assumed that the reader knows the course of the story; the rumor that Alexander was poisoned by a cabal composed of Aristotle and Antipater as principles circulated almost immediately after his death. Once more Alexander's ignorance of what is to be is dramatized, and, no doubt, this was designed to invoke sympathy. But beyond the tragic irony in making Alexander's murderer the recipient of the Letter, there is historical irony: the author is explicitly saying that Alexander continued, without warrant of course, to trust Aristotle and, by implication, Antipater. Should the historian construe this to mean that the Letter denies that Alexander ever suffered paranoia? Or is he asking us to believe that Alexander maintained confidence in his friends to the end?

The fact that Aristotle is the addressee coupled with the question repeatedly asked by Alexander about his own return to Macedonia, can be construed as still another ironic situation. Berve has suggested that Aristotle's narrow Hellenism and Antipater's strait-laced Macedonian point of view, brought them together in their last years.³² Gossip brought them together as conspirators. The fact is that Antipater was named the executor of Aristotle's will.³³ Perhaps the suspicion that Alexander never intended to return to Macedonia,³⁴ and the charge that he had taken up "oriental ways,"³⁵ drew

32. Berve, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 74.

33. Diog. Laet. 5.11.

34. Curtius 10.2.12: "perpetuam eum regni sedem in Asia habiturum rati." (at Opis.).

35. Arr. *Anab.* 7.8.2-3.

support from the sentiments of Antipater and Aristotle. At any rate, the Letter makes the return to Macedonia one of Alexander's prime considerations. Obviously it is ironic that the same individuals who reputedly charge him with forsaking his fatherland, should prevent him from returning.³⁶

Of course it may be argued that the emphasis on Alexander's longing to return home is *pathos*, especially if one chooses to combine this desire with the prophecy of his death and emphasize it over and against his approaching lordship over the whole world. This would then be a device fabricated to instruct the reader on the futility of gaining the whole world but nevertheless losing one's life. Yet neither the irony nor the *pathos* need be excluded: these inevitably intrude upon the characterization of the world-conqueror's death and his reactions to it. They arise because his humanity is emphasized, causing the reader to be sympathetic, but at the same time finding it ironic that the world-ruler shares his mortality. Thus nothing stands in the way of taking seriously the Letter's portrayal of Alexander's reactions as a deliberated and real characterization of his feelings about his impending death.

His reactions are those of an ordinary human being. There is no suggestion Alexander took the heroic view that his death must be accompanied by the distinction with which he lived. Nor is there any implication, though the invented circumstances invited it, that the limitations or shortness of life should be compensated for by achievements: these may be balanced somehow but cannot relieve one another. Instead of heroism, human frailty comes to light! He does become upset. He realistically fears the impact the prophecy will have upon his soldiers. He cannot eat or sleep. He both responds to his intimates, and as he anxiously consults the oracle for more details, wants their supportive presence. In fact, Alexander's reactions are so low toned and ordinary that one might suggest that he was not as much affected as he ought or as would be appropriate. His subsequent acts, which from a dramatic point of view are anti-climactic, may seem pointless except that they carry through the narrative model. Or might this continuation underscore the point of view that whereas the exact time, place, manner, and the proximity of death were shocking to Alexander, the fact of death and his own mortality did not precipitate total demoralization for he was always well grounded in his conviction that he was human, not divine?

36. A story in Ps. Call. I.11. 1-4 about how Philip II saw an egg break before him and a serpent crawl from it, which tried but failed to re-enter the shell, is interpreted as a prophecy portending Alexander's death before he could return to his homeland. Here we see a theme, which is bitter irony in the Letter, given a poetic form and appropriated by the Romance.

While the climax of the Letter suggests that its author is giving direct expression to his thoughts about Alexander's death, along the way he has obliquely implied his feelings about other aspects of Alexander's career and character. For example, curiosity. Curiosity is hardly a negative trait, yet Alexander's restless search for new things to see and examine and explore culminates in a search for answers to ultimate questions. The Letter conveys the impression that an insatiable and excessive curiosity drives him to ask more about his destiny than mortal man needs or should know. We are invited to consider that the consultation of the oracular trees produced the risk of demoralization and hopelessness. If, as seems likely, the Letter's author wanted his readers to think of the Oracle of Ammon, while they read this fantasy, then we must conclude that he wanted us to construe the visit to Siwah as destructive to Alexander's morale and that of the Macedonians. After all, what more is there to know if one knows the limits of his career, the time, place, the nature of his death, and the character of his assassins? Either Alexander is hubristic, or misled for wanting to know about such matters. Our author seems to suggest the latter, for in the Letter Alexander is made to propose that the notion of a visit of this sort and the search for knowledge about the future depreciated his majesty and presumed on his credulity. The Letter says that he was partly drawn into the consultation against his better judgment by the old man, and partly by the encouragement of soldiers anxious to see the veracity of the story about the oracle put to a test.³⁷ Evidently this dramatizes the author's reservations about Alexander's consultation of the oracle. As if to underscore this or to provide the appropriate prelude to it, he presses us to notice Alexander's and the Macedonians' interminable encounters with beasts (to the point of monotony!), apparently calling upon us to judge that relentless activity and curiosity which led Alexander to the oracle and as far to the East as his troops would go, futile. Here once more Alexander's humanity is emphasized: he could be misled, indulge his curiosity, and engage in purposeless campaigns.

The characterization of Alexander's humanity strangely does not include anecdotes about his literary or scientific interests. There are no symposia mentioned. Instead there is talk about wealth, or even avarice, as when he risked sacrilege by drilling holes in the statues of Dionysus and Heracles to discover if they were solid or hollow. Or he is portrayed as sympathetic to animals: in fact, he expresses his conviction that animals are less able to

37. *Epistola* 39.7-40.1. ff.

suffer thirst than men. Man's hardihood and the vulnerability of animals are contrasted in the description of the night of terrors: the Indian rats wounded both man and beast, but while his men were immune to the bites, animals died. Again and again we are reminded of his willingness to withstand the challenge of the elements. This corroborates what we know from the historical sources; i.e. how he dealt with the Indian monsoons, the heat in the Gedrosian desert, and snow during the campaign against the Cossacans.

The author's preoccupation with expressing his point of view about Alexander's character seems to have dictated the kind of confused geography featured by the Letter. If my analysis is right, the author chose an Hyrcanian-Bactrian background for at least three episodes in the Letter.³⁸ He could have done this because he knew that Alexander's military operations in Iran were the longest, and aside from the battle with Porus which he handles, the most difficult in Alexander's career. It is instructive to compare the amount of time consumed by the Iranian campaign to his earlier operations: from May, 334 B.C., the battle of Granicus, to October, 331 B.C., the battle of Arbela, Alexander over-ran the fringes of Asia Minor, the coastlands of Coele-Syria, Egypt, and part of Mesopotamia. In contrast—from the time he passed the Caspian Gates in the fall of 330 B.C., until November, 327

38. During the march through the desert, *Epistola* 6.3-9.6, it is emphasized that the army is weighed down by an immense load of baggage and booty, causing concern because they could be easily ambushed. The burning of this excess baggage took place, according to Plut. *Alex* 57.1, as they were about to leave Bactria; according to Curtius 6.6.17, it took place at the time of Alexander's march toward Bactria in pursuit of Bessus. The story in connection with the march about the soldier Zephyrus, *Epistola* 8.12-9.6, is also associated with the Hyrcanian-Bactrian area; Plut. *Alex*. 42. 4-6 tells the story in connection with the pursuit of Darius, Curtius 7.5.10-12 with the pursuit of Bessus, and Arr. *Anab.* 6.26.1-3 with the Gedrosian desert, or in connection with an earlier time, as does Curtius, among the Parapamisadae, Frontin. *Str.* 1.7.7 places the incident in Africa. Polyæn. 6.3.25 gives no location.

A. Ausfeld, *Der griechische Alexanderroman* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 183, believes that the story about the night of terrors, *Epistola* 16.8.-22.7., goes back to the hunt at Bazaira (or Basista) described in Curtius 8.1.11-19, and noted in the summaries of Diod. 17.83.7-9. If so, this incident also has a Bactrian background.

After the night of terrors, Alexander again took his army to Bactria, to the Persian borders, on a paved road (*munitum... iter* *Epistola* 23.4). This again appears to confirm that those episodes described at the beginning of the Letter have a basically Bactrian rather than an Indian background. Indeed they may have traveled on the royal road that reached to Bactria; if the writer of the Letter did not know the road he could have gotten a description from the *Persica* of Ctesias, for he described the distances and stations on the royal road from Ephesus to the Persian satrapy in India. Cf. *FGrH* 688 (Ctesias) F. 33.

B.C., when he passed through the Cabul Valley to India—for a period of three years he was engaged in the conquest of eastern and northwestern Iran. Moreover, it was here that the great catastrophes overtook Alexander: the trial of Philotas, the execution of Callisthenes, and the murder of Cleitus. It was the most difficult time in Alexander's career, and the Letter, casting his opponents as monsters, emphasizes that Alexander overcame every obstacle.

It is difficult to say whether the author of the Letter had more in mind than to exhibit his positive views about Alexander during these most trying times. Yet there are elements in our historical source which preserve a tradition that might well have gained considerable credence by the time of this Letter's publication. According to the tradition preserved in Diodorus, Curtius, Justin, and Plutarch,³⁹ Alexander's character began to deteriorate in two ways after the death of Darius: he both gave free rein to his passions and began to adopt barbarian ways. Curtius dates this change in character precisely to Alexander's sojourn in Hyrcania.⁴⁰ Tarn, among others, traces this tradition back to the successors of Aristotle, the Peripatetics, who were convinced that Alexander was good as long as he was under the sway of the training he had received from Aristotle, but later, as the "Great king," became corrupt.⁴¹ It has been suggested that this portrait of Alexander was manufactured by the Peripatetics in revenge because Alexander put to death Callisthenes, the nephew of Aristotle, and that this "portrait was assisted by the friendship which several members of the school felt for Alexander's enemy Cassander."⁴²

Though it may be doubtful that a specific unfavorable literary portrait had developed so early which would provide a target for the Letter, our author could have aimed at current gossip or anticipated a hostile characterization along the lines later perpetuated by the Peripatetics. He stresses two important factors in the episodes which are given the Hyrcanian-Bactrian setting: first, Alexander retains self-control and self-discipline (he refuses the drink from Zephyrus), he is concerned about his troops (he has his troops march in formation and covered with armour), and his generalship is sound (he pre-

39. Diod. 17.77.4; Curtius 6.6.1-11; Justin. *Epit.* 12.3.8-12; Plut., *Alex.* 45 and 47.

40. Curtius 6.21; 6.6. 1-11. Cf. Tarn, *op. cit.*, Vol. II. p. 98.

41. Tarn, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 97, note 1, believes that the Peripatetic view is expressed in Cic., *Att.* 13.28.3: "Quid? Tu non vides ipsum illum Aristoteli discipulum, summo ingenio, summa modestia, posteaquam rex appellatus sit, superbum, credelem, immoderatum fuisse?" One might also call attention to Seneca, *QNat.* 6.23.2-3.

42. Tarn, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 97. Tarn mentions Theophrastus, Demetrius of Phalerum and possibly, Dicaearchus as members of Cassander's circle.

pare the camp to withstand the night of terrors). Secondly, throughout all this the Macedonians are absolutely loyal: there is no sign that they shirk even before the elaborately described monster, the *odontatyrannus*. The storm, too, the Letter, explains, is the result of the fall equinox, not divine displeasure brought on by Alexander's hubris. And thus, throughout the entire Bactrian campaign, in spite of the most overwhelming difficulties with the enemy and his own entourage, both Alexander and the Macedonians strove cooperatively to prevail in a strange country. Here, one might suggest, the Letter's author couched his refutation of the charge that after Darius died and Alexander passed the Caspian Gates, Alexander was corrupted by success. Finally, in this context, the kind of death prophesied for Alexander, denies the charge that his life was a process of exhaustion ending in death.

Indeed, quite apart from this question of Alexander's character, the Letter appears to take pains to give a general portrayal of the Macedonians' loyalty to Alexander. At the end of the struggles in eastern Iran, just before setting out in pursuit of Porus, Alexander does hold a meeting to encourage his soldiers. He asks them to bear mistfortune bravely. This meeting, and the slight concession the Letter makes about the soldiers' misgivings, obviously strengthens the writer's message: the most difficult battle in Alexander's career and in the Macedonians' experience is introduced as the next episode, that is, the battle with Porus at the Hydaspes. Here again the Macedonians show no failure of nerve, though, according to our historical sources, their morale was severely shaken, particularly by the elephants.⁴³

As though he thought it necessary to emphasize the point further, the author makes Alexander and the Macedonians set out for the outer ocean. Again the Macedonians' loyalty and willingness to follow Alexander is magni-

V

There is no mention of foreign troops; guides, yes, and treacherous guides,

43. Alexander and the Macedonians were well acquainted with elephants. Twelve elephants had been obtained at Susa from Abulites. (Curtius 5.2.9-10). Darius had these brought in for the B. of Arbela, but apparently did not use them, or if he did, they were ineffective: "XII elephantia a Dareo ex India acciti, iam non terror, ut speraverat, Macedonum, sed auxilium, opes victi ad victorem transferente Fortuna." (Curtius 5.2.10).

Alexander himself must have had a good number of elephants at the B. of Hydaspes: he obtained twenty-five from Taxiles (Arr., *Anab.* 4.22.6), and captured several in the country of the Assacenians (Arr., *Anab.* 4.30.4). These elephants he explicitly took into his army (τῇ στρατιᾷ συνετάσσοντο). We find nothing in our sources that indicates how he used them or if he used them at the Hydaspes. Curtius has Alexander make this explanation: "Equidem sic animalia ista contempsi, ut, cum haberem ipse, non opposuerim, satis gnarus plus suis quam hostibus periculi inferre." (Curtius 9.2.21).

fied, yet the Letter refrains from saying that Alexander reached the outer ocean and the end of the world. Our author wants to be taken seriously: his purpose was not to create or perpetuate a legend.

but except for the association with Porus for the purpose of exploration, Alexander and the Macedonians do the fighting. This would seem to eliminate the possibility that the author could be anyone but a Macedonian, for neither a Greek from the south nor an Asiatic would so conspicuously have excluded others from the action. There appears to be no evidence upon which to identify the individual by name, but there are traces indicative of his interest, and perhaps his occupation. There are details about hours and days, and special details about the structure and extent of the camps that suggest a Bematist. In fact, the occurrence of the term *metator* ⁴⁴ in *Epistola* 9.11, directly followed by an exact report on the number Alexander expects to accommodate in the camp, all involved in making camp on the first day, and the precise enumeration of the measurements for the camp ordered by Alexander on the next day (*Epistola* 15.10-11), draw attention to a Bematist's interest and special knowledge. Other matters converge to make this appear to be the work of a Bematist: the description of the vine in Darius' bedroom as having golden leaves and crystalline bunches of grapes set off with emeralds (*Epistola* 4. 9-11, "vineam... miratus sum, in qua folia aurea recemique crystallini erant interpositi distinguuntibus smaragdis") nearly matches that of the Bematist Amyntas (τὴν δ' ἄμπελον ταύτην Ἀμύντας φησὶν ἐν τοῖς Σταθμοῖς καὶ βόρρως ἔχειν ἐκ τῶν πολυτελεστάτων ψήφων συντεθειμένους): ⁴⁵ the distances to the East, as reported by the Bematist Baeton, were reckoned from the Caspian Gates ⁴⁶ while the Letter assumes that Alexander's eastern adventures began after he passed the Caspian Gates.

Moreover, the character of the fragments from the Bematists' writings, few though these are, indicate that they reported more than marching distances. Though the title of Baeton's work was *Stages of Alexander's Journey*, ⁴⁷ the fragments suggest that this work was more in the nature of a romantic travelogue than a technical rendition appropriate for an official journey. In particular his use of and agreement with Ctesias on the matter of the Tapyrian's

44. *Metator* is a reasonable translation of βηματιστής, i.e. in Cic., *Phil.* 11.5.12., "castrorum... metator." Cf. *Phil.* 14.4.10.

45. *FGrH* 122 (Amyntas) F.6. This Amyntas, according to Jacoby, *FGrH*, II B, p. 410, may have utilized the Bematist Baeton, and only in that sense can be grouped with the Bematists.

46. *FGrH* 119 (Baeton) F. 2a and b.

47. *FGrH* 119 (Baeton) F. 1.

addiction to wine shows his interest in a kind of romanticized historical writing.⁴⁸ Statements of the latter sort are not likely to find their way into a daily journal kept as a governmental record. And because this sort of writing has been detected in the fragments, it has also been supposed that Baeton, after the expedition, published his own book based on personal observations, the reminiscences of other participants in Alexander's campaigns, and statements made by others, as indeed he apparently depended on Ctesias.⁴⁹ Or again these fragments may be from a travel romance attributed to the Bemmatists, to gain for it the aura of authenticity, in the same fashion as an apocryphal letter to his mother was credited to Craterus.⁵⁰ Whatever the case may be, though there is not enough evidence to ascribe Alexander's letter about India to Baeton, if he or others identifying themselves with the Bemmatist wrote strongly romantic reports, it is plausible that our author was among this group.

Yet details which direct our attention to the Bemmatists, and the fact that the Bemmatists either wrote or had romantic works about Alexander's expedition ascribed to them, do not satisfactorily explain why our author wrote as he did. Though the Letter in several respects is related to the romance, the teratological aspects, the apparent disregard for the historical course of Alexander's career, and the fantasy distinguish it from the romance. It seems reasonable to ask if the author felt it necessary to conceal his purpose beneath this fabrication. Was there something in the political climate of the time that made it difficult to discuss openly Alexander's character and career in the years between 316-308 B.C.?

Certainly the fate of Alexander's empire was still in the balance during those years. Political opponents of those in Alexander's family who were still trying to retain the empire in his name would surely have pointed to Alexander's difficulties, suggesting that the whole governmental structure was about to collapse in the last years of Alexander's reign, and that his death only hastened the advent of internal dissension. And so, they could argue, continued loyalty to Alexander's memory and his family could do nothing to re-establish political stability. Detractors might well have pointed to the results for those troops, who, out of loyalty to Olympias and because of the

48. *Ibid.*

49. Berve *op. cit.*, p. 198.

50. E. Schwartz, *RE*., II, s.v. "Baiton," col. 2779, 1896, and III, s.v. "Bemmatistai," col. 267, 1899. For the Craterus Letter see Strab. 15.1.35 = *FGrH* 153 (Zur Alexander Geschichte) F. 2.

benefits of Alexander, had deserted from Philip Arridaeus and Eurydice to Olympias in 317 B.C. as Olympias and Eurydice, the child of Cynane, Olympias' stepdaughter, met to do battle on the Macedonian-Illyrian border.⁵¹

This argument about Alexander's character could have been made shortly before, or possibly after Cassander put to death Roxane and Alexander IV in 310 B.C. in Amphipolis.⁵² Cassander held them in custody at Amphipolis⁵³ after the death of Olympias, but, according to Diodorus, he put them to death when he heard the opinion (*logoi*) expressed in Macedonia that Alexander IV should be released and given the kingdom.⁵⁴ If Cassander or his party were, either before or after the act, interested in apologetics, they would most certainly have argued that their act served the cause of peace and stability which had not prevailed since the last years of Alexander, son of Philip II. At any rate, we are told that Cassander, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Antigonus were relieved when the word reached them that the commandant at Amphipolis had done away with the heir.⁵⁵

Tarn has suggested that Antipater acquired Alexander's papers after the death of Perdiccas, and brought them back with him to Pella. These, he adds, Cassander must have obtained at Pella along with the records of Olympias after her death.⁵⁶ It would not be hard to imagine that Cassander caused some of Alexander's correspondence to be made known. Perhaps the selective publication of these materials for political purposes prompted the author of our Letter about India to construct his veiled defense of Alexander.

The oracle announces that Alexander will overcome the whole world. One can read this as legend, the naive belief of a storyteller, or an invention of the romance writer giving color to what legend said about Alexander. But if the Letter is a cleverly contrived vehicle through which the author is announcing that Alexander did and would organize his conquests into a stable unity, and that his family now embodies that hope, the words of the prophecy become something of a judgment on those who had divided Alexander's world among themselves.

The assumption that the author chose to couch his message in the form of a Miracle-Letter for the purpose of concealment runs into several difficulties. First, it is by no means obvious that opposition to Alexander's

51. Diod. 19.11.3. See note 30.

52. Just., *Epit.* 15.2.5; Trogus, *Prol.* 15; Paus. 9.7.2.

53. Diod. 19.52.4.

54. Diod. 19.105.2.

55. Diod. 19.105.3.

56. Tarn, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 302.

family entailed suppression of literature about Alexander; at least there is no hard evidence. Secondly, the conflicts the successors had with Olympias need not have been connected with any particular position about Alexander or the nature of his reign: there were other and sufficient grounds to be exacerbated by her. In the third place, it is possible to construe the elimination of Roxane and Alexander IV as a precaution against any future Iranian influence in the Macedonian court. Fourth, the Letter by no means provides a uniformly laudatory portrait of Alexander: in fact, as we have seen, there is some implied criticism. Finally, what is said in the Letter about Alexander's political behavior is confessedly little, even when one presses all the implications of the story.

Some elements within the Letter appear to be more helpful than external events in explaining why the author chose this genre. I have already suggested that the story about the consultation of the oracular trees recalls Alexander's visit to Siwah. Alexander visited the oracle with only a contingent of three hundred men.⁵⁷ The journey there is described in the Letter as very difficult. The Alexander-Historians also elaborate on the danger of the journey to Ammon: Curtius specifically says that even for those lightly equipped and few in number the journey was scarcely tolerable.⁵⁸ The Letter, furthermore, speaks of crossing a vast desert, of their lacking water, and their being obstructed by beasts and snakes.⁵⁹ At the oracle, before they entered the grove, the priest insisted that Alexander and his troops remove their rings, their clothes, and their shoes.⁶⁰ Only in Callisthenes' description of the priest's orders at the oracle of Ammon do we find comparable details: there the priest required all the soldiers accompanying Alexander to change their clothes and wait outside the temple, and Alexander alone was permitted to enter, wearing ordinary clothes.⁶¹ Other details appear almost designed to remind us of Siwah: we are told that "the prophetic trees" are bilingual. It is also likely that the Oracle of Ammon pronounced its prophecies both in the local language and in Greek.⁶² We are told that the "prophetic trees" each spokr

57. *Epistola* 42.4-5.

58. Curtius 4.7.6. Cf. H.W. Parke, *The Oracles of Zeus* (Oxford, 1967), p. 198.

59. *Epistola* 40.10-41.1.

60. *Epistola* 42.4-6.

61. *FGrH* 124 (Callisthenes) F. 14a.

62. Pl., *LG*. 5 738C says that either Delphi, Dodona, or Ammon may be consulted about the foundation of a new city. The error in Greek, when the priest intended to address Alexander *o paidion*, and instead said *o pal dios*, is reported by Plut., *Alex*. 27.6. Whether the story is true or not it does show that Plutarch thought the oracle spoke Greek.

three times, the sun-tree at sunrise, noon, and sunset; likewise that the moon-trees spoke at the rising of the moon, its zenith, and just before dawn. Both Herodotus and the Alexander-Historians report that the same times of the day and the night affect the Spring of the Sun at Siwah! In the morning it is lukewarm, progressively cools until at noon the water reaches its coolest temperature, and then warms up until sundown, and boils at midnight.⁶³ This fountain is located in a plain near a second temple of Ammon some distance from the acropolis.⁶⁴ Both Diodorus and Curtius refer to large trees around this structure; in fact Curtius calls it *Hammonis nemus*.⁶⁵ Finally, in the matter of the number of questions there are parallels. Curtius, Diodorus, and Plutarch imply three;⁶⁶ Justin explicitly says three (*tertia interrogatione*).⁶⁷

Yet there may be intimations that the reader should recall other oracles. At the first consultation of the sacred trees Alexander asked whether he would conquer the world (the third question in Justin, Diodorus, and Plutarch), and return to his mother, Olympias, and his sisters. The oracle addresses him "*Invicte bellis Alexander*."⁶⁸ According to Plutarch and Diodorus the Pythian priestess at Delphi addressed him as "*aniketos*."⁶⁹ Moreover, the story of the oracular trees depends in part on the *Indica* of Ctesias of Cnidus in which he described a shrine dedicated by the Indians to the sun and the moon,⁷⁰ and partly on the ancient belief that the oak at Dodona spoke in human language.⁷¹

That the Letter's author would use the story of the oracular trees from Ctesias' *Indica* as a means of commenting on Alexander's consultation of

63. Hdt. 4.181.3-4; Arr., *Anab.* 3.4.2-3; Diod. 17.50.4-5; Curtius 4.7.22. Cf. Lucr. 6. 846-878.

64. On its location and identification with the pool et Ummablda, cf. H.W. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

65. Diod. 17.50.4; Curtius 4.7.22.

66. Curtius 4.7.25-27; Diod. 17.51.1-4; Plut., *Alex.* 37.3-4.

67. Just., *Epit.* 11.11.10.

68. *Epistola* 46.6.

69. Plut., *Alex.* 14.4; Diod. 17.93.4; Tarn *op. cit.*, Vol. II, devotes Appendix 21, pp. 338-346 to *aniketos*, and concludes that Plutarch's story is valid, and that Diodorus found it in his sources. Tarn, p. 342, also discusses the merits of a restoration in Hypereides I, col. 32.5, which would make these words of Hypereides "a proposal at Athens in 324 to erect a statue of Alexander as *theos aniketos*."

70. FGrH 688 (Ktesias) F. 45. Cf. Ausfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

71. H.W. Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

Ammon is understandable since the Semiramis legend, also told by Ctesias, had already established the connection between visiting Siwah and going eastward: Semiramis, after subduing Egypt and before going east to Bactria and India, allegedly visited Siwah to inquire about her end.⁷² If we add to this the colorful account by Callisthenes of Alexander's trek across the desert and his consultation of the god, the story of the oracular trees (worked up from Ctesias and early beliefs about Dodona, plus a reference to the Pythian's epithet), we have the basic elements of the melange. As if it were designed to make us think of Callisthenes, the Letter deals only in activity dating from 327 B.C., thus offering the tantalizing possibility that it was meant to be a continuation of Callisthenes' Alexander history. Perhaps the fact that about forty percent of the Letter deals with the oracle, which, we have seen, calls attention to the three leading oracles of the Greek world, echoes Callisthenes' interest in oracles.⁷³ Or possibly it constitutes some sort of comment on the lack of balance in Callisthenes' writing.

Was the Letter then written to set the record straight on Alexander's visit to Siwah, and to intimate some connection between what he discovered and his campaign in India? Tarn, and before him Wilcken, believed that Alexander went to Siwah to consult about the future, not to be called son Ammon.⁷⁴ This, of course, coincides with what the Letter says: he visited the oracular trees, so the story goes, to ask about his own destiny. What the trees answered we already know. Perhaps it counters Callisthenes' elaboration of the priest's greeting, whose flattery expressly made the priest's words more than a formality appropriate to the Pharaoh of Egypt.⁷⁵

Thus the Letter's author appears to have adopted this genre, the Miracle Letter, because he thought it was a striking and dramatic device for gaining attention for his comments about Alexander's visit to Siwah, and at the same time to suggest some connection between that consultation and Alexander's conquest of India. Along the way he was able to involve the reader in the ironies of Alexander's life, and comment both on the essential soundness of his behavior and the loyalty of the Macedonians in India and Bact-

72. Diod. 2.14.3. = *FGrH* 688 (Ktesias) F. 1k. Nearchus claims that Alexander crossed the Gedrosian desert to surpass Cyrus and Semiramis. Cf. *FGrH* 133 (Nearchus) F. 3a and b, and note 31.

73. Cf. Truesdell S. Brown, "Callisthenes and Alexander," *AJP* (Baltimore, 1949), Vol. 70, p. 232. 74. Tarn., *op cit.* Vol. II, p. 347. 75. *FGrH* 124 (Callisthenes) F. 14a.

74. Tarn, *op cit.* Vol. II, p. 374.

75. *FGrH* 124 (Callisthenes) F. 14a.

ria. The combination of these elements, then, is designed to provide a kaleidoscopic view of Alexander's life from 327 B. C. to his death. In these terms the Letter can be read in several levels, as it obviously was in late antiquity and the Middle Ages.

Saint Olaf College
Northfield, Minnesota

LLOYD L. GUNDERSON

THE TRADITION OF THE ALEXANDER ROMANCE IN MODERN GREEK LITERATURE

I

The Hellenistic and the Byzantine Alexander Romance

The Alexander Romance is a romance of adventure set in a quasi-historical framework. B.E. Perry,¹ of course, denies to the Alexander Romance the true character of a romance, but a criticism of Perry's views would take us beyond the limits and the scope of this paper. There is only one important point here to which I would like to draw the reader's attention. The time at which the original Alexander Romance is presumed to have been composed, coincides with the period when the Hellenistic romance was flourishing (between third and first century B.C.).² According to A. Ausfeld, whose views have gained the support of other scholars also, the original romance (Urroman) must have been written in Alexandria, sometime between the end of the third and the beginning of the second century B.C.³ This original romance has not come down to us, but we possess a number of later versions, the oldest of these (being the α and β versions) dated between 300-350 A.D.⁴ Versions γ , ϵ and λ dated after the sixth century A.D.⁵ are considered to be

1. B.E. Perry, *The Ancient Romances* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1967), pp. 35, 85.

2. K. Mitsakis, *Der byzantinische Alexanderroman nach dem Codex Vindob. theol. gr. 244* (Munich, 1967), p. 5f.

3. A. Ausfeld, *Der griechische Alexanderroman* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 237f. But see also the views of D.J.A. Ross who identifies the original romance with version α and claims that "the romance can hardly be earlier than the third century A.D.," "Olympias and the Serpent. The interpretation of a Baalbek mosaic and the date of the illustrated Pseudo-Callisthenes" in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 26 (1963) 2.

4. A. Ausfeld, *ibid.*, pp. 8, 249 f. See also L. Bergson, *Der griechische Alexanderroman. Rezension β* (Uppsala, 1965), p. X.

5. K. Mitsakis, *Der byzantinische Alexanderroman*, p. 6.f. See also J. Trumpf, "Alexander's kappadokisches Testament" in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 52 (1959) 253. There is also a lost δ version which has survived only in translations, see A. Ausfeld, *ibid.*, pp. 8, 18. Recently G. Ballaira published some fragments from Codex Vaticanus gr. 1700 as coming from this lost version, see "Frammenti inediti della perduta recesione δ del romanzo di Alessandro in

Byzantine adaptations with numerous later interpolations, embellishments and expansions.⁶ All the above versions are written in prose. It should be noted that between the lost original text and the later versions occurs a gap of about five hundred years. This gap ought not to be understood as indicating a lapse in the popularity and continuity of the romance; it relates only to the manuscript tradition; in other words, it constitutes merely a philological question only. A similar gap also occurs between the versions which represent the earlier and the later Byzantine tradition of the Alexander Romance. Because of the difficulty in tracing the continuity of the manuscript tradition, certain scholars came to the conclusion that the ancient romance had gradually died out, and that a Byzantine version in popular form made an appearance sometime in the twelfth and the thirteenth century.⁷ To-day we have enough evidence to affirm that "*das charakteristischste Beispiel ununterbrochenen Weiterbestehens des hellenistischen Romans durch die byzantinische bis in die neueste Zeit bildet zweifellos der Alexanderroman.*"⁸ It is now clear that version ϵ , or a similar text, became the main source for the later Byzantine tradition of the Alexander Romance in prose,⁹ which has survived in a series of sixteenth and seventeenth century manuscripts. A branch of this later Byzantine Alexander Romance in prose has come down to us in printed form under the name of "Φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγαλέξαντρου." The large number of manuscripts and the impressive number of printed editions speak in favour of the popularity that this romance enjoyed not only in the middle ages but in more modern times as well. So far, I have located nine main

un codice Vaticano" in *Bolletino del Comitato per la preparazione della Edizione nazionale dei classici greci e latini*, N.S. 13 (1965) 27 f.; according to J. Trumpf these fragments do not belong to version δ but come from a text close to the lost Hellenistic original of the Alexander Romance, see "Eine unbekannte Sammlung von Auszügen aus dem griechischen Alexanderroman" in *Classica et Mediaevalia* 26 (1965) 100.

6. K. Mitsakis, "Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν μεγάλων πολέμων. Ἀνέκδοτη παρὰ διὰσκευὴ τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ μυθιστορήματος τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπὸ τὸν κώδικα 236 τῆς Μονῆς Κουτλουμουσίου" in *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 20 (1968) 229, fn. 7, 231-2.

7. T. Nöldeke, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans" in *Denkschrift k. Akad. der Wiss. Wien* (1890) 55. See also F. Pfister, "Alexander der Grosse in der byzantinischen Literatur und in neugriechische Volksbüchern" in *Probleme der neugriechischen Literatur*, vol. III (Berlin, 1960), p. 127, and J. Trumpf, "Zur Überlieferung des mittellgriechischen Prosa Alexander und der Φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγαλέξαντρου" in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 60 (1967) 4. The only scholar who supports the continuity in the tradition of the Byzantine Alexander Romance is H. J. Gleixner, *Das Alexanderbild der Byzantiner* (Munich, 1961), p. 67.

8. K. Mitsakis, *Der byzantinische Alexanderroman*, pp. 5-6.

9. J. Trumpf, "Zur Überlieferung des mittellgriechischen Prosa Alexander", p. 4.

manuscripts¹⁰ and a significant number of secondary ones,¹¹ whereas I have counted twenty five editions of the *Φυλλάδα* from 1699 to 1961.¹² It would be wrong, however, to believe that all these manuscripts and editions offer an identical text. The editions will be examined later. As regards the manuscripts themselves, I should like to quote F. Pfister¹³ who explicitly states: "*Der Text meist ohne Verfasser überliefert und als Volksbuch nicht zur eigentlichen Literatur gerechnet, galt als Vogelfrei und jeder... Bearbeiter sprang mit ihm um, wie es beliebte.*" With this quotation I wish to emphasize the difficulty of editing all these texts, and even more the impossibility of composing a critical edition, which, if attempted, could be no more than the arbitrary product of the editor.¹⁴

At this point I should like to make a digression. Besides the prose versions of the Alexander Romance there exists a Byzantine version in verse: the so-called "*Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεύς*" (=king Alexander). This may be described as a parallel work, independent of the Byzantine prose romance, but undoubtedly inspired and supported by its popularity. It is a long poem of 6133 non-rhyming political verses dated as early thirteenth century¹⁵ and is in all probability the work of an educated man. This poem, whose popular character is undisputable, draws on a lost source, a text close to versions α and β, but not to be identified with either.¹⁶ The conclusion, then, must be that

10. K. Mitsakis, *Der byzantinische Alexanderroman*, pp. 8-9. To the catalogue of the main manuscripts one should also add: J Codex Meteorensis (Monastery of Barlaam) 197 (XVIIth century).

11. K. Mitsakis, *Der byzantinische Alexanderroman*, p. 9. To the catalogue of the secondary manuscripts one should also add: e Codex Atheniensis (Library of Parliament) 17 (XVIIIth century) ff. 151^r-153^v, see Sp. Lampros, "Κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῶν ἐν Ἀθῆναις βιβλιοθηκῶν πλὴν τῆς Ἑθνικῆς" in *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 1 (1904) 348. This manuscript offers the well-known epistle of Alexander to Aristotle. There was also another manuscript at the Monastery of Mega Spelaion (Codex 107) with an extensive fragment concerning Alexander's visit to the Brahmins (ff. 113^r-121^r), see N. Bees, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐλληνικῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων τῆς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Μονῆς τοῦ Μεγάλου Σπηλαίου*, vol. I (Leipzig-Athens, 1915), p. 97. This manuscript was burned by the fire which destroyed Mega Spelaion in 1934, see *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου* 7 (1957) 3.

12. K. Mitsakis, "Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν μεγάλων πολέμων," p. 239, fn. 51.

13. F. Pfister, "Studien zum Alexanderroman" in *Würtzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* 1 (1946) 31.

14. J. Trumpp, "Zur Überlieferung des mittellgriechischen Prosa Alexander," p. 30 f.

15. K. Mitsakis, "Beobachtungen zum byzantinischen Alexandergedicht" in *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 16 (1967) 119 f.

16. K. Mitsakis, "Beobachtungen zum byzantinischen Alexandergedicht," p. 121.

"King Alexander" is a poem which ought not to be connected with the Byzantine tradition of the Alexander Romance in prose and not, therefore, with the "Φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγαλέξαντρου."

II

The Tradition of the Alexander Romance on Modern Greek Literature

From the medieval origins outlined above three popular Greek texts dating from more modern times (i.e. after the fall of Constantinople) have come down to us, one in prose and two in verse:

a) the prose text, which is, as we have said, the "Φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγαλέξαντρου";

b) the first of the two poems, which is a strange, still unpublished, and almost entirely unknown text about Alexander and Semiramis: "Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ Μεγαλέξανδρου διὰ τὴν Σεμίραμην";

c) the second poem, the "Γέννησις, κατορθώματα καὶ θάνατος Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόνοϋ διὰ στίχου."

"Φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγαλέξαντρου"

After all that has been said above, it would be a mistake to speak about the Φυλλάδα unless the term be used conventionally and collectively as a *terminus technicus*, in as much as it is not just with one Φυλλάδα but with several Φυλλάδες that we are dealing. But first it must be made quite clear that the Φυλλάδα is not just a later adaptation in prose of an older version in verse, as has been hinted very recently.¹⁷ The origin of the Φυλλάδα can be traced directly to the Byzantine tradition of the Alexander Romance in prose. One, or perhaps two, manuscripts of the romance found their way to the printing shops of Venice at the end of the seventeenth and during the eighteenth century. It is interesting to note the coincidence that at the moment when the manuscript tradition of the Byzantine romance ends, the printed tradition of the modern Greek romance begins. From the *editio princeps* of 1699 to the paperbacks of 1961 we have 25 editions of the Φυλλάδα. Yet it is not to be thought that each new edition is a mere reprint of the previous one. A plausible explanation of the discrepancies, which the various editions of the Φυλλάδα present is that they stem from the interference of the publishers, who tried to adapt the text to the literary and grammatical taste of their readers. A care-

17. L. Politis, *Ἱστορία τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς Λογοτεχνίας* (Thessaloniki, 1968), p. 7.

ful study of these discrepancies, which are extensive and not always easily to be explained by the interference of the publishers, allows us to make the tentative conclusion that they may have arisen from a different manuscript tradition. The discrepancies may, I believe, be grouped as follows:

- a) those referring to the general title of the romance;
- b) those referring to the titles of the chapters;
- c) those referring to the construction of the text;
- d) those referring to the completeness of the text.¹⁸

My conclusions are based on two old editions of the *Φυλλάδα* in the possession of the Bodleian Library at Oxford: an edition of 1780 and another of 1871; but a thorough investigation of the matter now becomes imperative, because we know so little about the practices of the Venitian printers, and because the study of the entire printed tradition of the *Φυλλάδα* may throw light upon the tradition of other popular texts also.

a) "Διήγησις περί τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου διὰ τὴν Σεμίραμην"

It is generally believed that this poem exists in two manuscripts, the one at the Meteora (Monastery of Barlaam, Codex 197) and the other at Mt. Sinai (Codex 2122). The title of the poem takes a different form in the two manuscripts. According to N. Bees¹⁹ the title in Codex 197 is: Διήγησις Ἀλεξάνδρου μετὰ Σεμίραμης βασίλισσας τῆς Συρίας περί τῶν ἑνδεκα ἐρωτημάτων" (=The story of Alexander with Semiramis, queen of Syria, and about the eleven questions). It was indeed the late Prof. Bees who first pointed out the existence of this poem, which he describes as the strangest version of Pseudo-Callisthenes.²⁰ He also presented a brief paper on it at the XVIth International Congress of Oriental Studies held in Athens in 1912.²¹ Accord-

18. For a more detailed discussion of the discrepancies among the editions of the *Φυλλάδα* see K. Mitsakis, "Διήγησις περί τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν μεγάλων πολέμων," p. 239 f.

19. N. Bees, "Ἐκθεσις παλαιογραφικῶν καὶ τεχνικῶν ἐρευνῶν ἐν ταῖς μοναῖς τῶν Μετεώρων κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1908 καὶ 1909" (Athens 1910), p. 42. The old number of this codex is Π 276. See also N. Bees, *Τὰ Χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων. Κατάλογος περιγραφικῶς τῶν χειρογράφων καὶ τῶν ἀποκειμένων εἰς τὰς μονὰς τῶν Μετεώρων*, vol. I (Monastery of the Transfiguration) (Athens, 1967), p. 74*.

20. "Ἡ σύνθεσις αὕτη φαίνεται ἔργον τοῦ ΙΔ'-ΙΕ' αἰῶνος καὶ ἀποτελεῖ τὴν περιεργότεραν ἴσως παραλλαγὴν τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ Ψευδοκαλλισθένους," "Ἐκθεσις παλαιογραφικῶν καὶ τεχνικῶν ἐρευνῶν ἐν ταῖς μοναῖς τῶν Μετεώρων," p. 42.

21. N. Bees, "Περὶ τινος μεσαιωνικοῦ ἔπους ἐκ τῶν κωδίκων τῶν Μετεώρων περί Μ. Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῆς Σεμιράμιδος" in *Actes du seizième Congrès International des Orientalistes. Session d'Athènes* (Athens, 1912), p. 154.

ing to V. Benešević,²² the title in Codex 2122 is: "Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου διὰ τὴν Σεμίραμιν· περὶ ἀγάπης καὶ πῶς ἔβαλεν τὸ κεφάλιν του διὰ τ' ἐκείνην νὰ τὴν ἐπάρῃ καὶ ἐπῆρεν τὴν καὶ ἔγινε Βασιλέας" (=A story about Alexander and his love for Semiramis; how he risked his head to marry her, and he married to her and also became king). So far I have not seen Codex Sinaiticus 2122. With the present disturbed situation in the Middle East, it is impossible to obtain a microfilm from Mt. Sinai, and the Library of the U.S. Congress does not, unfortunately, possess a microfilm of this manuscript either.²³ I had, therefore, to rely entirely on Codex Meteorensis,²⁴ which has been largely damaged by dampness and is in a deplorable condition. Yet it is clear from what remains that it does not contain the poem with the love affair between Alexander and Semiramis. There is, however, another version of the later Byzantine Alexander Romance in prose—unknown as yet—which is remarkably close to the Φυλλάδα. According to Bees Codex 197 should be a miscellaneous one, and the poem about Alexander and Semiramis should occupy twenty folios (ff. 81^r—101^v). It is a poem of more than one thousand non-rhyming(?)²⁵ political verses which include the following

22. V. Benešević. *Opisanje grčkih rukopisej Monastirja Svatoj Ekateriny na Sinae. Rukopisi 1224-2150, III.1* (Petrograd, 1917), p. 333.

23. Letter of 2-8-1968 by J. C. Broderick, Acting Chief, Manuscript Division, The Library of Congress.

24. The reader will find some information about this manuscript (Codex II 276) in Bees' "Ἐκθεσις παλαιογραφικῶν καὶ τεχνικῶν ἐρευνῶν ἐν ταῖς μοναῖς τῶν Μετεώρων", p. 42. A full description of the manuscript under its new wrong number (197) will appear in the second volume of Bees' catalogue which is in preparation. I am grateful to Mr. Vranoussis who provided me with a copy of Bees' description of Codex 197. That the description does not correspond with the actual content of the manuscript is discussed in the second part of this paper.

25. All information about the poem comes from Bees' description of the manuscript, see fn. 19 and 24, and from Bees' brief communication, see fn. 21. Bees states that the poem has no rhyme (ἀνομοιοκατάληκτον) but from the *incipium* in his catalogue it seems that the poem is written in poorly rhyming fifteen syllable iambic verses:

Ἀκουσον ἄλλιν νὰ σὲ εἰπῶ λόγον περὶ ἀγάπης,
τὸ τί ἐποίησεν κάποτες ὁ πόθος τῆς ἀγάπης.
Τῶν Συριανῶν βασίλισσα, Σεμίραμις ἐκείνη,
ἦτον θραῖα, πανεύμορφος, τοῦ κόσμου ἐξηρημένη·
5 τὸ πρόσωπον ὡς ἥλιος, μέτωπον ὡς φεγγάριν,
ὡς ἀστραπὴ τὰ μάτια, φρόδια ὡς δοξάριν·
ἡ μότη ἦτον χυμευτή, μάγουλα ὡς τὸ ρόδον,
τὰ χεῖλη ὡς κιννάβαριν, λεφτόκαρον τὸ στόμα·
10 τράχηλον εἶχε τουρνευτόν, δόντια μαργαριτάριν·
στ' αὐθία σκουλαρίκια λιθάριν λυχνιτάριν·

twenty two chapters: 1) The story of the hawk (f. 81^v). 2) The story of Alexander and the porters (f. 82^v). 3) Alexander's reply to the porters (f. 83^r). 4) How Alexander converses with the maiden (f. 83^v). 5) The story about the magistrates; how they advise Alexander (f. 84^r). 6) Alexander's reply (f. 84^r). 7) The story of the queen; how she came out of the palace (f. 84^v). 8) The story of the maiden; how she converses with Alexander (f. 85^r). 9) Alexander's reply to the maiden queen (f. 85^r). 10) The story of the queen; how she converses guilefully with Alexander (f. 87^v). 11) The story of the eunuchs and the nurses; how they converse with the maiden (f. 89^r). 12) The queen thanks Alexander and speaks (f. 91^r). 13) The story of Alexander and the maiden (f. 91^r). 14) Alexander began to ask the maiden (f. 91^v). 15) This way Alexander explained the question to the maiden (f. 95^v). 16) How the maiden speaks sweetly to the young man (f. 96^v). 17) The queen's order about the wedding (f. 97^r). 18) The presents which the maiden sent to Alexander (f. 98^r). 19) Hear what Alexander writes to the maiden (f. 99^r). 20) The story of the wedding (f. 99^v). 21) The story of king Alexander (f. 101^r). 22) Alexander's burial (f. 101^v). The poem ends with moral admonitions to the reader about the vanity of this world, the duties of man, and the second coming.

This is practically all we know to-day about this poem. As I have said, Bees' description of Codex 197 does not correspond to its actual content. Mr. L. Vranoussis,²⁶ Director of the Research Center of Medieval and Modern Hellenism (Athens), assures me that there is no other manuscript in the Monastery of Barlaam that includes a text about Alexander. Yet it is obvious that Bees, in describing Codex 197, confused it with another manuscript which is now missing.

b) "Γέννησις, κατορθώματα καὶ θάνατος Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόνα"

The Φυλλάδα is a charming, if naive text of great importance. It gives us some idea of the kind of work which could capture the interest and fire the

δάκτυλα εἶχεν εὐμορφα, λεπτὰ γοῖον τὸ κονδύλι,
ἡ μέση της, νὰ ἐβλεπες, γοῖον τὸ δακτυλίδι·
περπατησίαν εὐμορφήν ὡσὰν τὸ περιστέριν,
ὡς κυπαρίσσειν τὸ κορμί, φωνὴν ὡσὰν αἰδόνι...

26. Mr. L. Vranoussis in a letter dated 20-5-69 tells me that the missing ms has been found in the Library of the Metropolitan Sea of Trikkala, where it was catalogued again under a new number (17/68). The news reached me when this paper was already in press and I regret that I do not have the time to revise all that I say about the poem of the love affair between Alexander and Semiramis based on second-hand information. I hope to present an edition of the above poem where there will be also a reappraisal of all the problems related to that text.

imagination of the Byzantine and Modern Greek reader, both erudite and illiterate. Unlike the Φυλλάδα this anonymous poem is remarkable for its lack of taste. For while possessing none of the charms of the Φυλλάδα it exhibits all the weaknesses of Byzantine and post-Byzantine popular literature. Written in poorly rhyming political verses, it is full of violations of accent and arbitrary new metaplasms m.c. For instance the name of Olympias, Alexander's mother, appears under the following forms: 'Ολυμπίας (nom.), 'Ολυμπίας (gen.), Λυμπιάδος (gen. with aphaeresis m.c.), 'Ολυμπιάδα (acc.) and 'Ολυμπίαν (acc.). Similarly the name of the last Egyptian Pharaoh Nektenabo is used either as declinable or indeclinable under the forms Νεκτεναβός, 'Εκτεναβός, Κτεναβός; but if the metre so requires it, it occasionally becomes a noun of the third declension, Κτεναβώνος (gen.). The river Strangas of Pseudo-Callisthenes becomes either Στράγγαλος or Στραγγάλος or even Στραγγάλης and the Persian province of Bactria gains a touch of magnificence under the pseudo-erudite forms of Βακτηρίνη or Βακτρανία.

However, the poem presents a series of somewhat complex problems. Firstly there is the problem of authorship. The poem used to be ascribed to Demetrios Zenos; but after E. Legrand, Zenos is considered to be only the first publisher.²⁷ Yet this confusion is easily dispelled by attention to the poem's epilogue; and indeed, herein will be found the key to the whole problem of the work's authorship:

- Ἔτοῦτο τὸ βιβλόπουλον στὴ Βενετιά τυπώθη·
 ἐκεῖνος ποὺ τὸ τύπωσε μεγάλα γὰρ ἐπόθει
 ναῦρη τὰ κατορθώματα καὶ πράξεις τ' Ἀλεξάνδρου
 καὶ πῶς ἐθανατώθηκε ἔκ τὰ χέρια τοῦ Κασσάνδρου·
 5 νὰ εὕρη κι' ἀθιβόλαιον νᾶναι διορθωμένο
 εἰσὲ σκοπὸν καὶ ἔννοια καὶ ὀρθογεγραμμένο.
 Λοιπὸ ἄλα καὶ ἦδρε το, κ' εἶχε τὸ ἐναντίο
 ἀπ' ὅλα ὅσα εἶπαμε καὶ νὰ εἰπῶ τὸ ποιο·
 10 σφαλτὸ καὶ ἀδιόρθωτο καὶ κακογεγραμμένο
 κι' ἀπὸ τὴν παλαιότητα ἦτον διεφθαρμένο.
 Ἐκεῖνος ὁποῦ τῷβαλε εἰς στίχον καὶ εἰς ῥίμα
 εὕρισκεται στὴν Ζάκυνθον κ' ἔκαμε μέγα κρίμα

27. E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par les grecs aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, vol. I (Paris, 1885), p. 289. Legrand here thinks that Marcos Dapharanas might have written the poem, but elsewhere (see vol. IV. pp. 38-9) he speaks about "Γ' Alexandre de Démétrius Zenos." On the other hand, B. Knös claims that the only thing one can say for certain is that Zenos is not the author of the poem, see *L' Histoire de la Littérature Néo-Grecque* (Uppsala, 1962), p. 310.

- πού δὲ μᾶς εὐεργέτησε τὸ ἐδικό του γράμμα·
 τὸ νὰ τὸ μάθῃ ὧλπιζα στέλνει το ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ,
 15 ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ τοῦ μήνυσα καὶ παρακάλεσά τον,
 γιὰ νὰ τὸ στείλῃ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐγὼ δεήθηκά τον.
 Πλευσίματά ῥχονται πολλὰ ἐδῶ στὴν Βενετία,
 τὸ πῶς οὐδὲν τὸ ἔστειλε οὐκ εἶδα τὴν αἰτία.
 Ἕμεῖς τὸ ἠμπορέσαμε ἐκάμαμε μὲ κόπον·
 20 κί' ἂν ἐν σφαλμένο τίποτες εἰσὲ κανέναν τόπον,
 σὲ ρίμα ἢ εἰς ἐννοίαν ἢ εἰς κανένα τρόπον,
 τὸ σφάλλῃν ἐναι τῶν βροτῶν καὶ τῶν θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων...²⁸

This evidence is valuable for two reasons. It makes it clear that it is Zenos himself and not the unnamed writer from Zante who is the composer of the "Γέννησις, κατορθώματα καὶ θάνατος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνοιο" and at the same time it excludes the possibility that this poem may have been derived from the Byzantine poem "Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεὺς." A comparative study of the two texts has proved that there is no dependence of the modern Greek poem on the Byzantine one.

It is in fact Zenos' bad style that has permitted such confusion about the authorship of the poem. Moreover, the statement "*he who turned it into verse and rhyme is in Zante*" has led certain scholars to exclude the possibility that Zenos may have written the poem. Yet attention to the rest of this passage would correct this mistaken view:... "*It is a great pity that he did not favour us with his answer. I hoped that as soon as he (i.e. the alleged poet from Zante) heard about it, he would send it right away, because I sent him a message and I asked him and I begged him to send it. Many ships come to Venice and I do not know the reason why he has not sent it. We ourselves did diligently all we could, and if there is any mistake anywhere in rhyme, meaning or expression, it is for human beings to err*"... The key-word in this passage is γράμμα. The context does not permit the word's current meaning, i.e. "letter," "epistle;" rather it refers to the poem which Zenos had commissioned the man in Zante to compose, and which he was now so anxiously awaiting. I do not believe that it is simply a matter of correspondence between the two men that is the cause of such agitation in verses 14-18. Only if we give these verses their true meaning do they make sense by themselves and link up naturally with the verses which follow. The poet from Zante never sent the verses he was commissioned to make, despite Zenos' repeated requests for it. Zenos could

28. E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique*, vol. I, p. 287.

not understand the behaviour of his friend, because communications between Venice and Zante were good. Unable to wait any longer, he decided to put the prose Alexander Romance into verse and rhyme himself. It is thus for his own composition that he begs the reader's indulgence when he says with feigned humility: "*We ourselves did diligently all we could*" but "*it is for human beings to err.*"

The discovery of a sixteenth century manuscript at the Meteora (Monastery of the Transfiguration, Codex 445)²⁹ offering the text of the Alexander poem has aroused new interest in the work, but has also given rise to further questions. The epilogue discussed above affirms that Zenos composed the poem, and that he subsequently published the text in an *editio princeps* in 1529 and again in 1553. If this is true, and personally I believe that it is, then the logical conclusion must be that Codex 445 is a manuscript copy of a sixteenth century printed edition of the poem. Indeed, the text of the manuscript collated with that of the *editio princeps* (of which two copies survive in the Bodleian Library at Oxford), proves that the manuscript is a copy of the printed text. The differences between the two texts are insignificant and can be explained as misreadings by the scribe.

The *editio princeps* of the poem is accompanied by illustrations. Fourteen woodcuts illustrate fourteen episodes of Zenos' poem respectively: 1) king Nektenabos (p. a. I v). 2) When the general came to the king (p. a. II v). 3) About the witchcraft which Nektenabos performed to make Philip dream (p. a. V r). 4) How Alexander mounted Boucephalas (p. a. VIII r). 5) How Nicholas and Alexander competed in riding (p. b. I r). 6) About Philip's death (p. b. III r). 7) Darios' first war (p. c. I r). 8) Battlescene (p. c. I v). 9) Alexander, disguised as an ambassador, sits at Darios' table (p. c. VI v). 10) A group of soldiers, infantry and cavalry men, pass through a forest (p. c. VII v). 11) Soldiers in the waters of a river (p. c. VIII r). 12) Battlescene (p. d. II r). 13) Combat of infantry men. Macedonians and Indians (p. e. II r). 14) Duel of Alexander and Poros (p. e. II v). Incidentally, an additional new argument to the effect that Codex 445 is a copy of a sixteenth century edition of the Alexander poem, is that the manuscript also presents fourteen blank spaces (ff. 1 v, 5 v, 10 v, 11 v, 15 r, 25 v, 26 r, 34 r, 36 r, 36 v, 37 r, 39 v, 53 v, 54 v) which were obviously preserved for illustration, corresponding to the same points of the story, where the pictures of 1529 edition occur.

It has been already observed that the illustrations of the printed Alexan-

29. N. Bees, *Tò Χειρόγραφο τῶν Μετεώρων*, vol. I, p. 452.

der poem are loosely connected with the text.³⁰ It is, therefore, not inappropriate here to add that the illustrations of the Alexander poem actually belong to a pictorial cycle of the "Iliad." A student of mine, Mr. D. Holton, who is currently engaged upon the preparation of a critical edition of the Zenos' poem, has drawn my attention to an illustrated 1526 edition of the N. Loucanis' translation of the "Iliad." All but one the illustrations of the Alexander poem are identified with corresponding illustrations of the Loucanis' text. The only picture which is not to be found among those illustrating the "Iliad" is that which depicts Alexander riding on Boucephalus; and its origin cannot for the moment be established.

We may conjecture that Zenos worked either from an illustrated manuscript (like the manuscript of the Hellenic Institute in Venice or Codex Baroccianus 17 of the Bodleian Library at Oxford) or, more likely, from a manuscript on which blank spaces were preserved for eventual illustrations (like codex Ashburnamensis 1444 of the Biblioteca Laurentiana in Florence).³¹ Consequently, when Zenos published his poem he used the existing illustrations of the "Iliad" text with the result, of course, that their connection with the Alexander poem is extremely tenuous, and their extraneous origin quite conspicuous.

Exeter College, Oxford

K. MITSAKIS

30. D.J.A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus* (London, 1963), p. 43.

31. K. Mitsakis, review of the book *Αἱ μικρογραφίαι τοῦ μυθιστορήματος τοῦ Μ. Ἀλεξάνδρου εἰς τὸν κώδικα τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου Βενετίας* by A. Xyngopoulos, in *Balkan Studies* 9 (1968) 271-8.

THE IMAGE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY FRANCE *

When Alexander the Great had conquered Persia he began to adopt Persian ways; it should be no surprise that when he conquered seventeenth century France he began to act like a Frenchman. He began to speak of love and even to sing and dance in honor of love. We find him at the Palais-Royal on January 26, 1665, in the presence of the whole court:

Quatre prêtres font un sacrifice à la statue de Vénus, quatre philosophes rendent hommage à son pouvoir, six poètes viennent la remercier de les avoir inspirés. A leur tour, Alexandre, Achille, Hercule, Jason accompagnés de Roxane, Briséis, Omphale et Médée chantent ses louanges.¹

This was the *Ballet de la Naissance de Vénus*; the rôle of Alexandre was played by none other than King Louis XIV,² later known as Louis le Grand. Three years previously Alexander had appeared in a ballet called *Hercule amoureux* (February 7, 1662), this time more appropriately as a follower of Mars. His rôle was played — also somewhat more appropriately — by the Prince de Condé, while Mars was played — somewhat *less* appropriately at the time — by Louis XIV.³

Perhaps one should not complain that Alexander and Roxane sing of love, as Alexander's real love for her is amply attested by the ancient histori-

*Many people aided me in the preparation of this paper; I should like to thank especially Professor Kenneth Freyer of the Queens College Library, Mr. James Gillis, and Miss Rosine Lederman, both excellent graduate students and research assistants.

1. Marie - Françoise Christout, *Le Ballet de cour de Louis XIV, 1643-1672. Mise en scène* (Paris, 1967), p. 112.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 130, n. 110.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-108; 128, n. 63. It is difficult to tell for sure from Mlle Christout's punctuation whether Condé played Alexandre or Jules-César; in the latter case my comment would still be correct though less germane. Condé, the hero of Rocroi and other battles, could play either role, but Louis, who had been at peace since the Treaty of the Pyrenees, could play neither.

ans.⁴ But whereas the latter, though differing in details, all agree that this was the only case of true love on Alexander's part, and Plutarch goes out of his way to state explicitly that he married Stateira only for reasons of state,⁵ this did not prevent French novelists and playwrights from transforming him into a *soupirant doux*.⁶ Racine's *Alexandre le Grand* (1665), instead of engaging in his usual hot pursuit of the enemy, leaves Ephestion to clean things up while he seeks out Cléofile:

Je suis venu: l'amour a combattu pour moi;
La Victoire elle-même a dégagé ma foi;
Tout cède autour de vous: c'est à vous de vous rendre;
Votre cœur l'a promis: voudra-t-il s'en défendre?
Et lui seul pourroit-il échapper aujourd'hui
A l'ardeur d'un vainqueur qui ne cherche que lui? ⁷

4. (All quotations from the Loeb Classical Library).

(1) Diodorus Siculus: 'Ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐρασθεὶς Ῥωξάνης... (XVII, contents).

(2) Quintus Curtius: ... in amorem virgunculæ... effusus est (VIII. iv. 25).

(3) Plutarch: καὶ τὰ περὶ Ῥωξάνην ἐρωτὶ μὲν ἐπράχθη...
'Ρωξάνης ἐρασθεὶς... (*De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute*, 332, E).
ἔγημε δὲ Ῥωξάνην ἑαυτῷ, μόνῃς ἐρασθεὶς.
(*Ibid.*, 338, D).

(4) Arrian: καὶ ταύτην (Ῥωξάνην) ἰδόντα Ἀλέξανδρον ἐς ἐρωτὰ ἐλθεῖν αὐτῆς.
(IV. 19.5)

As for Pseudo-Callisthenes, there is indeed a deep love between Alexander and Roxane but there is also hopeless confusion between her and Barsine-Stateira.

5. τὴν δὲ Δαρσίου Στάτειραν τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι (συνέφερε γὰρ ἡ τῶν γε-
νῶν ἀνάμειξις). (*De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute*, 338, D).

6. Roxane, probably because her birth is less noble than that of Stateira (but also because Plutarch records in *LXXVII*, 4 of the *Alexander* that after Alexander's death she treacherously killed Stateira out of jealousy), is usually portrayed as vile and Stateira as the sweet innocent virgin who lives by the *précieux* code of unattainability. See especially La Calprenède's *Casandre* (1642-1645) and Pradon's *Statira* (1680). (The latter, by the way, takes many of its principal tricks from Racine's *Bajazet*, where the villainess, though Turkish and contemporary, is also Roxane). La Calprenède says that Alexandre's love was born of "les artifices de la meschante Roxane" (*Seconde Partie*, 1647 ed., p. 141).

7. Jean Racine, *Alexandre le Grand* in *Œuvres* (Paris, 1865; Edition des Grand Ecrivains de la France), vol. I, Acte III, scène vi, vss. 859-864. All references to this edition.

Cléofile replies (at length) that perhaps "La gloire de me vaincre est tout ce qu'il desire" (*ibid.*, vs. 882). To which Alexandre replies: "Que vous connoissez mal les violents desirs/ D'un amour qui vers vous porte tous mes soupirs!" (*ibid.*, vss. 883-884), and continues in a similar vein for twenty-eight more verses.⁸

All of this is a long way from Wilcken, Tarn, and Badian!⁹ Does this mean that French writers of the seventeenth century were ignorant of the an-

8. Tradition would have it that Racine is the *doucereux* in the French mode and that Corneille "fait mieux parler les Grecs que les Grecs, les Romains que les Romains, etc." (Saint-Evremond, *Dissertation sur Alexandre le Grand* in Robert J. Nelson, *Corneille and Racine: Parallels and Contrasts* (Englewood Cliffs., [C. 1966]), p. 4), but listen to César address Cléopâtre in *La Mort de Pompée* (1643):

Je l'ai vaincu [Pompée], Princesse; et le dieu des combats
M'y favorisoit moins que vos divins appas:
Ils conduisoient ma main, ils enflaient mon courage;
Cette pleine victoire est leur dernier ouvrage:
C'est l'effet des ardeurs qu'ils daignoient m'inspirer;
Et vos beaux yeux enfin m'ayant fait soupirer,
Pour faire que votre âme avec gloire y réponde,
M'ont rendu le premier et de Rome et du monde.
C'est ce glorieux titre, à présent effectif,
Que je viens ennoblir par celui de captif.
Heureux, si mon esprit gagne tant sur le vôtre,
Qu'il en estime l'un et me permette l'autre!

(G.E.F.ed., IV, iii. 1271 - 1282)

A close examination of these two scenes shows conclusively that Racine was following Corneille in this scene of *galanterie*. Later, taking leave of Cléofile, Alexandre says, in a verse unconsciously comic, "Encore une victoire, et je reviens, Madame . . ." (V.i. 1317). Cf. César's leave-taking, "Encore une défaite . . ." (VI.iii. 1321). (Also Cléofile and Cléopâtre use their love to protect their cowardly brothers Taxile and Ptolemée while Axiane's and Cornélie's firmness and *générosité* make a strong contrast. The defeated one is honored by the magnanimous victor, etc.)

Pradon said in *Le Triomphe de Pradon* (Lyons, 1684), p. 84: "Jamais Quinault n'a tant répandu de sucre et de miel dans ses opéras que le grand Racine en a mis dans son *Alexandre*, nous faisant du plus grand héros de l'antiquité un ferluquet (*sic*) amoureux" (cited in Racine, *Œuvres*, I, 509). Pradon is not exactly exempt from the same criticism; he also had many good reasons to hate Racine.

9. Ulrich Wilcken, *Alexander The Great*, translated by G. C. Richards (London and New York, 1932), although he concedes that "Alexander fell passionately in love with" Roxane (p. 161), he later ties it in with political motives (p. 208) and claims that Alexander "did not even see the royal consort Statira, who was counted as the most beautiful woman of Asia" (p. 105). Although this statement has the backing of Plutarch in *de Curiositate*, 522, A and

cient historians? Not in the least: Racine read in the original and carefully annotated all of Plutarch's *Lives* at the age of sixteen and did the same for the *Moralia* the following year.¹⁰ In his prefaces he is at great pains to justify himself with the authority of Quintus Curtius and of Justin, even going so far as to say, "Il n'y a guère de tragédie où l'histoire soit plus fidèlement suivie que dans celle-ci" (*Œuvres*, I, 521). Most seventeenth century authors scrupulously acknowledge their debts to the ancient historians; Alexandre Hardy, for example, in the *Argument* of *La Mort d'Alexandre* says rather pithily, "Plutarque & Quinte Curce, d'où ce suiet est puisé, contenteront les curieux qui en desirent sçauoir davantage."¹¹ Although few authors could read Greek at all, let alone with the ease of a Racine, most could read Latin without difficulty. The general public continued to read Amyot's great translation of the *Lives* (1559) despite the revolutionary changes that had taken place in the French language. (A new translation (1663-1665) by François Tallemant merely served to point up Amyot's excellence, which the supposed purists Racine and

in *Alexander*, XXII. 3 (Alexander's statement in a letter to Parmenion) it seems to be contradicted by Plutarch himself in *Alexander*, XXI, 3-5 and is given only as one of two possibilities by Arrian *et al.* Justin states that Alexander had seen Darius's wife only once but often saw mother and daughters: Nam semel tantum eam Alexandro visam esse, cum matrem filiasque ejus parvulas frequenter consolaretur. *Justini Historiae Philippicae* (London, 1735), XI. xii.

W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, II, *Sources and Studies* (Cambridge, 1950), Appendix 18: "Alexander's Attitude to Sex", pp. 319-326. Tarn says it is possible that Alexander never saw Darius's wife, "for she died in child-birth soon after her capture." (p. 338, continuation of n. 4). In vol. I, Tarn makes the flat statement that Alexander "himself never set eyes on Darius' wife, nor allowed her beauty to be alluded to before him" (Beacon Press reprint: Boston, 1956), p. 28. This takes at face value the letter to Parmenion mentioned above; volume II is more cautious.

For the confusion Barsinê - Stateira see II, 334-331, n. 4. The French authors uniformly used "Statira" for both Darius's wife and his daughter.

E. Badian, "Alexander the Great and the Loneliness of Power," *Studies in Greek and Roman History* (Oxford, 1964), p. 201 on the marriages at Susa.

10. *Œuvres*, VI, 291-319, reproduces many of these notes, a careful study of which might produce interesting results. Beside *Alexander*, XXXI, 7, «Οὐ κλέπτω τὴν νίκην», Racine wrote: "Alexandre ne déroboit point la victoire" (*ibid.*, p. 298), which turned up ten years later in the mouth of his Alexandre: "Jamais on ne m'a vu dérober la victoire" (IV. ii. 1062).

11. *Théâtre*, vol. IV (Rouen, 1626 [Slatkine Reprints: Genève, 1967]), p. 47.

But they are not so scrupulous about their domestic borrowings (see above, notes 6 and 8, for example).

Boileau continued to appreciate).¹² Perrot d'Ablancourt published his translation of Arrian in 1646,¹³ maliciously and disdainfully leaving for Vaugelas the translation of the "frivolous" Quintus Curtius.¹⁴ Justin was translated by François de Caumont, sieur de Colomby, in 1616. This translation was reprinted in 1617, 1627, 1644, 1650, 1654, 1661, 1666, 1669, 1672 and 1675, an extraordinary literary success. In 1693 Louis Ferrier, sieur de la Martinière, who had been tutor to the chevalier de Longueville and housed by the Prince de Condé, published a new translation of Justin. Although Diodorus, less popular, was available only in sixteenth century editions of Amyot's translation, all in all, one can say that the authors and the literate public in general had ample access to the ancient historians of Alexander.

Why then do the representations of Alexander seem to us today so wide of the mark? Today the study of history has become an end in itself and its pretensions to absolute impersonal accuracy are as good a reflection of our aims in a technologically oriented society as the seventeenth century presentations were of their aims. By laughing at the latter we commit the cardinal sin in our own set of criteria, that of subjective judgment. If one reads the pronouncements on art by seventeenth century authors one comes up with a list of aims that runs something like this: (1) to please, (2) to stir the emotions, (3) to instruct, (4) to depict with verisimilitude (not necessarily accuracy) and propriety.¹⁵ In most of these aims I dare say that the seventeenth century writers are

12. Boileau's *Eptre VII* speaks disdainfully of "le sec traducteur du françois d'Amyot."

In 1696 Racine was called in to read to the King, who was sick. He chose Amyot, at which the King protested, "C'est du gaulois", nevertheless that is what Racine read, looking rapidly ahead to smooth out some of the rough spots. - See N. Edelman, *Attitudes of Seventeenth - Century France toward the Middle Ages* (Morningside Heights, 1964), p. 295 and Racine, *Œuvres*, I, 149.

13. Monsieur J. Zuber of the Faculté des Lettres of Rheims University very kindly passed on to me several manuscript chapters of his thesis, which will appear soon, entitled *Les "belles infidèles," et la formation du goût classique*.

14. *Ibid.*, ms. pp. 319 and 325, n. 14. (Quintus Curtius did not understand the noble art of warfare). Vaugelas worked on his translation for thirty years: it was published posthumously through the intermediary of Chapelain in 1653. In the seventeenth century it was re-published in 1655, 1659, 1664, 1665 (Amsterdam), 1668, 1680, 1681, 1684 (Amsterdam), 1691 (Lyons), 1692 (Lyons), and 1696 (Amsterdam). (It continued to be re-printed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well). Previous translations of Quintus Curtius had been published in 1503, 1534, 1540, 1555, 1614, 1622, 1629, and 1639.

15. The bibliography is overpowering; one of the best general works on seventeenth century aesthetics is the late E.B.O. Borgerhoff's *The Freedom of French Classicism* (Prince-

closer in spirit to their sources than we are. The Greek and Roman writers were certainly strong moralizers, they often get carried away by emotion, and they frequently — as in harangues — report not what did happen but what could very likely have happened.¹⁶

This still leaves the question of the strong dosage of love in the French writers. Saint-Evremond published a *Dissertation* on Racine's *Alexandre le Grand* (1666)¹⁷ in which he protested that the great heroes of antiquity,

..... les Alexandre, les Scipion, les César, ne doivent jamais perdre leur caractère entre nos mains; car le spectateur le moins délicat sent qu'on le blesse, quand on leur donne des défauts qu'ils n'avaient pas, ou qu'on leur ôte des vertus qui avaient fait sur son esprit une impression agréable.... Surtout, il ne faut pas les défigurer dans la guerre, pour les rendre plus illustres dans l'amour.... gardons-nous de faire un Antoine d'un Alexandre.... (ed. cit., p. 5).

Note, however, the very important point that Saint-Evremond bases his strictures on the importance of not shocking the spectator's sense of *propriety*, what is appropriate, *bienséant*, rather than on accuracy. And he too concedes: "Nous pouvons leur donner des maîtresses de notre invention, nous pouvons mêler de la passion avec leur gloire...." (*ibid.*)

He then goes on to a good defense of a moderate amount of love in a tragedy as the best means of creating empathy:

Rejeter l'amour de nos tragédies, comme indigne des héros, c'est ôter ce qui nous fait tenir à eux, par un secret rapport, par je ne sais quelle liaison qui demeure entre leurs âmes et les nôtres.... (ibid., p. 6).

Heroes must not be inhuman or we would not believe in them—they must

ton, 1950). Also see N. Edelman, *A Critical Bibliography of French Literature*, Volume III, The Seventeenth Century (Syracuse University, 1961), pp. 281-299.

16. For a good discussion of these questions see Lionel Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great* (American Philological Association, 1960), *passim*. Pearson stresses the influence of literary parallels, especially those with Homer, on the reporting of supposedly actual events.

17. See note 8 above.

have something in common with us.¹⁸ Just as our view of history and historiography is a reflection of ourselves, so too the seventeenth century — which on the whole felt that human nature is relatively homogeneous in all times and places — saw itself in its image of antiquity.

The seventeenth century was fascinated by Alexander;¹⁹ by studying these representations and comparing the sources available to the writers and artists of that time we can better know how the seventeenth century saw itself.

THE CONCEPT OF THE HERO: SELF-MASTERY IN THE TENT OF DARIUS

There is some disagreement among the historians, both ancient and modern, as to whether Alexander ever set eyes on the wife and daughters of Darius who were his captives after the battle of Issus (see note 8 above). For my own part I would consider it indeed strange that a man of Alexander's omnivorous curiosity would not at least *look* at Darius's wife, who was reputed to be the most beautiful woman in all Asia. Whether or not the famous visit to the tent actually took place — and in seventeenth century France one may be sure it did — the ancient historians are unanimously extravagant in their praise of Alexander's self-control. Diodorus counts it as the most noteworthy thing he ever did,²⁰ Quintus Curtius says that by this act he surpassed all previous kings in continence and clemency.²¹ Plutarch says that he showed himself thereby to be as superior to the Persian women in self-control as he was to the Persian men in valor.²² As Tarn comments, "... their praise of what he did throws a dry light on what he was expected to do" (I, 28).

18. Only Boileau, in *Les Héros de roman. Dialogue à la manière de Lucien*, (1664-1665), remains adamant: "J'ai bien de la peine, dis-je, à m'imaginer que les Cyrus et les Alexandre soient devenus tout à coup, comme on me le veut faire entendre, des Thyrsis et des Céladons" (*Œuvres*, ed. Garnier, Paris, 1961, p. 287).

19. Zuber, *op. cit.*, ms. p. 319: "Alexandre, en particulier, fascinait tous les contemporains..." R. Hirzel in chapter XVI, "Zeitalter Ludwigs XIV," of his *Plutarch* (Leipzig, 1912) notes that Plutarch's popularity at the time was responsible for the fad of parallel lives (pp. 137-138).

20. καθόλου δ' ἔγωγε νομίζω πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων ὅπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου συντελεσμένων μηδὲν τούτων μείζον ὑπάρχειν μηδὲ μᾶλλον ἄξιον ἀναγραφῆς καὶ μνήμης ἱστορικῆς εἶναι. (XVII. 38.4).

21. Tunc quidem ita se gessit, ut omnes ante eum reges et continentia et clementia vincentur (III. xii. 21).

22. τῶν δ' ἄλλων Περσίδων ἐκράτησε τοσοῦτον σωφροσύνη, ὅσον ἀνδρείᾳ Περσῶν. (*De Alexandri... fortuna... loc. cit.*).

Nowhere is there the slightest suggestion that Alexander felt love for his captives; if Plutarch's statement is correct that he jokingly said of the Persian women that they were "Torments to the eyes" (*Alexander*, XXI, 5: ἀλγηδόνες ὀμμάτων), this is hardly the jest of a man overcome by passion. None of this, however, seems to have had any effect on France in the seventeenth century. After all, their biggest worry for a long time was that their king (Louis XIII) was *too* continent — they waited twenty-four years from the time of his marriage to the birth of a child. On this score Louis XIV set their minds at ease both then and later. To represent Alexander as the ancients did would violate the criteria noted above, pleasing the audience, stirring the emotions, and, for them, verisimilitude.

In 1677 two very dissimilar authors, Racine and Pradon, faced a similar problem, that of representing Hippolytus on the stage, and, despite all evidence to the contrary in the ancients, both solved the problem by making him fall in love. Their rationalizations may shed some light on the Alexander problem. Here is Racine's:

Pour ce qui est du personnage d'Hippolyte, j'avois remarqué dans les anciens qu'on reprochoit à Euripide de l'avoir représenté comme un philosophe exempt de toute imperfection : ce qui causoit beaucoup plus d'indignation que de pitié. J'ai cru lui devoir donner quelque foiblesse qui le rendroit un peu coupable envers son père, sans pourtant lui rien ôter de [sa]... grandeur d'âme.... J'appelle foiblesse la passion qu'il ressent malgré lui pour Aricie, qui est la fille et la sœur des ennemis mortels de son père.²³

Donald Posner in "Charles Le Brun's *Triumphs of Alexander*", *The Art Bulletin*, XLI (1959), p. 241, states:

Alexander's exemplary behavior on this occasion seems to have so impressed the seventeenth century Frenchman that Félibien, who discussed the painting at length in an essay published in 1663, could call the Macedonian's action "une des plus Glorieuses qu'ALEXANDRE ait jamais Faites". It was glorious because it was possible only by "se Surmontant Soy-Même...., le Vainqueur de toutes les Nations". It is curious that the seventeenth century should have pretended that such action would cost so much in self-control... This myth, which was wholly appropriate to a gallant and absolutist society, was already current in France when Le Brun began his painting.

As can be seen from the above, the seventeenth century writers were closely following the ancient historians.

23. *Phèdre*, *Préface* in *Œuvres*, III, 301.

A legend of doubtful authenticity but useful for us is that upon being reproached for this violation of tradition Racine replied, "Qu'auroient dit nos petits-maîtres?" (*Œuvres*, I, 274 and n. 2; III, 274). Pradon defended himself in his Epistle to the Duchesse de Bouillon:

Madame,

Souffrez qu'Hippolyte sorte aujourd'huy du fonds de ses Forests, pour venir rendre hōmage à Vostre ALTESSE... Ne vous étonnez pas, MADAME, s'il vous paroît dépouillé de cette fierté farouche & de cette insensibilité qui luy estoit si naturelle, mais en auroit-il pû conserver auprès des charmes de V. ALTESSE? Enfin si les Anciens nous l'ont dépeint comme il a esté dans Trezene, du moins il paroîtra comme il a dû estre à Paris; & n'en déplaît à toute l'Antiquité, ce jeune Héros auroit eu mauvaise grace de venir tout hérissé des épines du Grec, dans une cour aussi galante que la nostre...²⁴

If even Hippolytus had to fall in love when he became Hippolyte certainly Alexander could not be exempt upon becoming Alexandre. Yet Plutarch's statement that Alexander deemed mastery over himself more kingly (βασιλικώτερον) than victory over his enemies was also very well known and could not be avoided in any treatment of him.²⁵

One might think that this would pose a dilemma for Gillet de la Tessonnerie when writing *L'Art de Regner* in 1645, but not at all. Each act of the play is an episode for moral instruction designed to be of use to the new king, Louis XIV, who was then seven years old and presumably none too young to start learning the royal virtues. Act IV teaches continence; the fictional Gouverneur who is staging the acts introduced the subject:

... un Prince Genereux doit estre continent,
Dompter ses passions par une force Extresme
Gourmander ses desirs, & se vaincre soy-mesme

.....

Mais ie t'en vais monstrier un exemple notable
Dedans les actions d'un Monarque adorable...

(IV. i, p. 92).

24. *Le Théâtre de Mr. de Pradon* (Paris, 1695), pp. 151-152.

25. *Alexander*, XXI. 4: 'Ἄλλ' Ἀλέξανδρος, ὥς ἔοικε, τοῦ νικᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ κρατεῖν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλικώτερον ἡγούμενος....

The "Monarque adorable" is of course Alexandre and the action takes place in the tent of the younger Statira. She and Oroondate, a young Persian prince whom she loves and who loves her, are awaiting the arrival of the victorious Alexandre.²⁶ Oroondate will pretend to be her page. Berenice, Statira's sister, advises Statira to do the honors, as their mother is indisposed. Alexandre arrives (IV. iv, p. 98); his first words, presumably an aside, are: "Leur grace & leur beauté fait que ie les remarque..." He addresses Statira: "Adorable Princesse" (*ibid.*, p. 99) and tells her that he too weeps for their misfortune; ten lines later he adds significantly: "Je suis bien plus captif, que vous n'estes captiue." To an ear trained in preciousness this means he is already in love with his captive and that we shall now play the conceit of the Victor Captive, The Conqueror Defeated.²⁷ We see already at work an atmospheric phenomenon that was constant and irresistible in the seventeenth century: the instant aphrodisia of Darius's tent. Within moments Alexandre is saying:

Ah beaux yeux vainceurs dont i'adore les charmes,
 Vous arrachés de moy des souspirs & des larmes,
 Vous m'ostez le repos que ie vous ay donné
 Vous sechés les lauriers dont ie suis couronné,
 Et vos feux en bruslant d'une force excessiue
 Font un vainqueur captif, de sa propre captiue,
 Captiue ah! quei-ie dit, ie m'abuse en ce point
 Non diuine beauté vous ne la fustes point,
 Au contraire l'amour n'ayant peu le permettre
 Me mit dans la prison ou ie voulois vous mettre
 Et me donna les fers que ie vous preparois
 Voyez donc à vos pieds, le plus puissant des Rois,
 Soulagés ses douleurs l'honneur vous le commande
 Je vous donnay la vie & ie vous la demande
 (IV. v, pp. 103-104).

Statira resists and Alexandre becomes menacing. Statira appeals to his better instincts and virtues, with little success. Alexandre leaves them to think

26. Oroondate is borrowed from the name of the *Scythian* prince, fictional hero of La Calprenède's *Cassandre*; he too loves, and is loved virtuously by, Statira. The first part of this 5,000 page novel had just appeared in 1643 and was enjoying great success.

27. Cf. César's words in note 8 above. *La Mort de Pompée* had appeared in 1643.

it over. He burns with passion in a long monologue and realizes that he is a mortal man and not a god (IV. vii, pp. 112-115[!]). He returns but Statira remains adamant and attempts to persuade Alexandre:

Montrez que vous pouvez ce que peuuent les Dieux

.....

Et vous domptât ainsi vous pourrez vous vanter

Que vous domptez celuy qui pouuoit tout dōpter

(IV. ix, pp. 122-123).

Statira draws a dagger to kill herself and reveals Oroondate's estate, saying, "Ouy ie vous aimerois plus que vous ne croyez/ Sy ie n'auois aymé celuy que vous voyez" (*ibid.*, p. 124). This of course moves Alexandre, who decides, "Et pour auoir enfin le nom de Continent / Estouffons ce brasier qui brusle maintenant" (*ibid.*). Statira is grateful. The episode ends as Alexandre says:

Allez vivez cōtens, ie vous rends tous vos biens

Et vous permits encor de disposer des miens,

Ie donne à vos subiets & l'honneur & la vie

Et presse d'une iuste & genereuse enuie,

Ie veux faire aujourd'huy triompher la vertu

En monstrant à ses pieds Alexandre abatu

(*ibid.*, p. 126).

The stage directions read: "Il se jette aux pieds de Statira." And with that tableau the episode ends. At the beginning of the next act the Gouverneur draws the moral for the Prince: ["Apprends] A ne croire iamais ta passion extresme/ Et regner sur autrui moins que dessus toy-mesme" (V. i, p. 129). Presumably this Alexandre did not come back later to marry Statira at Susa.

Thirty-seven years later Pradon produced *Statira*, a play that takes place after Alexander's death. In this play Statira and Leonatus love each other, but they have problems because Roxane also loves Leonatus, and Perdicas also loves Statira. In addition Cassander loves Roxane. The play is a complicated web of peripetias as power rapidly shifts back and forth. After a false report of Leonatus' death Statira takes poison saying, "Je feray mon destin en Femme d'Aléxandre"²⁸ [!], to which Roxane replies, "Je vous suivray,

28. *Statira* in Pradon, *Théâtre*, ed. cit., V. iv, p. 398.

Madame, en Femme d'Aléxandre" (*ibid.*, V. vi, p. 400). What interests us about the play is that it provides another example of the instant aphrodisia of Darius's tent; Pradon explains that he chose Leonatus as hero for Statira because of his exploits and because:

... ce fust luy qui fust envoyé après la Bataille d'Issus dans les Tentes des Princesses, pour les assurer de la vie de Darius, qu'elles croyoient mort. C'est dans cette entrevue où j'ay fait naître leur tendresse, & cet endroit a paru assez beau

(*ibid.*, Préface, p. 326).

And it is—with the exception of the *pointe* in the last verse—a fine example of the set piece that means to rival painting and even the theatre itself. Statira tells her confidante (for the first time?) of how she fell in love with Leonatus:

Helas! te souvient il de ce jour mémorable
Qui fit de Darius le destin déplorable? ²⁹
Quand le monde ébranlé par ce premier revers
Commença de trembler nous voyant dans les fers;
Que dans le Champ d'Issus Aléxandre eut la gloire
D'honorer de nos fers sa première victoire,
Nous attendions en pleurs le destin des Vaincus,
Lors qu'on nous annonça la mort de Darius:
De cent cris douloureux nos Tentes retentirent,
Les Vaincus, les Vainqueurs, comme nous en gémirent.
Ma Mere évanouie, avec Sysigambis,
Nous faisoit redoubler nos sanglots & nos cris,
Nous estions à leurs pieds dans ces tristes allarmes,
Et pour les secourir nous n'avions que nos larmes.
Aléxandre touché que par un faux rapport
Nous estions allarmez pour cette feinte mort,
Voulut secher les pleurs qu'il nous faisoit répandre,
Leonatus entra de la part d' Aléxandre,

29. This is an obvious imitation of Andromaque's set piece in Racine's *Andromaque*, III. viii. 997 ff.: "Songe, songe, Céphise, à cette nuit cruelle / Qui fut pour tout un peuple une nuit éternelle . . ."

Et ce Prince attendry de nos vives douleurs
D'un seul mot arresta la source de nos pleurs.
Ciel! avec quelle grace il aborda ma Mere
Lors qu'il nous détrompa de la mort de mon Pere?
Que son air estoit libre & remply de grandeur!
Et qu'il me parût propre à consoler un cœur!
Je ne sçay si déjà pour mon Pere attendrie,
Lors que Leonatus m'assuroit de sa vie,
Mon cœur sans y penser, par un juste retour,
Fist servir l'amitié de passage à l'amour:
Enfin dans cet instant je ne pûs me défendre
De sentir pour ce Prince un mouvement trop tendre,
Et soit que le Destin ou l'Amour le voulût,
Il me vit, je luy plûs, je le vis, il me plût

(*ibid.*, II.i., pp. 346-347).

The novel *Cassandre* by Gaultier de Coste de La Calprenède was very popular throughout the seventeenth century. La Fontaine considered it one of the finest of the age.³⁰ Here we find, in 1643, the first example of instant aphrodisia (very virtuous as in all the other cases) in the Tent of Darius. This time, however, it is neither Alexander nor Leonatus, but Oroondate, Prince of the Scythians, who, long before Issus, managed to stage a surprise night attack on Darius's army. The Scythian soldiers are about to fall upon Darius's tents. Araxe, Oroondate's equally fictitious squire tells the tale:

... il entra l'espée à la main dans les tentes, faisant demeurer tous les autres à l'entrée en tres bon ordre. Mais, ô Dieux: quel estonnement fut le sien, lors qu'au lieu des ennemis qu'il cherchoit, il vid à la clarté de cent flambeaux une troupe de Dames, qui ietterent d'abord des cris pitoyables, & qui tesmoignerent assez l'espouuante que nostre veüe leur causa. C'estoit la vieille Reyne Sisigambis mere de Darius, la Royne sa femme, & les deux Princesses Statira, & Parisatis ses Filles Iugez si ces Dames furent effrayees, voyant mon Prince tout couuert de sang l'espée au poing, & accompagné de nous tous en mesme posture, entrer dans vn lieu de conquête, avec vne

30. "En fait d'événements, Cléopâtre et Cassandre / Entre les beaux premiers [livres d'amour] doivent être rangés." *Ballade in Œuvres diverses* (Paris, 1948), p. 586.

fierté qui dans le sang mesme auroit eu quelque chose de tres-agreable, si le trouble où elles estoient leur eut permis de le considerer; les ieunes Princesses plus mortes que viues, se rangerent aupres de leur mere, & de la vieille Sisigambis, se voyant en quelque sureté auprés d'une personne si venerable..... le Prince surpris d'un spectacle si peu preueu, & qui le fit demeurer quelque temps tout confus & tout interdit, reprit enfin courage, & l'aborda avec un si profond respect, qu'elle acheua de se rasseurer, & loua les Dieux qui faisoient tomber la maison de Darius, entre les mains d'un si civil ennemy: il auoit osté son casque, & mis la pointe de son espée en terre; ce qui obligea les Princesses un peu remises à le considerer avec attention. La chaleur du combat, & l'estonnement de ceste rencontre auoit adiousté un éclat à sa beauté naturelle, qui dans l'esprit de ces Dames, le fit d'abord passer pour un Dieu; mais leur estime s'acreat encore dauantage, lors qu'il leur dit en s'abaissant iusqu'à terre, & adressant son discours à Sisigambis, en langage Persan.... Je ne serois point pardonnable, Madame, dans l'erreur que la nuit m'a fait commettre, si son obscurité ne me seruoit d'excuse, & si ie ne vous protestois deuant tous les Dieux, que si i'eusse connu le sexe & la condition des personnes que i'ay mortellement offensées, ie me fusse tué moy-mesme, plustost que de troubler leur repos, & que de les aborder avec tant d'irreuerence: si mon crime se pouuoit reparer, ie ne plaindrois ny mon sang ny ma vie, pour son expiation.... Tandis qu'il parloit de la sorte, les Dames estoient tellement suspenduës, entre l'admiration & la ioye.... [Sisigambis] luy respondit:... qui que vous soyez Seigneur, ou soyez vous né parmy les hommes, ou comme vos actions le tesmoignent, soyez vous du sang des Dieux... nous sommes doublement vos prisonniers.... Elle luy dit en suite beaucoup d'autres choses, où il ne presta guere d'attention, ayant par malheur attaché sa veüe sur le visage de la Princesse Statira, d'où il ne la retira, qu'il ne luy laissast l'ame en eschange: Chose merueilleuse, qui eut creu que ce ieune Prince treuuast sa perte dans sa premiere conquete.... Et toutesfois il n'est que trop vray, qu'il se rendit à ceste seule veüe.... Je ne m'amuseray point à vous dire que la Princesse Statira, qui n'estoit pour lors que dans sa quinziesme année estoit le plus bel ourage des Dieux... ie vous diray seulement que le trouble, & la crainte où elle auoit esté, donnant quelque accroissement à sa beauté, la firent paroistre telle aux yeux de mon Prince, qu'il ne la

considera comme vne personne mortelle; Il auoit les yeux & la pensée tellement attachez à elle, qu'il ne songeoit plus à Sisigambis ny à soy mesme....³¹

Oroondate finally has to retire, "emportant dans l'ame vn feu qu'il a du depuis conserué, & qu'il conseruera aussi longuement que sa vie" (*ibid.*, p. 74). Pl. LXXIX, which is the frontispiece to *Cassandre* shows the unknown French artist's conception of a Scythian prince in the tent of Darius.

Later in the novel *Alexandre* suddenly falls virtuously in love with Statura (before, after, and despite his marriage to Roxane), Héphestion and Lisimachus simultaneously and instantaneously fall in love with Parysatis, etc., etc.

This novel seems strange and distant to us today but the Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Nationale shows that it went through at least ten editions between 1642-1645 and 1667.³² Perhaps Antoine Adam is correct when he implies that after the Battle of Rocroi (1643) and the stunning series of victories that led up to the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 the French could really see in this novel an only slightly idealized portrait of themselves:

... Condé, ses compagnons, la jeune noblesse qui chaque été se bat sur les frontières du royaume et revient chaque hiver parmi les salons de Paris, ont retrouvé dans les romans héroïques l'image complaisante d'une vie mêlée de combats et de galanterie.³³

In late August or September of 1661,³⁴ the painter Charles Le Brun was invited to Fontainebleau by the young Louis XIV and told to paint a picture on any subject provided that it deal with Alexander the Great.³⁵ This must have proved at least momentarily embarrassing to the painter, for, according to the convention of the times, the subject should somehow allegorically represent or allude to the king,³⁶ but France had been at peace since the Treaty

31. *Cassandre*, livre premier (1644 ed.), pp. 61-71.

32. The Catalogue of the British Museum shows the novel's popularity in England also. It was first translated in 1652 and reprinted in 1661, 1664, 1667, 1676, 1703, 1725, and 1737.

33. *Histoire de la littérature française au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1954), II, 121.

34. Posner, *op. cit.*, 239, n. 16.

35. Pellisson, *Mémoires*, I, 24 ff. in Henry Jouin, *Charles Le Brun et les Arts sous Louis XIV* (Paris, 1889), pp. 133 ff.

36. In an *Explication historique de ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans la maison royale*

of the Pyrenees (1659) and all indications pointed to her remaining so for some time to come. Furthermore, allusions to Alexander had been profuse in the 1640's, but they had all been directed to the Prince de Condé, who had subsequently fought for Spain and had just returned to France by means of a special clause in the same treaty.

The solution to Le Brun's dilemma was of course the clemency, moderation, and self-control of Alexander upon his visit to the family of Darius. The King visited the painter every day, and Félibien says that:

... ce rare Ouvrage que son excellent Auteur vient d'achever, est moins une production de son art & de sa science, qu'un effect des belles idées qu'il a receûs de V. M. quand elle luy a commandé de travailler pour Elle.³⁷

Twenty-seven years later Charles Perrault wrote:

Je vous avoûe que le tableau de la famille Darius [*sic*] m'a toujours semblé le chef-d'œuvre de Monsieur le Brun; & peut-estre que l'honneur qu'il a eu de le peindre sous les yeux du Roy, est cause qu'il s'est surpassé luy-mesme; car il le fit à Fontainebleau, où Sa Majesté prenoit une [*sic*] extreme plaisir tous les jours à le voir travailler.³⁸

de Versailles et en celle de Monsieur à Saint-Cloud (Paris, 1681) Laurent Morellet sieur Combes, says to the reader:

Les sujets de Peinture qui achevent de faire l'ornement des Plat-fonds, sont des Heros & des hommes illustres, pris de l'Histoire & de la Fable, qui ont mérité les titres de genereux, de Grands, de Peres du Peuple, de Liberaux, de Justes, d'Augustes & de Victorieux, & qui ont possédé toutes les Vertus qu'on a veu paroître dans la Personne de nôtre Grand Monarque depuis l'heureux cours de son regne; De maniere que tout ce qu'on voit de remarquable dans le Chasteau & dans le Iardin a toujours du rapport aux grandes actions de Sa Majesté...

Although this *Explication* is subsequent by twenty years, it is obviously officially inspired. Earlier documents could also be cited such as Félibien's *Songe de Philomathe*, where he speaks of Painting's duty to depict the monarch "sous les differentes images des plus grands Heros de l'antiquité", or again where la Peinture speaks of those paintings "où sous des figures toutes mystérieuses, je tasche à donner quelque idée de l'ame de ce grand Monarque."

37. André Félibien des Auvaux, *Les Reines de Perse aux pieds d'Alexandre, peinture du Cabinet du Roy* (1663) in *Recueil de Descriptions de Peintures et autres ouvrages faits pour le Roy* (Paris, 1689), pp. 28-29.

38. Charles Perrault, *Parallele des Anciens et des Modernes en ce qui regarde les arts et les sciences* (Paris, 1688 [facsimile reproduction: Munich, 1964]), [I] 231-232.

Le Brun was named Premier Peintre du Roy and given complete control of the Gobelins works, where he set about completing a series of paintings and tapestries on the History of Alexander. In 1957 I detailed the history of these startlingly popular tapestries.³⁹ Engravings were made from the series (Pl. LXXX), and further sets of tapestries were copied from the engravings. Perhaps the best proof of the popularity of this painting is the fact that in 1689 Mignard, in his continuing rivalry with Le Brun, decided that he too had to paint a Tent of Darius. A glance at Pl. LXXXI helps one to appreciate that imitation is the best proof of envy.

On the Edelinck engravings — unfortunately not reproduced in Pl. LXXX — the legend says in French, "Il est d'un Roy de se vaincre soy mesme," very closely echoing Amyot's *Phutarque*, "Mais Alexandre estimant, à mon advis, estre chose plus royale, se vaincre soy mesme..." (XXXIX);⁴⁰ in Latin the legend says — as it does on the tapestries — "Sui victoria indicat regem." Le Brun realized that he had hit the right note, clemency, magnanimity, self-mastery; in the series of tapestries depicting the Four Elements, executed shortly thereafter, he inscribed underneath the tapestry of the Air: "Ludovicus XIII hostium sui que ipsius victor..." This introduces an interesting question: Does one like to be flattered for the qualities one actually has or for those one would like to have? Certainly, although Louis was not well known for his self-mastery with respect to women (with the possible exception of his renunciation of Marie Mancini and of Henriette d'Angleterre, his sister-in-law), he liked to dramatize his self-control in other situations (e.g., his not striking the Duc de Lauzun).⁴¹ In his *Mémoires pour l'année 1666* Louis writes, "Mais à qui se peut vaincre soi-même, il est peu de chose qui puisse résister."⁴² Thus Le Brun had clearly communicated the message of the ancient historians.

39. Robert W. Hartle, "Le Brun's *Histoire d'Alexandre* and Racine's *Alexandre le Grand*," *Romanic Review*, XLVIII (1957), 90-103.

The reader should be warned that Posner (*op. cit.*, p. 244, n. 47a) feels that my conclusions are "based on an incomplete understanding of the content and development of Le Brun's pictures, and on an involved, but unacceptable reconstruction of the chronology of the Alexander paintings and tapestries." Since Mr. Posner does not elaborate his objections beyond this lofty dismissal, I have no reason for retracting my "involved" chronology.

40. Posner, *op. cit.*, p. 241, seems to think that Edelinck is echoing Gillet de la Tessonnerie. It seems clear that all are echoing Plutarch.

41. This theme recurs throughout his *Mémoires*, for instance when he says that "la vengeance n'est presque pas faite pour nous," *Mémoires pour l'année 1661* (Paris, 1923), p. 90.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

There are many other details in the painting that are translated directly from the ancients. Note for example the fact that Alexandre and Héphestion enter alone, as Diodorus (XVII. 37.5), Quintus Curtius (III.xii.16), and Arrian (II.12.6) point out. Note also that Sisigambis at first mistakes Héphestion for Alexandre because the latter was slightly shorter than his lieutenant (although Le Brun is careful not to over-do this difference); here again, he is drawing from Diodorus (*loc.cit.*), Quintus Curtius (*loc.cit.*, 16-17), and Arrian (*loc.cit.*, 6-7). Félibien, who was the formal apologist for Le Brun, makes this statement, which is an important one for understanding this art:

[Héphestion] est de plus grande taille et plus droit qu'ALEXANDRE et néanmoins ces deux figures sont si bien traitées et celle d'ALEXANDRE disposée d'une manière si noble et si agréable, qu'on voit bien qu'elle représente ce roy, et qu'elle est la plus considerable de toutes.

C'est en quoy on connoit qu'un ouvrier est excellent, quand il sait si bien disposer son sujet, & qu'au lieu de faire paroître les défauts naturels de la personne qu'il peint, il les déguise adroitement sans rien diminuer toutefois de la véritable ressemblance.⁴³

The most striking example of Le Brun's prettifying history is the way in which Alexander's head is gracefully tilted to the left. Plutarch speaks of some of Alexander's idiosyncrasies, which acquaintances and, later, successors tried to copy, namely a "poise," "inclination," or "twist" of the neck to the left.⁴⁴ Félibien describes Le Brun's adroit handling of this "defect":

C'est pourquoy ALEXANDRE panchoit naturellement la tête, nous le voyons icy peint d'une manière si adroite que cette action que le peintre a imitée non seulement ne paroît pas un défaut, mais au contraire, il semble que ce seroit un défaut à la figure qu'il représente si

43. *The Tent of Darius explained*, translated from the French of M. Félibien by Colonel Parsons (London, 1701), pp. 10-12. (The French text is on the even-numbered pages). The date and place of publication give evidence of the painting's continuing importance.

44. τὴν τε ἀνάτασιν τοῦ αὐχένος εἰς εὐώνυμον ἡσυχῇ κεκλιμένον

(*Alexander*, IV. 1).

Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ἐκκλινῆσιν τοῦ τραχήλου

(*Moralia*, 53, D).

ὥσπερ αὐτὸς εἰώθει βλέπειν Ἀλέξανδρος ἡσυχῇ παρεγκλίνων τὸν τράχηλον... τὴν ἀποστροφὴν τοῦ τραχήλου

(*Moralia*, 335, B).

cette action n'y étoit pas: puisqu'elle y donne et beaucoup plus de grâce et beaucoup plus d'expression.⁴⁵

A glance at Mignard's imitation shows that Félibien was right.

But what about *la galanterie*? Félibien states that:

... la jambe gauche qu'il retire en arriere est une marque de la civilité qu'il rend à ces princesses. Le peintre ne l'a pas fait incliner davantage parce qu'il le représente dans le moment qu'il aborde ces dames; que ce n'étoit pas l'usage des grecs et de plus qu'il ne pouvoit pas se baisser beaucoup, à cause que dans le dernier combat, il avoit été blessé à la cuisse.⁴⁶

In this way—at the slight expense of Occam's razor—history, morality, and *la galanterie* are united!

Le Brun often came back to the Alexandre series, so closely associated with his first success. As an example, see the detail (Pl. LXXXII) from the painting of *Les Reines de Perse*, the young lady on the far right, who is neither slave nor princess. She is obviously dazzled by the glory of Alexandre. Either seven or seventeen years later—the date is in dispute, but either date is sufficient to our purpose—Le Brun gave a lecture on the expression of the passions at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. To illustrate *L'Admiration avec étonnement* he showed the drawing reproduced here as Pl. LXXXIII. Far from wishing to conceal its origin, one notes that he even drew in the line behind the head that indicates the edge of the tent of Darius.⁴⁷

An even more significant example dates from 1663, that is, less than two years after the first *Tent of Darius*; Le Brun sketched, in black chalk with a gray wash, the plan for an oval that was executed in the Grande Galerie de Versailles (Pl. LXXXIV).⁴⁸ It was entitled, "La Protection accordée aux beaux-arts." A cynical translation might read, "Louis' naming Le Brun as director of the Gobelins and his decision to re-do Versailles." Notice the mixture of the stylized ancient costume with the long French wig. But most especially notice the graceful but very pronounced tilt of the head to the left.

45. *Tent*, p. 12.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

47. Jacques Thuillier and Jennifer Montagu, *Charles Le Brun, 1619-1690, Peintre et Dessinateur* (Versailles, 1963), p. 303.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 363.

Given all of the foregoing, it should come as no surprise that in 1665—the year of the ballet mentioned at the beginning—the young, ambitious Racine, writing his second play, should choose the subject of Alexander's magnanimous treatment of the defeated Porus, that his Alexandre should have come to India merely to seek Queen Cléofile, whom he had earlier captured and whose captive he was, that Porus should be fighting to be worthy of the beautiful Queen Axiane, etc. In other words, Racine chose a subject in which he could mingle history with *la galanterie* and at the same time portray the royal virtues of continence, self-mastery, and clemency. Louis XIV accepted the labored flattery of the dedicatory epistle, and the play held the boards for the rest of the century. When Louis XIV died, after having played Alexander too often, the play also died.

These works are not without merit in themselves, but their real fascination lies in their unsuccessful attempt to suppress two thousand years of history. They went directly to the ancient sources and thought they could transmute history into an absolute art which would be the mirror and model of their time and stand for all the rest of time. Because they turned their backs on intervening legends, the artistic treatment of Alexander the Great allows us to control the supposed sources and to view the finished products in unparalleled laboratory conditions. The eternal dream, the way in which one age sees itself mirrored in another.

It would be niggardly to deny to Louis XIV and his age the title "Great." Depending upon one's own cultural mirrors, however, one may see as comic, ironic, or tragic his image of himself as Alexander the Great. Or perhaps it is the most significant mirror of our own time that we can hold all of these perspectives simultaneously.

ROBERT W. HARTLE

Queens College
City University of New York

LA LÉGENDE D'ALEXANDRE LE GRAND DANS LA LITTÉRATURE ROUMAINE

Il n'y a pas dans toute la littérature universelle, sauf Homère, une autre œuvre ayant un écho aussi profond comme le roman d'Alexandre le Grand qui a réussi à pénétrer dans la conscience des masses se couronnant du suprême épithète de "livre populaire". Ce livre populaire voué à une longue carrière, comprenant l'espace de temps inclus entre le IV^{ème} siècle avant notre ère jusqu'à nos jours, a toutes les chances à ne pas cesser d'être lu avec avidité le long des siècles, tant que l'âme humaine est sensible aux vertus chantées et estimées d'abord sur la terre qui engendra les dieux, les demi-dieux, les nymphes, les muses et les jeux olympiques.

Poursuivi dès ses origines et attribué à Callisthène, disputé aujourd'hui encore, traversant ensuite une filière latine, ce livre montre pleinement combien le thème de Callisthène fût fécond et en même temps combien généreuse et inventive la muse populaire. C'est ce qui explique l'adoption du roman dans des milieux si différents comme chez les Assyriens, Perses, Hébreux, sans parler du retentissement qu'il eût dans le monde romain et chrétien. Tous ces peuples se sont approprié l'image d'Alexandre le Grand, le parant de leurs vertus typiques physiques, en en faisant leur héros, détruisant souvent l'esclavage musulman et soutenant leur idéal de libération politique et sociale.

Cette image d'Alexandre le Grand richement réalisée a été contournée par la contribution d'un nombre infini de lecteurs, en partie anonymes, qui ont interprété le visage et les actions du héros en étroite liaison avec leur vie et leurs aspirations ainsi que de celle de la collectivité dont ils faisaient partie.

Il s'agit donc d'une nouvelle œuvre qui dans l'interprétation roumaine est appelée "L'histoire d'Alexandre le Grand de Macédoine et de Darie de Persida des empereurs"¹.

Du point de vue de l'Alexandrie roumaine, la "Historia Magni Regis Macedoniae de proeliis" présente une grande importance. L'œuvre est composée au X^{ème} siècle par Léon archevêque de Naples, qui a eu une influence sur la rédaction serbe.

Cette rédaction serbe s'est répandue par de nombreuses copies chez les bul-

1. Le titre roumain est : *Istoria a Alexandrului celui Mare din Machedonia și a lui Darie din Persida împăraților*.

gares et les russes. Une copie de la rédaction serbe se trouvait vers 1562 dans la bibliothèque du monastère de Neamț de Moldavie, faite sur l'ordre du métropolite Grigori de Suceava. Le grand savant Nicolae Iorga soutient que l'Alexandrie serbe aurait été apportée par Milița la femme du Voivode Neagoe Bassarab ainsi que par Hélène l'épouse de Petru Rareș et qu'en même temps le nom d'Alexandre s'est répandu parmi les roumains de même que celui de Darius, devenu Darie.²

La version slave a été traduite en langue roumaine au temps du règne de Michel le Brave qui a réalisé en 1601, l'union de tous les roumains de Valachie, Moldavie et Transylvanie.

Cette première version roumaine garde quelques expressions slaves.

La lutte téméraire menée par Michel le Brave pour la libération et l'union de tous les roumains a donné l'occasion à des rapprochements heureux entre le héros roumain et le héros macédonien, rapprochements qui peuvent être poursuivis dans toutes les chroniques contemporaines concernant Michel le Brave, comme, par exemple, l'histoire de Michel le Brave écrite par Stavrinos ou par Palamède.

La première traduction roumaine ne nous est pas restée: celle-ci fut réalisée avant l'année 1600, mais il existe dans la bibliothèque de l'Académie de la République socialiste de Roumanie, un manuscrit 382³ nommé "Codex Negoeanus" qui représente la plus ancienne copie de la première traduction roumaine. Nous devons cette copie au jeune prêtre, Ion Românul, qui l'a intitulée *Alexandria* et qui affirme l'avoir copiée entre le 15 juin 1619 et le 15 février 1620, dans le village Sînpietru de Heteș, Hunedoara.

Laissant de côté l'édition de l'Alexandrie mentionnée par Del Chiar, sans pourtant montrer l'année et le lieu où fut imprimé "*Alexandria o sia storia di Alessandro il Macedone, stampata in lingua Valaca*"⁴, nous considérons comme première édition faite en Roumanie, celle réalisée par l'imprimeur Petru Bart de Sibiu en 1794, auquel nous devons aussi l'édition d'autres ouvrages au goût du peuple. Cette édition a été mise en valeur du point de vue littéraire et reproduite pour la première fois en 1956 par le prof. Dan Simonescu, l'un des meilleurs connaisseurs de la littérature populaire de

2. Voir N. Iorga: *Faze sufletești și cărți reprezentative la români, cu specială privire la legăturile Alexandriei cu Mihai Viteazul*. Dans les *Annales de l'Académie Roumaine*, tome XXXVI, Mémoires de la section historique, p. 18.

3. Nicolae Cartoian, *Alexandria în literatura românească*. București, 1910. Voir aussi Nicolae Iorga: *Faze sufletești și cărți reprezentative la români cu specială privire la legăturile "Alexandriei" cu Mihai Viteazul*, p.18, note 1.

4. Voir *Bibliografia românească veche*, tome I, p. 486-489.

notre pays. Une seconde édition est apparue en 1958⁵ à Bucarest. Le traducteur de l'Alexandrie a été Dimitrie Iorcovici et le livre a été imprimé aux frais de Chir Simeon Pantea de Silcova de Sus. Le livre, in quarto, contenant 214 pages a pour titre: "Istoria a Alexandrului celui Mare din Machedonia și a lui Darie din Persida împăraților". Il a une préface qui est une caractérisation de cette époque aux agitations sociales et termine avec "Arătări de vreo citeva doftorii și meșteșuguri" ("Indications sur quelques médicaments et quelques métiers"). Après cette Alexandrie imprimée à Sibiu, une nouvelle édition est apparue dans la bourgade de Movilău de l'autre côté du Prut dans l'imprimerie de l'archevêque Strelbițki, qui s'était réfugié avant 1762, auprès de la Métropole de Moldavie et s'occupait avec l'imprimerie⁶.

Dans la première moitié du 19e siècle, il y a 8 éditions apparues en 1804, 1824, 1833, 1842, 1851.

Dans la seconde moitié du 19e siècle elles sont plus fréquentes, citons les éditions de 1856, 1862, 1868, 1891, 1893 et 1894. D'autres éditions ont été imprimées par "Alcalay", Biblioteca pentru toți, "Casa școalelor" et "Biblioteca pentru popor".

Une édition scientifique de l'Alexandrie et des autres œuvres de la littérature populaire roumaine a été réalisé en 1963⁷.

L'élément essentiel qui a assuré le succès de l'Alexandrie a été la narration qui se développe amplement sans aucune entrave comme dans un conte de vive voix captivant dès le début autant le lecteur que l'auditeur comme par exemple le passage du début du livre: "Le grand Empereur Por régnait en Orient en Judée et dans le midi régnait le grand Empereur Darie tandis qu'à Rome l'Empereur Merlichie était tout puissant régnant sur tout l'Occident et sur tous les rois. En Macédoine régnait le roi Philippe et en Égypte l'empereur Netinau lequel était grand philosophe, magicien et sorcier et astrologue. Il avait un tel savoir faire qu'il s'emparait de tous les biens, de tout ce qui était meilleur dans quatre pays différents, c'est-à-dire: blé, vin, beurre. Son pays était prospère et contenait la douceur du monde entier, tandis que dans d'autres pays la famine et les maladies régnaient et tous ceux qui essay-

5. Le titre entier: *Alexandria îngrjită cu o prefață, glosar și note* de Dan Simonescu. E.S.P.L.A.

6. Émile Picot, Notice bibliographique sur le protopope Strelbitzky, graveur et imprimeur à Iassy, à Mogilev de Podolie et à Dubossar. Paris 1905 (*Mémoires orientaux. Congrès* 1905) p.3 (33); voir aussi N. Iorga *Istoria literaturii române în secolul al XVIII-lea*, p. 382-383; voir aussi I. Bianu et Nerva Hodoș *Bibliografia românească veche* II, p. 137.

7. *Ediție îngrjită și studiu introductiv* de Ion.C. Chișlmia și Dan Simonescu, vol. I, București, Editura pentru literatură și artă, p. 11-83.

aient de guerroyer avec l'empereur Netinau ne pouvaient pas remporter de victoire⁸. Il faisait des envoûtements pour battre les armées ennemies et ils s'enfuyaient et se dispersaient ne sachant que faire et lui, personne ne pouvait le vaincre". On pourrait rapprocher de ce passage-ci, qui saisit par sa naïveté, les passages concernant la naissance d'Alexandre le Grand⁹, la campagne fictive d'Alexandre le Grand contre Rome¹⁰ la lettre d'Alexandre le Grand adressée à Olympiade et à Aristote, dans lesquelles on ressent l'influence de l'Église¹¹ ou bien la fin d'Alexandre le Grand¹². Ce qu'on doit surtout souligner c'est l'originalité des lamentations par lesquelles Rouxandra pleure le grand Alexandre et qui ne sont guère qu'une reproduction des lamentations populaires serbes: "Oh! moi, pauvre malheureuse que je suis, pleine d'amertume, oh mon cher Alexandre, mon Seigneur et Maître, par quoi t'ai-je fauté pour que tu me punisses en m'emmenant dans des pays étrangers et comment me quittes-tu en désolation et amertume? Pleurez aujourd'hui vous tous empereurs et rois et seigneurs, jeunes et vieux, pleurez, vous monts et forêts, fleuves et sources, attristez-vous. Pleurez soleil, lune, étoiles, campagnes et bois, pleurez ma douleur".

On reconnaît dans la lamentation de Rouxandra les éléments spécifiques du threnos en général, et une correspondance avec "l'Aubade" ("Cîntecul Zorilor") du cérémonial roumain d'obsèques, dans une forme plus concise.

Les éléments des lamentations sont les mêmes: les monts, les bois, les eaux, le soleil, la lune pleurent:

"Pleurez vous aussi, bois,
Forêts magnifiques.
Pleurez vous aussi, les eaux,
De concert avec les pierres.
Pleurez monts,
Et vous, belles vallées,
Pleurez, lune et soleil,
Quand l'homme quitte ce monde"¹³.

Les éléments d'envolée artistique que nous venons de faire, voir en partie seulement, sont un puissant témoignage du degré élevé par lequel la narration et la poésie orale imposent la conclusion de la circulation de la litté-

8. *Op. cit.* p. 11.

9. *Op. cit.* p. 14-17.

10. *Op. cit.* p. 28-30.

11. *Op. cit.* p. 60.

12. *Op. cit.* p. 84.

13. S. Manginca, *Calendar pe anul 1883*, Biserica Albă, 1883, p. 129.

rature populaire écrite, à longue et ancienne tradition, tout aussi intense que la littérature orale ¹⁴.

En d'autres termes l'histoire d'Alexandre le Grand n'était pas seulement lue mais aussi racontée de vive voix et le narrateur, restant toutefois fidèle au contexte, faisait quand même appel à la narration orale.

Comme preuve nous citons un témoignage de l'écrivain Heliade Rădulescu, qui nous dit dans son ouvrage: "Mes dispositions et mes essais de poésie", que lorsqu'il était enfant il s'est arrêté et a contemplé une foule assemblée devant l'église Kretzulescu, qui écoutait ce qu'un cocher lisait à haute voix et qui n'était autre que l'"Alexandria", ce qui faisait que tous les passants s'arrêtaient pour rester à écouter. Personne ne pouvait s'éloigner ¹⁵. Nous en trouvons un autre témoignage dans les ouvrages de I. Codru Drăgușan: "Dimanche, jour de fête, je me vautre dans l'herbe où bien sur la terrasse en lisant Alexandrie et le poème d'Arghir" ¹⁶.

L'attention du lecteur est retenue dans "Alexandria" par la situation politique et sociale du pays, comme cela se passe dans tant d'autres œuvres littéraires, comme par exemple dans le Hérodote découvert au monastère de Cosula.

Le copiste roumain, par exemple, a ajouté la conquête d'Alexandre Machedon de la Pologne, traversant Acriș Tatar, la Moldavie et Țara Românească.

Un personnage réel intégré dans l'"Alexandria" c'est le Khan des Tatares, Altamoș qui fut vaincu par le prince valaque Nicolas Alexandre Bassarab qui l'a décapité ¹⁷.

Par ailleurs nous trouvons des réflexions concernant tout ce qui est vain dans la vie et dans les désirs humains, cela sans doute à la suite des influences des textes religieux. C'est ainsi que par exemple, le clerc Ion Românul, en copiant le livre, fit l'appréciation suivante concernant le destin instable des choses humaines ¹⁸.

Un lecteur, homme du peuple, originaire de Prahova, note en 1799 son admiration pour Alexandre le Grand, par ces mots: "Comment fit-il pour guerroyer toutes les bêtes sauvages du monde!"

14. I.C. Chițimia: Problema raportului dintre cărțile, populare și folclor dans *Analee, Universității București, Seria Filologie*, X, 1961, no. 23, p. 67-69.

15. *Curierul de ambe sexe*, Série II, Buc. 1862, p. 117.

16. Ion Codru Drăgușan "Peregrinul transilvan", Édition ingrijită și prefăcută - Romul Munteanu, ESPLA 1956, p. 43.

17. Voir E. Lăzărescu : Despre relațiile lui Alexandru Voevod cu ungurii în *Revista istorică*, XXXII, no. 1-2, janvier-déc. 1946, p. 128.

18. "Et il a écrit de lire et de bien penser ce que c'est que l'empire de ce monde vain et cajoleur".

Mais les adaptations et les interventions des copistes ont déterminé une critique véhémement de la part des gens de lettres roumains du 17^e et 18^e siècle, qui manifestaient des prétentions d'érudition concernant cette œuvre littéraire à laquelle ils demandaient de respecter la vérité historique qu'ils trouvaient chez Quintus Curtius, chez Plutarque ou chez Arrian. Ce fut une attitude erronée que Miron et Nicolae Costin ont adoptée ainsi que le Stolnic Constantin Cantacuzène. Sans doute cette attitude ne correspond pas à une œuvre littéraire.

L'influence de l' "Alexandria". L' "Alexandria" roumaine n'a pas eu un rôle isolé, mais à son tour elle a influencé d'autres ouvrages. Un ouvrage rédigé sur le sol roumain dans lequel on constate des influences de l' Alexandrie est "Les enseignements de Neagoe à son fils Théodosie" dans lequel nous trouvons un fragment de l' "Alexandria"¹⁹. De même, Nicolae Costin dans "Ceasornicul Domnilor" (l'Horloge des Seigneurs) interprété d'après "Horologium Principium" de Quevara, comprend un chapitre entier intitulé "Vo-roava a prea înțeleptului garamanților (Brachmanilor) către Marele Alexandru" ("Les dires du très sage des Brachmans au Grand Alexandre") dans lequel cette pensée est résumée que l'homme doit être modéré dans ses prétentions vu la brièveté de la vie humaine²⁰.

Ici on doit retenir le fait que le noyau de ces dires doit être cherché dans les écrits rédigés en Occident.

Un troisième livre qui a emprunté de l' "Alexandria", a été "La vie de Saint Macarie de Rome" dans lequel, le voyage vers le Paradis de trois moines qui partent d'un monastère et arrivent à la fin chez St. Macarie, est identique au voyage d'Alexandre le Grand au Paradis. On mentionne, dans un paragraphe, le pilier dont on parle dans l' "Alexandria" et que Alexandre le Grand aurait élevé près du Paradis après avoir mis en fuite Darie, l'empereur des Perses.

Mais l' "Alexandria" a exercé une influence aussi sur les lettrés, leur prêtant du matériel pour les sermons de la chaire²¹. De même les chronographes, ces longs répertoires d'histoire universelle partant d'Adam et d'Ève et jusqu'aux temps de l'auteur, contiennent, entre autres un chapitre "Sur l'empire d'Alexandre le Grand."

19. D. Russo dans *Convorbiri literare* l'an. XL, II, p. 77.

20. "Ceux qui jugent avec modération de soi et héritent peu, peuvent davantage qu' Alexandre qui hérite beaucoup et pensant sur soi avec orgueil et que c'est grande folle de vouloir régner de long en large qui a une courte charette de sa vie". Voir Gaster dans *Literatura Populară Română*, p. 559.

21. Une prière, au moment des enterrements des morts finit avec des mots d'amertu-

Sont passionnantes les recherches faites en ce qui concerne l'influence de l'"Alexandria" exercée sur les masses et ceci est dû surtout à l'élément fantastique qui y est inclus.

Selon l'heureuse expression de N. Cartoian, le chercheur roumain qui s'est occupé avec passion et compétence des livres populaires: "pareilles aux grains de perles d'un collier déchiré les épisodes de l'"Alexandria", racontés pendant les nuits d'hiver, à la veillée, se sont défaits les uns des autres et ils se sont dispersés dans la littérature populaire"²².

Un grand nombre de ces épisodes ont été publiés par S.T. Kirileanu et C.N. Mateescu dans la revue *Ion Creangă*²³ et ici on peut constater l'art très spécial avec lequel la fantaisie populaire s'entend à fleurir les données du roman. Un épisode, autour duquel, l'imagination populaire a amplement brodé, est "l'eau vive". Selon les données de l'"Alexandria", c'est Alexandre le Grand qui "trouve la source d'eau vive" dans l'île des Nagromudes sous le trône en or de l'Empereur Evant. De cette source d'eau vive, Alexandre reçoit en cadeau "un carafon" qu'il confie à un serviteur avec l'intention de s'en servir quand il vieillira. Il n'y a pas d'autre mention dans le roman en ce qui concerne "ce carafon d'eau vive", ni même dans le paragraphe dans lequel Alexandre nous est présenté se débattant dans les affres de la mort. L'imagination populaire a complété cette lacune tissant avec les fils d'une ancienne croyance, une nouvelle légende.

Le peuple raconte que les esclaves d'Alexandre le Grand, pendant l'absence de leur maître ont bu l'eau du carafon, ont acquis l'immortalité, ont reçu des ailes et se sont envolés au ciel.

Selon certaines versions ces esclaves seraient de mauvaises fées (Iele ou Rousaliile) qui dans la compagnie d'un maître sonneur volent chantant dans les airs; elles descendent parfois à terre et font la ronde au-dessus de ceux qui dorment au bord des rivières, dans des clairières et dans les bois et en les torturant leur enlèvent la vigueur et la beauté. Les esclaves d'Alexandre sont aussi invoquées dans un certain nombre d'imprécations. Une semblable imprécation a été recueillie dans le village de Ciocănești, dans le district Argeș²⁴.

me pour les vanités du monde, mots que dit Alexandre Macedon à l'heure de mourir. Voir Ms. No. 70, Bibliothèque de l'Académie R.S.R.

22. N. Cartoian, *Alexandria în literatura românească*, București, 1910, p. 91.

23. L'année II, no. 9; III, no. 1.

24. Voici l'incantation: Aujourd'hui un tel, du lit s'est levé | dans le parfum des fleurs | dans les mots des chants | est parti en route | avec les filles d'Alexandre empereur | s'est croisé en chemin. Voir Gorovei *Sezatuarea* XI, 1910, 4.

Selon une autre version les esclaves d'Alexandre Macédon qui lui ont dérobé "l'eau vive" et qui l'ont bue, ce sont les Parques.

La littérature populaire a gardé aussi le souvenir du cheval sorcier d'Alexandre le Grand, nommé Ducipal ou Duciupal, auquel l'imagination populaire confère l'immortalité comme une sorte de récompense accordée pour sa fidélité envers son maître.

Un autre conte populaire montre que lorsque Alexandre le Grand se trouvait dans l'île des *Nagomudri* (?) il aurait goûté aussi quelques gouttes de l'eau vive qui coulait sous le trône de l'empereur Evant. Mais selon un autre conte les esclaves qui ont bu l'eau vive donnée par l'empereur Evant à Alexandre, lui ont abreuvé aussi le cheval d'une gorgée, le rendant ainsi immortel.

Les légendes disent au sujet de ce cheval qu'il serait encore vivant dans une île au milieu de la mer et que lorsque la nostalgie de son maître le saisit il commence à hennir ce qui fait que la terre tremble d'un bout à l'autre. A la veille du jugement dernier il va hennir avec une pareille force que la terre entière va trembler avec une telle puissance qui va la faire sortir de ses gonds²⁵.

Mais le souvenir d'Alexandre Macédon persiste aussi dans la toponymie roumaine. De même que chez les serbes chez lesquels St. Novacovici²⁶ a montré l'existence de deux collines aux noms romains sur lesquels les habitants racontent qu'elles ont été les forteresses de deux empereurs, Por et Darie, qui ont réuni leurs forces pour lutter contre Alexandre le Grand; de même dans la contrée de Zerand en Transylvanie, au bord d'un précipice, les indigènes vous montrent même à l'heure qu'il est, les traces du cheval d'Alexandre le Grand²⁷.

Les habitants de Recica ou Resca (district de Roumanie non loin de Caracal) nous disent que les ruines de la très ancienne forteresse romaine Reomula (?) proviennent du saccage qu'aurait fait le même Alexandre Macédon.

Il faut retenir le fait que les habitants de Recica ou Resca donnent le nom d'"Antina" à cette forteresse, nom pris probablement de la légende "Alexandria" dans laquelle on raconte la conquête de la cité d'Athènes. La légende roumaine racontée par les habitants de Resca paraît être une synthèse de la conquête d'Athènes, de la légende "Alexandria" avec la narration concernant l'histoire de Troade²⁸.

25. Le prêtre Théodore Bălăşel de Stefăneşti Vilcea dans *Proverbele Românilor* de Iuliu Zanne, VI, p. 103.

26. Privovetka o Alexandru Velikom. p. XXX.

27. Silvestru Moldovan, *Zarandul şi Munţii Apuseni ai Transilvaniei*, Sibiu, 1898, p. 228

28. Voir Iuliu Zanne *Proverbele Românilor*, VI, 901, t. 6; voir aussi "Observaţii a

A Reșca-Romanași on parle encore d'un vallon du temps d'Alexandre Macédon.

Une tradition populaire inspirée toujours de l'Alexandria est "Paștele blajinilor"—laquelle, selon les recherches de S.Marian dans son ouvrage *Les fêtes chez les roumains* présenterait certains points de similitude avec l'épisode des Negomudri ²⁹ d' "Alexandria".

De même que le Negomudri qu'Alexandre le Grand découvre dans les parages du Paradis, les "Blajini" sont une peuplade originaire de Sift, le juste fils d'Adam. Ceux-ci se nourrissent seulement de fruits, passent leur vie en prières et habitent aux confins du Paradis. Avant d'exposer l'influence qu'exerce la légende d' "Alexandria" sur l'art, nous voudrions démontrer que la figure d'Alexandre Macédon a pénétré aussi dans les chants de Noël.

Aho, ho, ho,
Réjouissez-vous nobles, rejouissez-vous
De ce grelot donné le jour
de la St.Basile
Réjouissez-vous de la même façon
qu'Alexandre le Grand.³⁰

Beaucoup de scènes de cette légende ont orné souvent les murs de beaucoup d'Églises à côté de tant d'œuvres littéraires qui ont exercé leur influence sur l'art; comme par exemple, le monastère Horez, le lieu de pénitance (Schit) Lainici, ou bien les églises des villages de Doicești et de Pietrosița dans le district Dimbovița. Dans la peinture murale de l'église de Petrosița nous trouvons représentées les figures de Darie, de For et d'Alexandre Macédon, assis au bord de l'enfer, ayant chacun le nom écrit au dessus de sa tête ³¹.

Sans doute, le peintre qui a orné de fresques cette église, s'est inspiré de la littérature d' "Alexandria" ³².

Dans la section d'estampes de l'Académie de P.S.R. on trouve une estampe représentant une scène d' "Alexandria" gravée sur bois en 1798 par le moine Gheorghe Pop. Une scène d' "Alexandria" a été dessinée par Năstase Negruși a Iassy en 1790...

lui Alexandru Popovici; Alexandru Odobescu dans *Les Annales de la Société de l'Académie Roumaine* X (1877), p. 218.

29. Le mot Nagomedri qui se trouve dans les rédactions slaves et roumaines correspond à Βραχμῆνες des plus anciennes rédactions byzantines et a la signification de "sages nus".

30. A. Candrea, Ovid Densusișanu et Th. Speranța *Gratul nostru*, p. 412 et 507.

31. Réproduction en photocopie chez Nicolae Cartoian, I, pl. XIII.

32. Dans *Cărțile poporane ale românilor în sec. al XVI-lea (cuvente den bătrîni)* II, 1879, p. XVIII-XIX.

La popularisation de la légende d' "Alexandria" en Roumanie est due, sans doute, à son contenu, aux adaptations faites par rapport à l'état social politique du pays et à la beauté du langage. Les chercheurs roumains dans ce domaine ont su les mettre en valeur.

C'est à Bodgan P. Hajdeu ³³, à Gaster et à N. Cartoian ³⁴ que revient ce mérite.

Une vue d'ensemble sur les travaux de Gaster et de Hajdeu, a été réalisée par N. Iorga, l'infatigable chercheur du passé du peuple roumain, dans son ouvrage "Livres populaires dans le sud-est de l'Europe et surtout chez les roumains" ³⁵ ou spécialement sur l' "Alexandria" dans son ouvrage: "Phases psychiques et livres représentatifs chez les roumains ayant trait spécialement à la légende "Alexandria" et ses rapports à Michel le Brave" ³⁶.

Vasile Bogrea apporte aussi sa contribution par une étude sur l'onomastique de l' "Alexandria" dans son ouvrage "L'onomastique dans le roman d' Alexandre et dans le roman de Troie" ³⁷.

De nouvelles investigations autour de la légende d' "Alexandria" ont été faites par les professeurs universitaires Dan Simonescu et Chițimia, disciples du prof. N. Cartoian qui ont mis au jour une dernière édition d' "Alexandria" dans: *Livres populaires dans la littérature roumaine*. L'ouvrage est précédé d'une introduction de 40 pages ³⁸.

Nous achevons cette communication invoquant le roman d' "Alexandru Machedon" écrit par notre grand écrivain M. Sadoveanu.

Université de Bucarest

MARIA MARINESCU - HIMOU

33. *La littérature populaire roumaine*, Bucarest, 1883.

34. *Les livres populaires dans la littérature roumaine*, 2 vol. Bucarest, 1929-1939; voir aussi *L'Alexandrie dans la littérature roumaine*, Buc. 1910 de même que *Alexandria în literatura românească*, noi contribuții, Buc. 1822.

35. Dans *Bulletin de la société historique* XIV, Bucarest 1928, p. 7-72.

36. Dans *Annales de l'Académie Roumaine, Mémoires de la section historique*, Tome XXXVII.

37. Voir *Grai și suflet* III, 1927, p. 3-6.

38. Édition soignée et étude d'introduction par Ion C. Chițimia et Dan Simonescu, vol. I, 1963, E.P.L. Le texte de l'Alexandrie se trouve à la page 11-83.

EYPETHPION

ΕΥΡΕΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΩΝ

A

- *Αγη 329.
 *Αγία Παρασκευή (ἐκκλησία 'Εδέσσης) 200.
 *Αγία Τριάς (μονή 'Εδέσσης) 206, 209, 210.
 *Αδματος 'Αλεξάνδρειος 270.
 *Αδμητος Βόκρου Μακεδών 270.
 *Αδριανός (Hadrian) 216, 247, 326.
 *Αθηνά Γλαυκώπις 51.
 *Αθῆναι (Athens, Athènes, Athen) 32, 42, 78-82, 121, 129, 138, 140, 142-145, 253, 262, 267, 297, 298, 301, 305, 326, 335, 341, 414.
 *Αθως (Athos) 111, 329.
 Αλανή Κοζάνης 228, 235, 238.
 Αἰγαί (Aigai, Aegae, Aegai, Aegées) 21, 36, 64, 65, 155-159, 184, 199, 203, 204, 227, 341.
 Αἰλία 'Αλεξάνδρα 285-287.
 Αἰολεῖς 339, 346, 352.
 Αἰολός (Aiolos) 63, 335.
 Αἰτωλοὶ (Aitolians, Aitolier) 270, 271, 276-278.
 *Αλέξανδρος Α' (Alexander I, Alexandre Ier) 24, 25, 28, 29, 31, 33-35, 37, 38, 80, 83, 155, 159, 184, 340, 341.
 *Αλέξανδρος 'Αδμάτειος 270, 272.
 *Αλέξανδρος 'Αδμήτου 270.
 *Αλέξανδρος 'Αδμήτου Μακεδών ἐξ 'Αρκυνίας 269.
 *Αλέξανδρος ὁ Μέγας (Alexander the Great, Alexandre le Grand, Alexander der Grosse) 44, 45, 47-50, 52, 72, 75, 82, 83, 86-108, 110, 119, 122, 123, 135, 136, 138, 156, 159, 161, 163-165, 185, 266, 268-272, 296-298, 310, 311, 321, 326, 327, 353, 388, 393, 395, 404, 416.
 *Αμυδών (Amydon) 27, 334.
 *Αμύντας Γ' (Amyntas III) 42, 87-89, 118, 121, 192, 292.
 *Αμύντας Φιλίππου 79, 82.
 *Αμφίπολις (Amphipolis) 33, 35, 78, 81, 130, 131, 187, 228, 325, 326, 329, 371.
 *Ανδρίσκος (Andriscus) 187, 247, 262, 263, 306.
 *Αντιγονίδαι (Antigonids) 123, 185, 256-258, 267.
 *Αντίγονος Γονατῆς (Antigonos I Gonatas) 123, 124, 126, 129-131, 163, 165, 166, 260, 267, 268, 293, 294, 297.
 *Αντίγονος Δώσων (Antigonos III Doson) 120, 124, 125, 165, 186, 270-272, 276, 292-295, 298, 300, 360, 371.
 *Αξιός (Axios, Axius) 26, 79, 160, 334, 336, 337, 339.
 *Απάμα (Arama) 97.
 *Απόλλων Κιθαρῳδός 182.
 *Απόλλωνες (τοπων. Ρόδου) 344.
 *Απολλωνία (Apollonia) 119, 216, 325, 329.
 *Απολλώνιος ὁ Ρόδιος 345.
 *Αραβυσσός 172, 173, 175, 181, 182.
 *Αργεῖοι (Argives, Argéens) 161, 294.
 *Αργος 'Ορεστικόν (Argos d' Orestide) 158, 186.
 *Αριάγνη Βάστου 196.
 *Αρκαδία (Arcadia) 133, 296, 302, 339.
 *Αρκυνία (Arkynia) 269, 271.
 *Αρσινόειον 112.
 *Αρσινόη (Arsinoe) 47, 52, 112.
 *Αρτεμις (Artemis) 196, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 324, 325, 328, 330, 331, 332.
 *Αρύββας 109.
 *Αρχέλαος Α' (Archelaos, Archélaos) 35, 36, 42, 47, 48, 157, 166, 205, 341.
 *Αρχέστρατος Παρμενίσκου] 139.
 *Άσκρα Βοιωτίας 336.
 *Ατιντανία 187.
 *Άτλας 224.
 *Άττική 178.

Αύγουστος (Augustus) 126, 189, 190, 247, 249.

Αδρήλιος Ἀμιανός 200.

[Αδ]ρήλιος ΕΥΛΟΗ. υἱός Αδρηλ. 200.

Αδρήλιος Ζώσιμος 200.

Αδρήλιος Παράμονος 200.

Αδρήλιος Ρωμανός 195.

Ἀχαιμενίδαι 290.

Ἀχαιοί (Acheans, Achéens, Achæer) 22, 77, 160, 161, 276, 339, 340, 352.

Ἀχιλλεύς (Achille) 339, 344, 345, 387.

B

Βακαρεάτσα 172, 175.

Βακτηρίνη 383.

Βακτρανία 382.

Βαλῖος 345.

Βαλλήναδε 345.

Βαρσίνη (Barsine) 97.

Βαττυναῖοι 187.

Βενετία (Venice) 379, 383, 384, 385, 386.

Βεργίνα (Vergina) 65, 66, 67, 163, 167, 168-171, 204, 313, 315.

Βερενίκη (Berenice, Bérénice) 84, 344, 396.

Βέρμιον (Vermion, Bermium) 27, 156, 184, 203, 204, 337.

Βέροια (Verria, Verroia, Beroea, Beroia) 83, 131, 189, 193, 194, 195, 197, 204, 228, 280, 283, 284, 288, 289, 290, 321, 325, 328, 329, 335.

Βεροιαῖος 185, 282, 285.

Βιὼ Εὐγείτονος 132.

Βλάχος 344, 351.

Βοδενά (Vodhena, Vodhine, Vodena) 61, 158, 199, 200, 201.

Βόιον 184, 351.

Βοιωτία 336.

Βοιωτοί (Boeotians, Böoter) 276, 304, 338.

Βόρας 187, 203, 204.

Βραυρών 182.

Βρύγοι 337, 344.

Βυζάντιον 351.

Γ

Γαλέριος (Galerius) 224, 226, 227, 239, 244, 250, 326.

Γαυάνης 341.

Γεμίνιος Γάιος 195.

Γεντιανός 190.

Γιαννιτσά 172, 182.

Γνώσις 163, 164, 167.

Γορδιανός Γ' (Gordian III) 287, 289, 290, 326.

Γόρτυς (Gortyna) 287, 327.

Γρήια 185.

Δ

Δακία (Dacia) 262, 351.

Δαλματία 216.

Δαναοί 161.

Δαρείος Γ' (Darius, Dareius) 76, 77, 90, 91, 96, 97, 103-108, 310, 357, 367, 368, 369, 385, 388, 393, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 405, 407, 408, 409, 412, 415.

Δασσαρήτιοι 188.

Δερβένι 164.

Δερρίοπος 184, 188.

Δευκαλίων (Deucalion) 63, 335.

Δηιάνειρα (Deianeira) 49, 164.

Δήλος (Delos) 113, 134, 140, 141, 186, 270, 324, 325, 327, 330.

Δημητρίεις 277.

Δημήτριος Φάριος (Demetrius of Pharos) 125, 270, 303.

Διάδοχοι (Diadochs, Diadochen) 47, 48, 110, 166, 267.

Δίος 274.

Διομήτιος Εὐρύδικος 288.

Δίον (Dion, Dium) 37, 39, 132, 282, 298, 310, 321, 340, 341.

Διόνυσος (Dionysus) 40, 41, 163, 164, 340, 345, 358, 359, 361, 362, 365.

Διόσκουροι (Dioscouri, Dioscouri, Dioscouri) 111, 257, 326, 329.

Δίων Πετραίου 278.

Δολιχηνοί 192.

Δρανίτσι 186, 187.

Δρίμες 346.

Δρυοπίς 338.

Δυλίχη 192.

Δυρράχιον 216.

Δωριείς (Dorians, Dorians, Dorer) 153, 160, 161, 170, 171, 338, 339, 341, 342.

Δῶρος (Doros) 63, 337.

Ε

Ἑβρος (Hebrus, Hebros) 30, 83, 84, 85, 113.

Ἑγνατία ὁδός (Via Egnatia) 21, 183, 191, 239, 240, 243, 244, 245, 249, 251.

Ἑδεσσα (Edessa) 21, 64, 65, 155, 156, 158, 183, 193, 199, 200, 203-211, 216, 227, 337.

Εἰσιγένη 329.

Εἰσιδώρα 329.

Εἰσιδώρος (Eisidoros) 329.

Ἐκτεναβός 383.

Ἐλασσών 334.

Ἐλαφοχώριον 112.

Ἐλένη 164.

Ἐλίμεια ἢ Ἐλιμιώτις (Elimeia, Elimée) 34, 161, 184, 185, 187, 189.

Ἐλιμιώται 188, 192.

..ελιος Πεδουκάιος Κάσσανδρος 200.

Ἐλλην 63, 335.

Ἐλλησποντος (Hellespont) 290, 322.

Ἐλίς 196.

Ἐορδαία (Eordée) 160, 161, 184, 188, 192, 343.

Ἐπικράτης Μενάνδρου 202.

Ἐρινεός 338.

Ἑρμῆς (Hermes) 321, 334, 335.

Ἑρμῆς Χθόνιος 321.

Εὔας 270.

Εὐγάμων Κυρηναίος 337.

Εὐμηλος Ἀδμήτου 335.

Εὐπορος 195.

Εὐρυδάμας Μηδείου 268.

Ἐχέλας 48.

Ζ

Ζάκυνθος (Zante) 383, 384, 385.

Ζαλίας Σατύρου 139.

Η

Ἡλιογάβαλος 284.

Ἡλῶνη 334.

Ἡμαθίη ἢ Ἡμαθία (Emathia, Emathie) 65, 155, 160, 161, 216, 334, 335, 346.

Ἡπειρος (Epirus, Epire) 58, 61, 122, 123,

124, 126, 160, 187, 337, 345, 349, 351.

Ἥρα (Hera) 45, 261, 328, 334.

Ἥρα Βοώπις 51, 52.

Ἡράκλεια Θράκης 288.

Ἡράκλεια Λυγκηστική 191.

Ἡρακλίδαι 341.

Ἡρακλείδης Βάστου 196.

Ἡρακλῆς (Heracles, Héracès, Herakles, Hercule) 37, 45, 111, 133, 156, 157, 160, 319, 341, 358, 359, 361, 362, 365.

Θ

Θάσος (Thasos) 78, 79, 130, 178.

Θεόδωρος Ἀριστο... 139.

Θεοφίλη Συμμάχου θυγάτηρ 129.

Θέρμη (Therme) 226, 245, 247.

Θεσπρωτοί 337.

Θεσσαλία ἢ Θετταλία (Thessaly, Thessalie, Thessalien) 63, 160, 169, 170, 265, 269, 271, 276, 278, 297, 298, 327, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 349, 352.

Θεσσαλονίκη (Thessaloniki, Thessalonike Salonike) 131, 132, 187, 194, 203, 224, 226, 227, 239, 243, 244, 245, 247, 251, 270, 271, 287, 321, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333.

Θηβαῖοι (Thebans) 88, 302.

Θήρα (Thera) 282, 327.

Θησεὺς 164.

Θράκες 340.

Θράκη (Thrace) 76-85, 161, 263, 264, 282, 289, 290, 297, 334, 337, 350.

Θυία (Thyia) 38, 63, 335.

Ι

Ἰάσων (Jason) 111, 387.

Ἰησοῦς (Jesus) 327, 328.

Ἰθάκη (Ithaca) 143, 337.

Ἰλιάς (Iliad, Iliade) 21, 48, 63, 77, 102, 160, 334, 335, 336, 386.

Ἰλλυρία (Illyria, Illyrie) 64, 65, 67, 115-126, 160, 170, 187, 188.

Ἰλλύριοι (Illyrians, Illyriens) 68, 75, 82, 115-126, 270, 337.

Ἰουλία Μαμαία 281, 282, 283.

Ἰούλιος [Γ]εοργ[γ]ία 200, 201.

Ἰππόστρατος Ὀξυθέμιδος 268.

Ἰσιὰς 329.

Ἰστιαῖωτις (Istiaiotis) 160, 337.

Ἴωνες 341, 346, 352.

Κ

Κάβειροι (Kabeiroi, Kabiren) 110, 111, 326, 329, 330.

Καδμεῖοι 337.

Καῖμάκ Τσαλάν 203.

Καλλιθέα, συνοικ. Βεροίας 232.

Καλούκι ἢ Καλούπι 172, 173, 178, 181, 182, 183.

Κάρανος (Caranos) 156, 157, 158, 159.

Κάσσανδρος (Cassander, Cassandre) 84, 119, 122, 127, 128, 131, 146, 226, 297, 360, 367, 371, 383, 397.

Κάτω Πράσινος Κῆπος, συνοικ. Βεροίας 228.

Κιναῖθων Λακεδαιμόνιος 337.

Κλαύδιος, αὐτοκρ. 186, 326.

Κλαύδιος Μένων Μακεδονάρχης (Claudius Meno) 198, 199.

Κλαύδιος Πλωτεῖνος 198, 199.

Κλαύδιος Φαβρίκιος 195.

Κλεοφῶν 340.

Κορίνθιοι 338.

Κουφάλια 183.

Κρατεύας 343.

Κρατερὸς (Craterus, Crateros) 99, 100, 370.

Κτεναβὸς 383.

Κυδίας, ἱερεὺς 128.

Κυκλάδες 178.

Κύμη (Μ. Ἀσίας) 339.

Κυνὸς Κεφαλῆαι (Cynoscephalae, Cynoscephalae) 186, 302, 304.

Κύπρος 339, 344-346, 348.

Κύρρος 183.

Λ

Λ...ΕΑΣ Ἐπικράτους 202.

Λεωφόρος (ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ) 240.

Λοχία, ἐπίθ. Ἰσιδος 332.

Μ

Μᾶ 199, 206, 213.

Μάγνης (Magnes) 63, 335.

Μάγνητες (Magnetes) 63, 335.

Μαξιμίνος Θράξ 282.

Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος Γορδιανὸς 285, 286.

Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος Σεβήρος Ἀλέξανδρος 281, 282, 283.

Μένανδρος Ἐπικράτους 202.

Μένδη (Mende) 129.

Μεσοποταμία (Mesopotamia) 289, 366.

Μήδειος, δυνάστης ἐν Λαρίσῃ 268.

Μήδειος Εὐρυδάμαντος 268.

Μήδειος Ἱστορικός 268.

Μήδειος Ὁξυθέμιδος 268.

Μίεζα 204.

Μί[κρ]ος [Θε]υθέμιος 265, 266.

Μίκυθος Παρ[μενί]ωνος 269.

Μοισία 280, 289.

Μπραῖνάτες 198.

Μύλασα 287.

Ν

Νάουσα 203, 204.

Νεκτεναβὸς (Nektenabos) 383, 385.

Νεοπέρσαι 289.

Νέστος (Nestos) 112, 322.

Νίκαια Βιθυνίας 283.

Νικάνωρ Ἐπικράτους 202.

Νίκη Σαμοθράκης 110, 112.

Νύμφη (Nymphe) 319, 332.

Νωρικὸν 289.

Ξ

Ξενοκλῆς 340.

Ο

Ὀδυσσεάς 337.

Ὀλοοσσῶν 334.

Ὀλύμπια ἐν Δίῳ, ἐν Βεροίῃ 39, 288, 289.

Ὀλυμπιάς (Olympias) 45, 49, 109, 110, 355, 359, 360, 370-373, 383.

Ὀλυμπος (Olympus, Olymp, Olympre) 39, 41, 65, 160, 161, 265, 334, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340.

Ὀλύνθιοι (Olynthians) 88, 89.

Ὀλυνθος (Olynthos, Olynthus, Olynthe) 73, 81, 83, 113, 114, 127, 133, 134, 137, 138, 165, 252-255, 308, 309, 310, 314, 320, 353.

Ὁξύθεμις Ἱπποστράτου 268.
 [Ὁξύθεμις Μηδείου] 268.
 Ὀρέσται (Orestae, Orestiens) 58, 156,
 160, 187, 190, 337.
 Ὀρεστis (Orestis, Orestide) 20, 160, 161,
 184, 185, 186, 187, 188.
 Ὀρφεὺς (Orpheus) 41, 340.
 Ὄς, τοπωνύμιον 172.
 Ὄσ(ε)ιρις (Osiris) 327, 331, 332.
 Ὄσσα (Ossa) 160, 337.
 Οὐαλεριανὴ Ἀμμία 282, 283, 284.
 Οὐαλεριανὸς Φιλόξενος 282, 283, 284.
 Οὐαλέριος Ἐκλεκτός 288.

Π

Παγασαί (Pagasae) 143, 182.
 Πάικον 172, 175.
 Παίονες (Paeonians, Paionen, Paeoniens)
 25, 26, 30, 42, 82, 160, 322, 334.
 Παλαιόκαστρο Γιαννιτσῶν 173, 181, 182,
 183.
 Παλλήνη (Pallene) 127, 129, 345.
 Παναγία Κυριώτισσα, ἐκκλησία ἐν Βε-
 ροίᾳ 195.
 Πάνημος 197, 282, 283, 286, 287.
 Παννονία 289.
 Πάντανος Συμμάχου Ἱππολυτεὺς 129.
 Παπποῦνι 193.
 Παρμενίων (Parmenion) 96, 105, 107,
 118, 269, 270, 343.
 Παρμενίων Μικύθου 270.
 Πελαγόνες (Pelagones) 58, 187, 337.
 Πελαγονία (Pelagonia) 53, 58, 61, 67,
 184, 187, 188.
 Πέλλα (Pella) 36, 42, 49, 50, 73, 130, 162-
 167, 182, 183, 193, 203, 220, 227, 292,
 321, 341, 371.
 Πελλαῖος 185.
 Πελοπόννησος (Peloponnesos, Pélopon-
 nèse, Peloponnes, Peloponnese) 61, 81,
 156, 158, 159, 160, 161, 276, 292, 293,
 294, 297, 302, 338, 345, 347.
 Περδίκκας Α' (Perdiccas I) 341.
 Περδίκκας Β' (Perdiccas II) 27, 34, 35, 38,
 39, 78, 79, 80, 116, 117, 184.
 Περδίκκας ἑταῖρος Μ. Ἀλεξάνδρου 93,
 99, 100, 267, 354, 355, 371, 397.

Περδίκκας Κοίνου (Perdiccas Koinou)
 127, 128.
 Περεΐτιος 196.
 Περσεὺς (Perseus) 112, 120, 125, 147, 148,
 154, 187, 270, 291, 297, 304.
 Πετραῖος (Petraios) 278.
 Πήλιον (Pelion) 119, 335.
 Πηνειὸς 335.
 Πιερία (Pieria, Piérie, Piérien) 21, 24, 41,
 78, 318, 334, 335, 336, 337, 339.
 Πιέρια 340.
 Πιερίδες Μοῦσαι 336.
 Πίνδος (Pindus, Pinde) 20, 22, 27, 30, 156,
 160, 161, 205, 337, 338, 349, 351.
 Πίος Ἀἴλιος Ἐπίκτητος 197.
 Πόπλιος Κλώδιος 191.
 Ποσειδῶν (Poseidon) 322, 335.
 Πραξιτέλης Κλέωνος 139.
 Πρόθους 335.
 Πτολεμαῖος (Ptolemy, Ptolemaios) 65, 93,
 97-99, 267, 346, 353, 371.
 Πύδνα (Pydna) 27, 78, 113, 114, 127, 291,
 297, 304.
 Πυραΐχμης 334.

Ρ

Ραγώνιος Βένουστος 286.
 Ραιτία 289.
 Ρόδος (Rhodes) 143, 282, 304, 344, 345,
 346, 348.
 Ροτόντα Ἀγίου Γεωργίου (Rotunda),
 Θεσσαλονίκη 226, 239, 244, 250.
 Ρώμη (Rome, Rom) 126, 149, 150, 151,
 152, 186, 188, 189, 190, 263, 291, 292,
 293, 295, 296, 297, 299, 302, 303, 304,
 305, 306, 307, 322, 326, 410.
 Ρωξάνη (Roxane) 355, 371, 372, 387,
 388, 397, 401.

Σ

Σαμοθράκη (Samothrace) 109-114, 141,
 332.
 Σασσανίδαι 290.
 Σέλευκος (Seleucus) 93, 99.
 Σεμίραμις (Semiramis) 374, 379-381.
 Σέξτος Ποπίλλιος Λυκῖνος 197.
 Σεραπίδης 329.

Σευήρος Ἀλέξανδρος 284.
 Σικελία (Sicily) 17, 351.
 Σουήτριος Σαβεινός 286.
 Σοῦσα (Susa) 91, 92, 95-99, 397.
 Στάτειρα (Stateira) 96, 97, 388, 389, 396-400.
 Σταυρούπολις (Ξάνθος) 112.
 Στραγγάλης, Στράγγαλος, Στραγγάλος 383.
 Συμμαχία Συμμάχου Μενδίου θυγάτηρ 129.
 Συρία (Syrien) 322, 380.
 Σύρος Βάστου 196.

Τ

Τημενίδαι (Temenidae, Téménides) 64, 67, 156, 159, 160, 338.
 Τήμενος (Téménos) 156, 157, 159, 160.
 [Τι]μάνθης Πολυζήλου 139.
 Τιμησίας (Timesias) 128.
 Τραϊανός 192.
 Τροιζήνιοι 338.
 Τρῶες 334, 335.
 Τσάκωνες 339, 341.
 Τυφαία 187.

Υ

Ὑπερβερεταίος (Hyperberetaios) 273, 274, 373.

Φ

Φαλλήν 345.

Φαρσάλιοι 277.
 Φέρης 335.
 Φθία (Phthia) 123, 339.
 Φίλα Ἐπικράτους 202.
 Φίλα Μένωνος 202.
 Φιλήμων Ἀδμήτου Θεσσαλονικεὺς 270.
 Φίλιππος Β' (Philip II, Philippe II) 31, 34, 43, 49, 64, 68-75, 80, 81, 82, 83, 88, 89, 101, 102, 104, 105, 117-119, 121-126, 131, 136, 138, 161, 184, 185, 265, 291, 292, 296-298, 301, 302, 307, 308, 341, 364, 371, 409.
 Φίλιππος Ε' (Philip V, Philippe V) 109, 110, 112, 116, 119, 120, 125, 126, 147-154, 186, 246, 247, 265, 270, 271, 272-278, 295, 296, 298, 299, 300, 302-304, 326, 385.
 Φίλιππος Ἀδμήτου Μακεδόν 270.
 Φίλιππος Ἀρριδαῖος (Philip Arridaeus) 112, 113, 371.
 Φιλόκλεια Λυσικράτου 132.
 Φλαύιος Ἀ[ρ]δύος 197.
 Φόρβας 164.
 Φοῦριος Τιμησίθεος 289, 290.
 Φρύγες 344.

Χ

Χαλκιδική (Chalcidice, Chalcidique, Chalcidiki) 78, 79, 81, 83, 130, 252, 253, 297, 325, 341, 352.
 Χάρων 343.
 Χρυσόγονος (Chrysogonos) 272, 278.

Α

Abaiokritos aus Theben 271.
 Aboukir 288, 289.
 Acarnania, Acarnanian 119, 124, 295, 298.
 Achaea 292, 293, 295, 299-302, 304, 306.
 Achaea Phthiotis 139.
 Acrim - Tatar 411.
 Acrocorinth 293, 295, 298, 300, 302.
 Adaeus, Macedonian poet 39.

Admetos in Gonnos 271.
 Adriatic 295.
 Aeacus 45.
 Aegyptis 292.
 Aemilius Paulus 256.
 Aërope (Aëropos) 49, 75.
 Aetolia, Aetoler 123-125, 127, 148-150, 152, 153, 295, 298, 299.

- Agamemnon 48, 77.
 Agathokles von Syrakus 267.
 Aghia Sophia (Thessaloniki) 239, 243.
 Agriens 82.
 Agron 119, 120, 123, 124.
 Ägypten 322.
 Aigisthos 48.
 Ainianen 153.
 Akarnanen 276.
 Akmetos 271.
 Akrisios 46.
 Alcétas 78.
 Aleuaden 266, 268.
 Alexander II 118, 121, 123, 124.
 Alexander IV 371, 372.
 Alexander Aëropou 72, 74, 75.
 Alexandria (Alexandrie) 310, 327, 329, 376, 407, 408, 409, 410.
 Alexicratos 51.
 Alipheira 295.
 Altamos 411.
 Amadokos 81.
 Amenophis II 50.
 Ammarna 50.
 Ammia 198.
 Ammon 365, 372, 374.
 Amphaxiotide 78.
 Amphiareion 68, 71.
 Amphictyonic Council 136.
 Amyntas I 25, 117.
 Amyntas Antiochou 72, 73.
 Amyntas (bematist) 369.
 Amyntas Perdicca 68-75.
 Amyot 390, 391, 403.
 Anankippos 278.
 Anaximenes of Lampsacus 31.
 Androbolos 127, 128.
 Andros 327, 331.
 Annicus 254.
 Anoubion 329.
 Anteia (Antheia) 49, 331.
 Anthemus 28, 329.
 Antigoneia 131.
 Antigonid House 120.
 Antiochus II 308.
 Antiochus III of Syria 303, 308.
 Antiochus IV 308.
 Antiochus VII 308.
 Antipatros (Antipater) 72, 121, 122, 128, 267, 269, 297, 354, 355, 360, 363, 364, 371.
 Antoine 392.
 Antoninus Pius 326.
 Anubis 141, 321, 327, 328, 331.
 Apelles 272.
 Aphareus 46.
 Aphidna in Attica 61.
 Aphrodite 328.
 Aphrodite Omonoia 331.
 Aphrodite Zeiren 321.
 Aphytis 325.
 Apollo (Appollo, Appollon) 151, 156, 157, 321, 325.
 Apollo Pythian 18, 26, 41.
 Apollodorus 130.
 Aratus 293, 294, 298, 300, 303.
 Araxe 399.
 Arbela 366.
 Archidamus 253, 254.
 Archion Dionysiou Kassandreos thygater 145.
 Ardiaioi 122, 124.
 Arethusa 40.
 Argaios 73, 117.
 Argeadae (Argéades) 20, 37, 45, 64, 65, 67, 89, 155, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161.
 Argos 64, 67, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 292, 293, 297, 299.
 Ariapeithès 77.
 Aricie 394.
 Aristaenus 299, 300, 302, 305.
 Aristobulus 90, 94, 135, 136, 137, 138, 353.
 Aristodemos 144.
 Aristomedes 73, 74.
 Ariston 253, 254.
 Aristonoos 278.
 Arrhabaeus 117.
 Artaxerxes III 104, 105.
 Artemis Bloureitis 321.
 Artemis Digaia 194.
 Artemis of Ephesus 331.
 Artemis Gazoreitis 321.
 Artemon 144.

Asclepiodorus 254.
 Askalphos of Orchomenos 46.
 Asklepios, Asklepieion 312, 328.
 Assyrien 407.
 Astéropée 160.
 Astibo 322.
 Atalante 49.
 Athena Alkidemos 321.
 Atreus 46, 48.
 Attalus 48, 105, 142, 295.
 Axiane 406.

B

Babylon 50, 358.
 Babylonians 359.
 Bacchiadae 67.
 Bacchus 325.
 Bacchylides 38.
 Bactria 357, 361, 366, 368, 374, 383.
 Baeton 369, 370.
 Bardylis 118, 119, 121, 126.
 Bassarab Neagoe, Voivode 408.
 Bassarab Nicolas Alexandre 411.
 Belbinatis 292.
 Berga 33.
 Berisades 73.
 Béroë 83.
 Bisaltæ 25, 28, 29, 32, 33.
 Bisaltie 78, 83.
 Bogrea Vasile 416.
 Boiotian League 74, 134.
 Bottiaea 21.
 Bottiaeans 46.
 Boubalos 133.
 Boubares 25.
 Boucephales (Boucephalas) 51, 385.
 Brasidas 117.
 Brennus 298.
 Brescia 251.
 Briséis 387.
 Bylazora 322.

C

Cabul Valley 367.
 Cabylè 83.
 Callatis 84.
 Callicrates 305.

Callipolis 82.
 Callisthenes (Callisthènes) 353, 367, 372, 374, 407.
 Callixeinus 311.
 Cannæ 274.
 Caracalla 326.
 Caria 124.
 Carthage 305.
 Carthea 134.
 Caspian Gates 359, 366, 368, 369.
 Cassandreia (Cassandra) 127-146, 327.
 Cassia Eisis Copia 329.
 Cassiodorus 258.
 Cauvigny, François de 391.
 Celto-Mycenaean Culture 51.
 Celts 18, 122.
 Ceos 134.
 Cercidas 292.
 Cerna Reka 53.
 César 392.
 Chaeronea 292, 297, 306.
 Chairemon von Nysa 277.
 Chaironeia 74.
 Chalcidic League 35, 42, 74, 118, 121.
 Chalcis 302.
 Chares 90, 91, 99, 100.
 Charidemus 96.
 Chlaeneas 296, 297.
 Choerilus 39.
 Cimon 33, 78.
 Claudius Gothius 326.
 Claudius Pierion 198.
 Cleitarchus 353, 354, 362.
 Cleitus 119, 367.
 Cléofile 388, 389, 406.
 Cleomenes III of Sparta 292, 294, 295.
 Cleopatra 360.
 C. Octavius Appius Suertius Sabinus 287.
 Coele Syria 366.
 Commodus 326.
 Condé, Prince de 387, 391, 402.
 Constantin Cantacuzène 412.
 Constantin Porphyrogénète 157.
 Corcyra 118.
 Corinth 292, 293, 300, 302, 311, 312.
 Cos 129, 130, 131, 135, 136.
 Cosseans 366.

Costin Nicolae 412.
 Cotys 1^{er} 81.
 Créstonie 78, 83.
 Crnobuki 53.
 Ctesias of Knidus 362, 369, 370, 373, 374.
 Cynane 360, 371.

D

Damasippus from Pella 258.
 Damis 331.
 Danube 30, 262.
 Dardanian 120.
 Darius I 25.
 Darius Codomannus 307.
 Darron 321.
 Deinon 304.
 Delphi (Delphes) 18, 26, 134, 138, 139,
 140, 147, 151, 152, 156, 298, 327, 373.
 Demaratus 101, 102.
 Demetrias, 130, 302.
 Demetrius I 119, 297, 304.
 Demetrius II 119, 120, 123, 124, 126, 194,
 267, 268, 269, 270, 278, 293.
 Demetrius of Phalerum 291.
 Demetrius Poliorcetes 311, 312.
 Dicaeus 254.
 Diocletian 245, 326.
 Diomedes 46.
 Dionysios Noumeniou 142.
 Dionysos Balen or Sauadios 321.
 Dobrača 66.
 Dodona 66, 298, 373, 374.
 Doicești 415.
 Domitian 326.
 Donaurum 322.
 Dorimachos 278.
 Drabescos 78.
 Dragusan on J Codru 411.
 Driopide 160.
 Dromichaithès 84.
 Dyme 299.
 Dysoron 28, 78.

E

Ebryzelmis 84.
 Edonians 27, 30, 33.
 Edonis 78.
 Egypt 303, 314, 324, 325, 327, 332, 366,

374.

Eion 33, 76, 78.
 Eisidoros 329.
 Eisidotos 329.
 Elatea in Phocis 61.
 Elis 295.
 Ennéa Hodoi 78.
 Empedocles 253.
 Eordaicus River 119.
 Eordoi (Eordéens) 21, 156, 160.
 Ephestion 388.
 Ephorion 156.
 Epidamnus 34, 119.
 Epidaurus 134, 312, 313, 314.
 Epirotes (Epiroten) 20, 116, 119, 276.
 Epistrophos of Phocis 46.
 Eretria 143, 325, 327, 329.
 Euboea 327.
 Eudoridas 254.
 Eukleidas, König von Sparta 270.
 Eumenes 48, 97, 98, 99.
 Euphrates 106.
 Eurydamas 268.
 Eurydice 118, 371.
 Eusebius 159.
 Evant 413, 414.

F

Fasian India 358, 361.
 Fasis 358, 359.
 Félibien 402, 404, 405.
 Ferrier Louis 391.
 Flamininus 299.
 Fortuna Primigenia 251.
 Forum (Philippi) 251.
 Frano Prendi 58.

G

Gaius Caligula 326, 332.
 Gaius Publilius 256, 257.
 Galatian 298.
 Galba 326.
 Gallienus 326.
 Ganges 359, 361.
 Gaster 416.
 Gaugamela 104, 107.
 Gauls 18, 43, 44.

Gaultier de Coste de la Calptenède 399.
 Genthius 120, 125.
 Germans 23.
 Gigon 321.
 Glaucias 119, 122.
 Gonnos 265, 266, 269, 270, 271, 273, 278.
 Gorpaios 274.
 Grabus 34, 119, 121.
 Granicus 366.
 Graphicus 201.
 Gygaea 25.

H

Haghios Mamas 133.
 Haliacmon 34, 61, 63.
 Halys 104.
 Hannibal 274, 295.
 Harpalos 194.
 Harpocrates 329, 331.
 Harpocraton 144.
 Hébreux 407.
 Hekate 324.
 Helenus 123.
 Hellenic League 29.
 Hémus 84.
 Hephaestion (Héphestion) 91, 92, 93, 96, 99, 401, 404.
 Héracléa Sintica 82, 83.
 Heraca 295.
 Heraion 312.
 Herakleion 37.
 Hermanubis 331.
 Hermione 293.
 Herodes 36.
 Heropythos Hero 132.
 Hetaireios Zeus 321.
 Heteg, Sinpietru de 408.
 Hippolytos (Hippolytus, Hippolyte) 129, 394, 395.
 Hippostratos 267.
 Histiaea 38.
 Huniedoara 408.
 Huns 127.
 Hydaspis (Hydaspes) 135, 368.
 Hyginus 40, 157.
 Hypanis 135.

Hyperberetas 321.
 Hyrcania 366, 367.

I

Ialmenos 46.
 Icaros 46.
 Idomeneus 46.
 India 355, 356, 357, 359, 361, 367, 370, 371, 374.
 Indian 135.
 Indischer Ozean 322.
 Indus 266.
 Iolaos 267.
 Iran 366, 367.
 Iseum 326, 329.
 Isiac Rites 326.
 Isidora Aurelia 329.
 Isidorianus Aurelius Isidorus 329.
 Isidorus Aurelius 329.
 Isis 141, 324, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333.
 Isis Orgia 331.
 Isis Pharia 331.
 Isis Servilia 329.
 Issos (Issus) 104, 106, 393, 398.
 Istros 84.
 Italy 17.

J

Judée 409.
 Julius Caesar 247.
 Julius Valerius 356.

K

Kakavi 61.
 Kallikrates 137, 138.
 Karanos 321.
 Karpaia 23.
 Kassandrus 135, 143.
 Kea in Ceos 61.
 Ken - Amoun 50.
 Kersebleptès 82.
 Kisseus 157, 160.
 Kleomenes 270.
 Klodones 24.
 Klytaimnestra 49.

Knossos 49.
 Kokkonas 49.
 Kolophon 268.
 Koritsa 58.
 Kretzulescou (église) 411.
 Kseria Valley 61.
 Kurgan 58, 61, 64, 67.
 Kynadas 321.

L

Laconia 297, 298.
 La Fontaine 399.
 Lagides 47.
 Larisa 265, 266, 268, 270, 273, 274, 275,
 276, 277, 278.
 Leades 252, 254.
 Lebadeia 68, 71, 73.
 Lebaea 64, 65.
 Le Brun 402, 403, 404, 405.
 Leo of Naples, Archpriest 355, 360.
 Léon archevêque de Naples 407.
 Leonatus 397, 398, 399.
 Leonidas 299.
 Leonippos 277.
 Lerna 312.
 Leuctra 302.
 Leukippos 46.
 Levaia 160.
 Lilaea 142.
 Lisimachus 401.
 Lissus 120.
 Livy 193, 257.
 Lochia 330.
 Locris 300.
 Lokrer 153.
 Loucanis 386.
 Loudias 41.
 Louis XIV (le Grand) 387, 394, 401, 406.
 Lucius Fulcinnus 257.
 Lycaea 133.
 Lyciscus the Acarnanian 296, 297, 298, 299.
 Lyncus (Lynchus) 34, 64, 65, 117.

M

Mäander 268, 269.
 Machaon 48.
 Machaon of Trikke 46.

Magnesia 268, 269, 270.
 Makedôn (Makedon) 21, 23, 38, 63.
 Malik 58, 63.
 Malthi in Messenia 61.
 Mardonius 25.
 Margus 293.
 Mars 387.
 Marsyas 21.
 Mati 63, 66.
 Mati Valley 61.
 Médée 387.
 Medeon 119, 124.
 Megaleas 272.
 Megisti Lavra 329.
 Meliteia 268.
 Memnon 82.
 Memphis 331.
 Ménélaios 78.
 Menis 127.
 Menylla 141.
 Mesiones 46.
 Messene 295, 298, 303.
 Messinia (Messenia) 46, 302.
 Metellus Macedonicus 256, 263.
 Meteora 380, 385.
 Methone 24, 35.
 Metochi 194.
 Michel le Brave 408, 416.
 Miletus 244.
 Miltiade 77.
 Mimalones (Mimallones) 24, 321.
 Mithidrates VI 277.
 Moichopolis 83.
 Moldavie 408, 409, 410.
 Molossians (Molossern) 20, 45, 46, 51, 58,
 121, 123, 124, 126,
 Monastir 58.
 Monunius 119.
 Mummius 256.
 Mycenae, Mycenaean 38, 61, 168, 170, 171.
 Mygdonia 27.

N

Nabis of Sparta 301.
 Nagromudes 413.
 Naue II 169.
 Nartakion 268.

Naupactus (Naupaktos) 127, 274, 277, 278.
 Neapolis 327.
 Nearchus 98, 99, 100, 353, 374.
 Nebukadnezar 50, 51.
 Negoe 412.
 Negruși Năstasse 415.
 Neleus 46.
 Neoptolemos 46.
 Nerva 198.
 Nestor 48.
 Netinau 409, 410.
 Nicophanes 292.
 Nidhri 61.
 Nikostratos 141.
 Nikostratos von Larissa 147, 150, 151.
 Nile 327, 330, 331, 332.
 Nymphodōros d'Abdère 78.

O

Octamasadès 77.
 Odessos 84.
 Odomanti 25.
 Odryses 77.
 Olbia 245.
 Olympia 132, 313.
 Olympiade 159, 410.
 Olympie 155.
 Olympichus 254.
 Omphale 387.
 Onesicritus 353.
 Opis 93.
 Optičare 53.
 Orchomenus 295.
 Oroondate 396, 397, 399, 400.
 Oropos 71, 73, 134.
 Orthopolis 82.
 Otho emperor 326.
 Oxyrhynchus 325.
 Oxythemis 266, 267.

P

Palatine 326.
 Palatitsa 65.
 Pan 260.
 Panagia ton Chalkeon, Thessaloniki 251.
 Panormos 278.
 Pantanos 129.

Pantheon 321.
 Papoulia 61.
 Parisatis (Parysatis) 399, 401.
 Pautalia 195.
 Pazhok 61.
 Pelias 46.
 Pelops 48.
 Pelusium 329.
 Penthilos 47.
 Perachora 310, 311, 312.
 Perdiccas III (Perdikkas) 42, 68, 69, 81, 118, 121.
 Pergamum 130.
 Pericles 33, 37, 38.
 Peristeria 61.
 Perrault Charles 402.
 Perrhäbien 265.
 Persia (Perse) 77, 104, 108, 298, 387.
 Persians (Perses) 76, 359, 362, 407, 412.
 Persida 407.
 Pheidon 156.
 Philae 332.
 Philaina Kassandritis 145.
 Philaino Kleitomachou Kassandritis 145.
 Philip I 78, 79.
 Philip of Thessaloniki 331.
 Philippi 131, 251, 324, 325, 327, 329, 330.
 Philippopolis 82, 83, 84.
 Philocles 300.
 Philopoimen 272, 293, 305.
 Philotas 367.
 Phlius 293.
 Phocians (Phocéens, Phoker) 83, 276, 298.
 Phocis (Phocide) 136, 137, 138.
 Phthiotis 139.
 Pieres 21.
 Pietrosita 415.
 Pisistratus (Pisistrate) 32, 77.
 Plataea 26.
 Pleuratus 295.
 Podaleirios 46, 48.
 Polyaratus 304.
 Polyen 80.
 Polyxenus 254.
 Ponéropolis 83.
 Por 409.

Porodin 53, 61.
 Porus 107, 357, 358, 361, 366, 368, 369, 406.
 Poseidippus 140.
 Potidaea (Potidée) 78, 79, 127, 132, 137.
 Pradon 394, 395, 397, 398.
 Praeneste 251.
 Prahova 411.
 Prilep 58.
 Procopius 127.
 Proitus 46.
 Propontide 84.
 Pseudanor 321.
 Ptolemy V 303, 304.
 Ptolemy Ceraunus 119, 298.
 Ptolemy Philadelphus 310, 311, 315.
 Pyanepsion 104.
 Pylos in Elis 61.
 Pyrenées 402.
 Pyrrhos (Pyrrhus) 46, 48, 50, 51, 119, 123.

R

Recica 414, 415.
 Resca 414, 415.
 Rhenia 270.
 Rhodope 77.
 Rocroi 401.
 Rouxandra 410.
 Russia 329.

S

Sabazius 23.
 Sadalas 84.
 Sadocos 80.
 Saint Demetrius, Thessaloniki 243, 246.
 Salamis 26, 267.
 Same in Cephalenia 61.
 Samikon in Elis 61.
 Samon 51.
 Samos 268.
 Sarapion 329.
 Sarapis 141.
 Sardis 360.
 Sauadai 24, 321.
 Scaptésylè 78.
 Scerdilaidas 120, 125, 295.
 Scipion 392.

Scipion Aemilianus 258, 304.
 Sciritis 292.
 Scodra 122, 125.
 Scythian 399, 401.
 Se[lius] Ragonius Venustus 287.
 Selene 324, 329.
 Seleucids 308.
 Sellasia (Selasia) 120, 270, 272, 295, 301.
 Seneca 39.
 Serapeion (Serapeum) 239, 246, 250, 324, 325, 326, 330, 331, 332.
 Serapis 326, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333.
 Seres 359.
 Sérvia 61.
 Seuthès 79, 80, 81, 82, 84.
 Seuthopolis 84.
 Seville 329.
 Shapor I 290.
 Sicyon 299.
 Silvanus 329.
 Simonescou 416.
 Simos 268.
 Sinai Mt. 380.
 Sintier 322.
 Sisigambis (Sysigambis) 398, 399, 400, 401, 404.
 Sitalcès 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82.
 Siwah 365, 372, 373, 374.
 Skydra 321.
 Smyrna, Old 245.
 Sophocles the Phocian 135, 136, 138.
 Sosibios Dionysiou Kassandreus 144, 145.
 Sparadocos 79.
 Sparta 42, 160, 278, 292, 295-297, 299, 302, 305, 306.
 Spartans 297, 298.
 Split 245.
 Sredna Gora 84.
 Starčevo 53, 58.
 Sthenelos 46.
 Štip 322.
 Stobi 326.
 Straton 254.
 Stratonice 79.
 Strepsa 32, 33.
 Strymon 26, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 78, 79, 82, 160, 322.

T

Talantini 119, 122.
 Tatares 411.
 Tegea 297.
 Telesias 23.
 Telesphorus 328.
 Tempe, Vale of 37.
 Tenedos 104.
 Térès 77, 82, 84.
 Teuta 120.
 Thaulos 321.
 Thebes 42, 74, 75, 272, 277, 297, 298, 310.
 Théodosie 412.
 Theos Hypsistos 328, 332.
 Thermaic Gulf 28, 32, 35, 327.
 Thermopyles 79.
 Thermum 297.
 Thessaler 147, 151, 153, 275, 276, 278.
 Thessalonike (sister of Alexander the Great) 360.
 Thourides 321.
 Thyestes 46.
 Tiberius 326.
 Timarchus 254.
 Timotheus (Timothee) 39, 81.
 Tithorea 327.
 Titus 326.
 Totoës 321.
 Transylvania (Transylvanie) 261, 408, 414.
 Triballi 42.
 Triphylia 295.
 Troade 414.
 Troizen 312, 313.
 Trophonios 69, 73, 74.
 Troy (Troie) 47, 48, 77, 160, 169, 171, 416.
 Tsepicovo 58.

Tyndareos 46.
 Tyros 107, 270.

V

Vallachie 408.
 Vardar valley 53.
 Veles 322.
 Vénus 387.
 Vespasian 326.
 Vitellius 326.
 Volos 143, 265.

W

Wallachia, Wallachian 25, 63, 261.

X

Xandos 23.
 Xenophon of Ephesus 331.
 Xerxes (Xerxès) 18, 26, 28, 34, 44, 63, 76, 299.
 Xouthos 63.

Y

Yginus 40, 46, 157.

Z

Zenos 383, 384, 385, 386.
 Zerand 414.
 Zeus 38, 45, 47.
 Zeus Ammon 325.
 Zeus Epiphanes 333.
 Zeus Hetaireios 321.
 Zeus Hetairides 23.
 Zeus Hypsistos 199, 201.
 Zeus Stratios 321.
 Zeuxis of Heraclea 39.

ΕΥΡΕΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΛΕΞΕΩΝ

Α

ἀγγεῖα μελαμβροφῇ 232.
 ἀγορά (forum) Θεσσαλονίκης 224, 226,
 239, 243, 246, 249, 250, 251.
 ἄγχαρμον 342.
 Ἀλεξάνδρεια (τὰ) 289.
 Ἀλεξάνδρεια Ὀλύμπια (τὰ) 288.
 ἀμαροῦχτος 348.
 ἀμφορεῖς ὀξυπύθμενοι 182.
 ἀριστοι 97.
 ἀρχαιονοχός 50.
 ἀσπίς μακεδονική 271.

Β

βαλανεῖον 238.
 βάσιος 344.
 βαλλίον 345.
 βέδυ 337.
 βελόνι (κοπέα) 178.
 βηματιστής 369, 370.
 βράγκος 344.
 βριμάσθαι 345.
 βρίμη 346.

Γ

γάβρο (τὸ) 350.
 γῆς ἔγκτησις 275.
 γλαφτήρι 348.
 γρουσός 344.

Δ

δαιμονοβλάβεια 306.
 δοκιοῦμαι 352.
 δρέφω 344.
 δρόμος Ὀσείριδι 331.
 δώραξ 344.

Ε

ἐγκτησις γῆς 275.
 ἐθνη 147-150.

ἐθνος Δωρικόν 63, 160.
 ἐθνος Λυγκηστῶν 188.
 ἐθνος Μακεδνόν 160.
 ἐλεύθερος 187.
 ἐπαρχικός 187.
 ἐπέτης 195.
 ἐπικόπανον 178.
 ἐπήκοος 332.
 ἐσχάροι 181.
 ἐταῖροι 22, 30, 31, 64, 86, 102, 266, 346.

Η

ἡγεμῶν 271, 295.
 θεοὶ ἀδελφοὶ 47, 52.
 θροοῦμαι 350.
 ἵππόδρομος (Θεσσαλονίκης) 227, 245, 250.

Κ

κάνθαρος 182.
 καρχαρόδους 343.
 κεραμίδες 165, 167, 187, 209.
 κέραμος 165.
 κεραμώσεις κορινθιακαὶ 165.
 κῆποι τοῦ Μίδα 21, 205.
 κοινὰ 185, 186.
 κοινὴ 37, 347, 350.
 κοινὸν Ἀμφικτυόνων 148.
 κοινὸν Ὀρεστῶν 186, 188.
 κολαπτῆρ 348.
 κοπέα (βελόνι) 178.

Λ

λατομεῖον 173-175, 178, 181, 183.
 λεκανίδες 164.
 λιθαγωγία 181.
 λύχνος 232.

Μ

μάζω 348.
 Μερίδες 189, 190.
 μιλιάρια (Ἐορδαίας, Λυγκηστίδος) 191,
 192.

μπάλκος 345.
μπλάζω 348.
μυστήρια Καβείρια (ἐν Σαμοθράκη) 111,
113.

Ξ

ξένος τῆς οἰκίας 102.

Ο

«οἰκία» τῶν ἐταίρων 89.
Ὀκτάγωνον (Θεσσαλονίκης) 226, 245.

Π

πανήγυρις (ἐν Δίῳ) 310.
παταγώννομαι 348.
πατρός (ἐταῖρος, φίλος) 101.
πελίκη 164.
περόνη 232.
πετ[ευρ]ετής 195, 196.
πόλεις 147, 148, 150.
πολιτεία (δημοκρατική, συνεδριακή) 188.
πολυβῶται 50.
πολύρρηνοι 50.
ποὺς 178.
πετ[ρυν]ιστής 195.
πτόλεμος 346.
πύλη Χρυσή (ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη) 249, 250.

Σ

σαυτορία 343.
σηστέριος 190.
σίγυννος 347.
σίμαι 165, 166, 167.
στλεγίς 232.
στοὰ Incantadas ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη 226.

Α

Amphiktyonie 148-154.
andrones 310.
aniketos 373.
anomos 332.
apotheosis 47.
arch of Galerius (Thessaloniki) 239, 244,
250, 326.

στρωτήρ 209.

Τ

τάλαντον 189.
τούμπα 349.
τρίποδες ἀναθηματικοί (ἐν Πέλλῃ) 183.
τύμβος 349.
τυπάρι 348.
τυπίδες 175.

Υ

ὕπογραμμός 176.
ὕποχος 105, 107, 108.

Φ

φάλκος 344.
φαλλός—βαλλίον 345.
φαρδύς δρόμος (Θεσσαλονίκη) 240.
φίλοι (amici, philoi) 91-96, 101, 102, 272.
φίλων οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι (amicorum pro-
ximi) 91.
φίσκος 190.
φολίς, φόλις 350.
φόρος 29, 118.
φριμαγμός 345.
φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγαλέξανδρου 377-381.

Χ

χαλκάσπιδες 271, 272.
χάρμη 343.
χελῶναι 181.
χώρα ἱερὰ 151.

Ψ

ψηφιδωτὰ 162, 163, 164, 166.

archegesia 131.
archeteion 130, 131.
archetes 131.
archeion 132.
architheoros 129.
archithiasites 142.
arkhai 31.
army assembly 31.

olympic games 37.
ornaments (bronze) 168.
Orta Cami 198, 200.

P

palaestra 312.
peripatetics 367.
petaurista 195, 196.
pezetairoi 30, 31.
phalanx (Macedonian) 293.
pottery Macedonian 168, 169.
pottery Mycenaean 169.
pottery Protogeometric 169, 170.
pottery Thessalian 170.
prophragma 44.
proxenia 71, 73, 127, 128, 134, 135, 138.
proxenos 72.
prytaneis 132.
Pylos tablets 48.

Q

questorium 247.

R

rings 169.
romance (Alexander) 353-386.

S

secutor 195.
sica 66.
snake priestess 49.
somatophylax 92, 93.
spearheads 168.
strategoi 129, 130.
swords 168, 169.
symposium 308-315.

T

tagoi 269, 270, 274, 278.
tetradrachm 252, 253, 256, 260-264.
thèmes 157.
theoroi 129, 130.
tripod 253, 254.
tumulus 349.

V

viae militares 191.
vidda, viddo 345.
villa of Good Fortune (Olynthus) 308, 360.

W

weapons, iron 168.

X

xenia 36.
xenos patricos 37.

ΠΙΝΑΚΕΣ



a. A Minoan gem-portrait of a «Head of the Cattle». b. Portrait of Alexander.

SP. MARINATOS



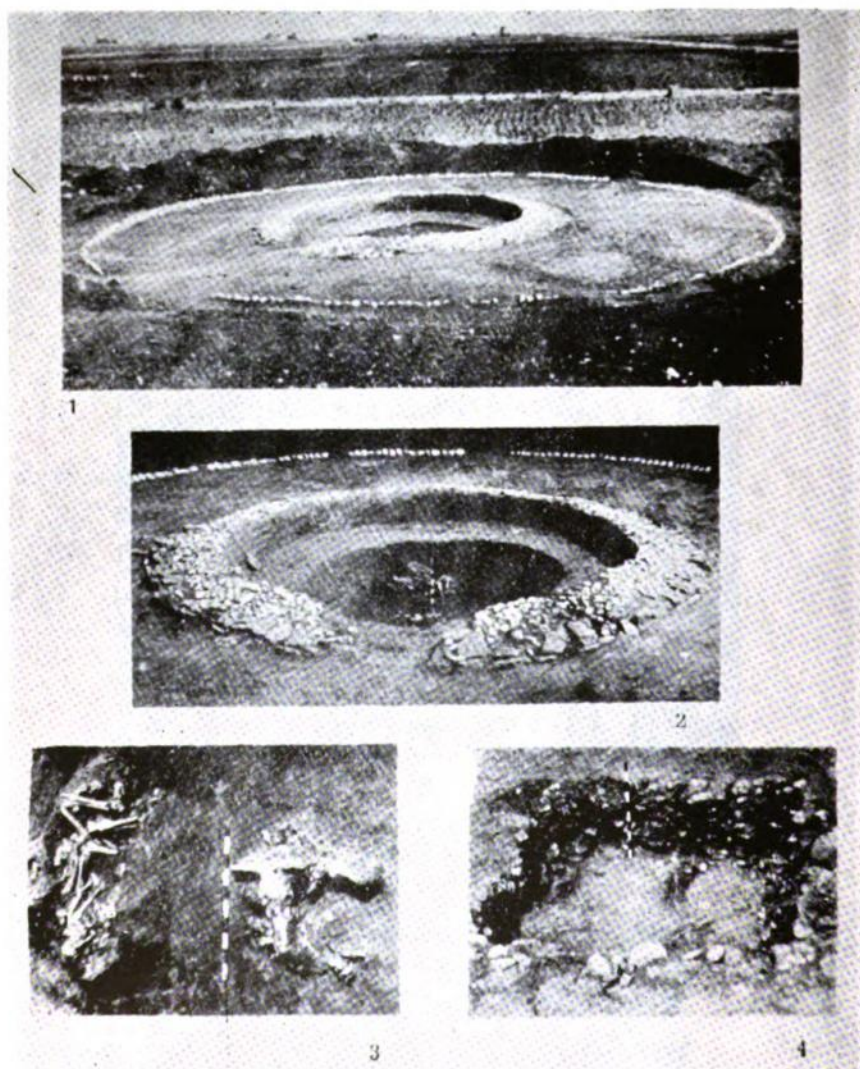
a. Portrait of Alexander. b. Alexander on a coin.

SP. MARINATOS



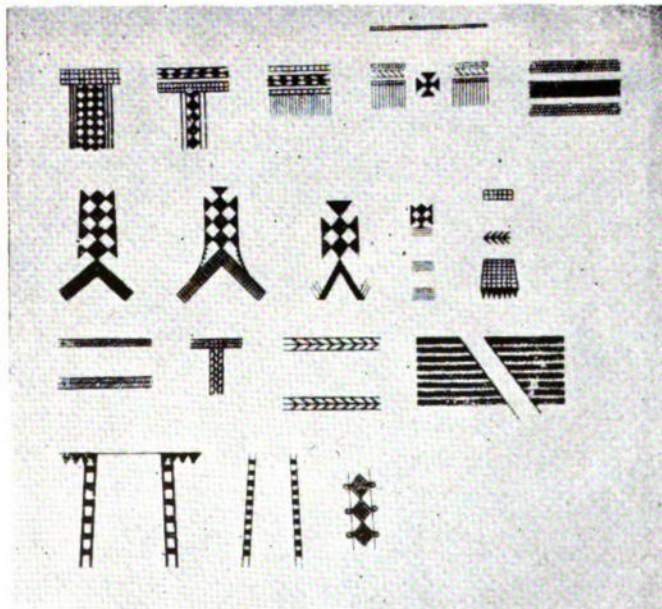
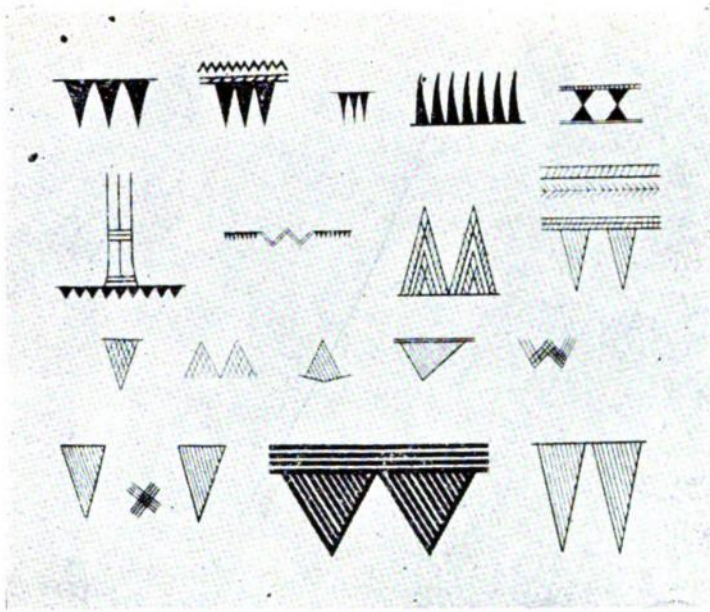
a. Alexander on the mosaic from Pompeii. b. Ptolemy and Berenice on a coin.

SP. MARINATOS



Double tumulus and mortuary chambers at Pazhok.

N. G. L. HAMMOND



a-b. Typical designs on the matt-painted pottery of Malik IIIId.

N. G. L. HAMMOND



α. Ἡ νίκη τῆς Σαμοθράκης (Μουσεῖον Λοιβερού). β. Ἀεροφοτογραφία τοῦ ἀρχαιολογικοῦ χώρου τῆς Σαμοθράκης.

A. K. BABBITZAS

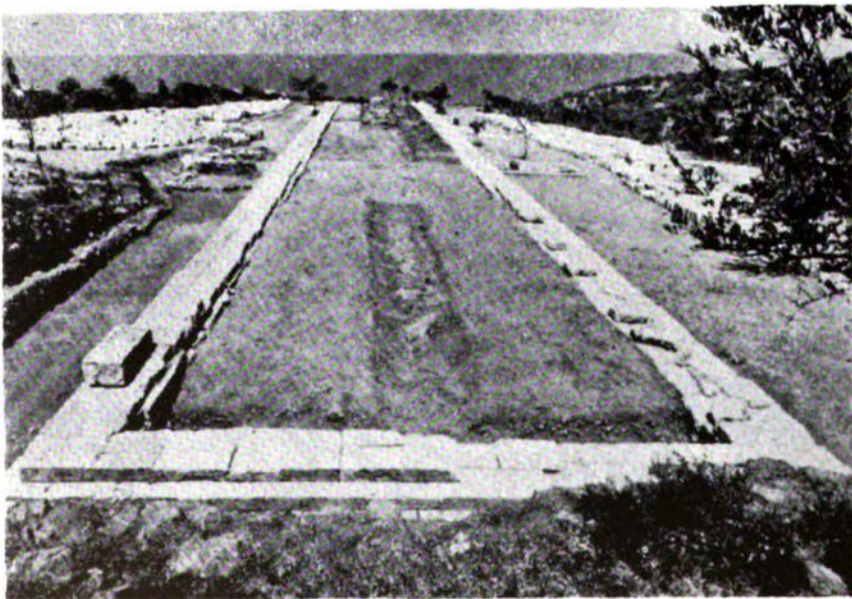
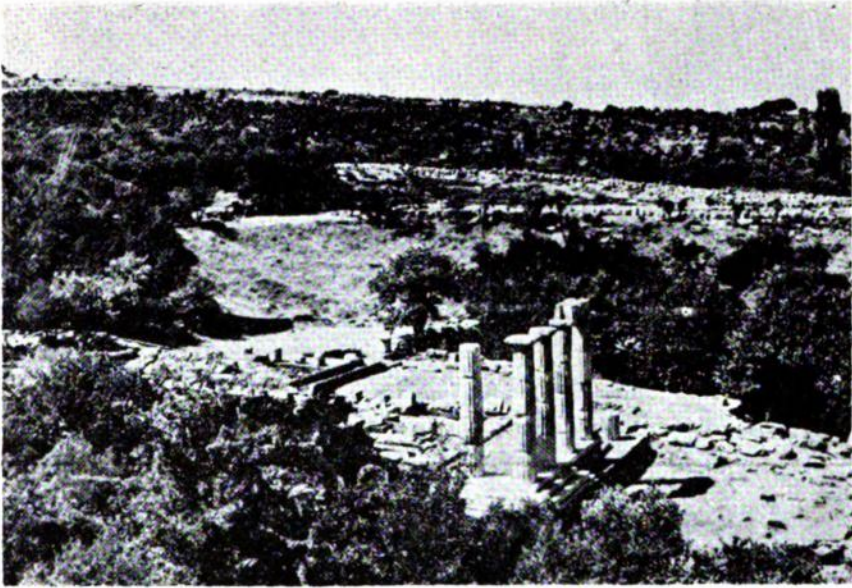


α. Τὸ «Ἱερὸν» ἢ ὁ ναὸς τῶν Καβείρων. ᾠ. Απομνηστικὸν ἀπὸ Νότον. β. Ὁ περίβολος τοῦ βωμοῦ ΝΔ τοῦ «Ἱεροῦ».

Α. Κ. ΒΑΒΡΙΤΣΑΣ

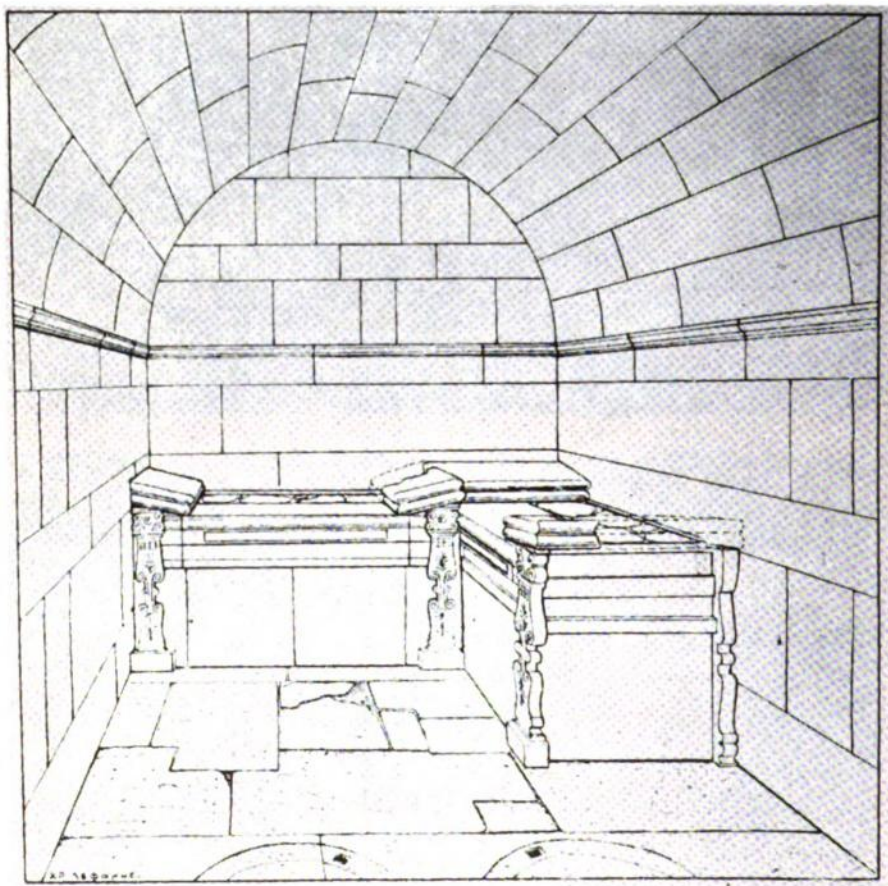


α. Τὸ Ἀρσινόειον. β. Τὰ Μεγάλα Προπύλαια ἢ τὸ Πτολεμαῖον. Ἀποφῆς ἐκ Νότον.

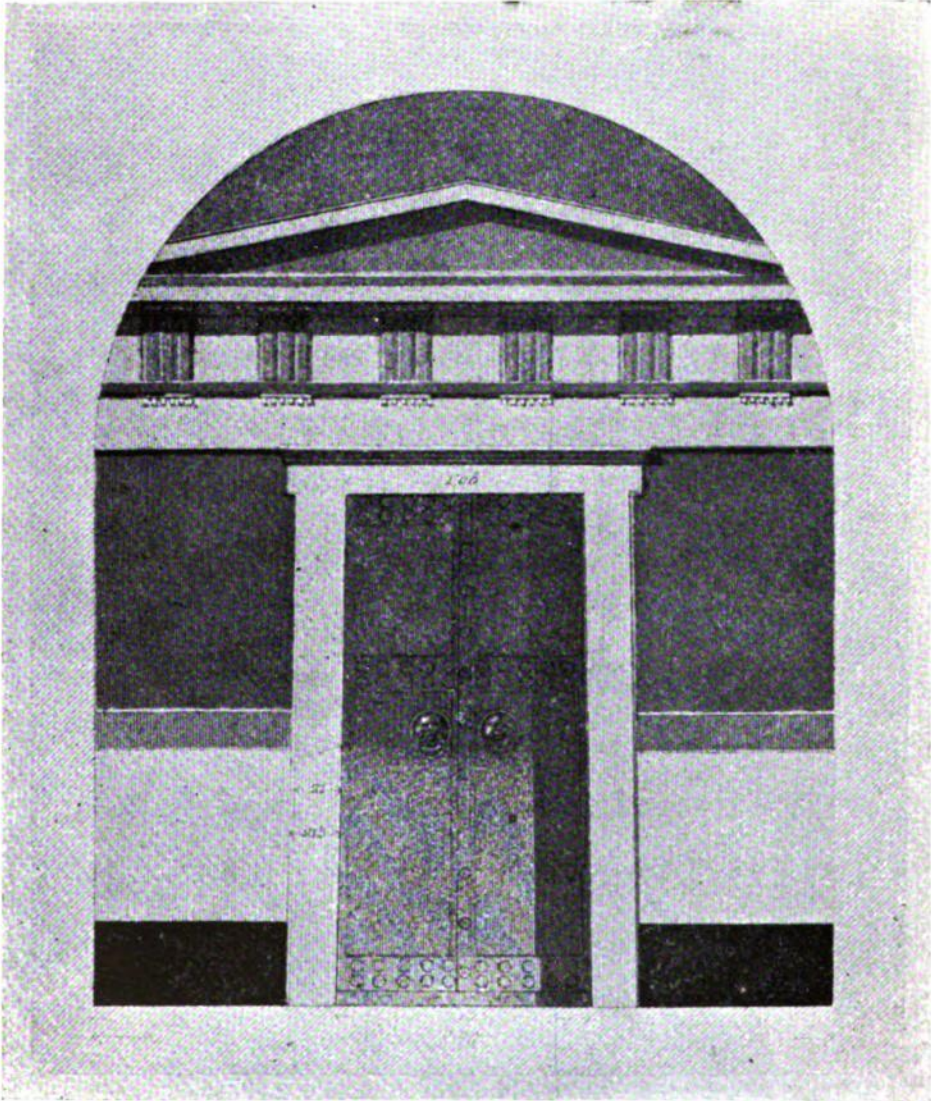


α. Τὸ θέατρον. Διακρίνεται τὸ «κοῖλον» ΝΑ τοῦ «Ἱεροῦ». β. Ἡ Στοὰ-Ξενίων.

Α. Κ. ΒΑΒΡΙΤΣΑΣ

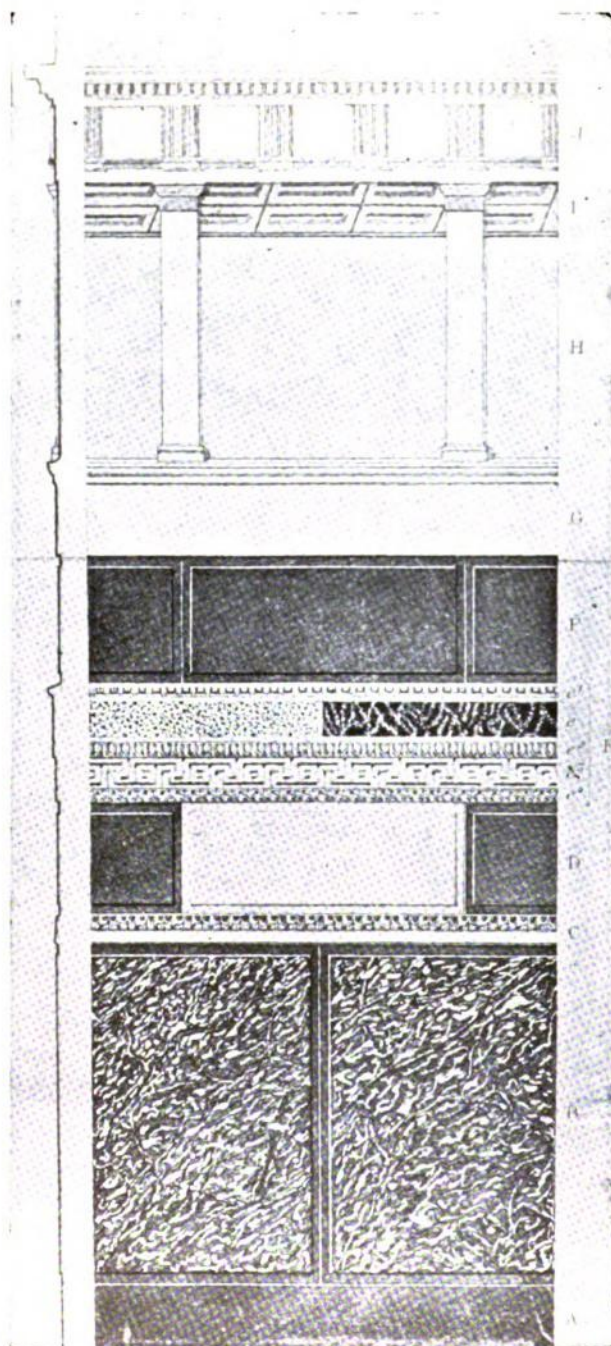


Ὁ «μακεδονικός» τάφος τῆς Σταυρονπόλεως. (Ἐσωτερικόν).



Ὁ «μακεδονικὸς» τάφος τῆς Πύδρας.

Α. Κ. ΒΑΒΡΙΤΣΑΣ



Δήλος. Τριμερής διακόσμησης τοῦ τοίχου οἰκίας Διονύσου.

A. K. ΒΑΒΡΙΤΣΑΣ

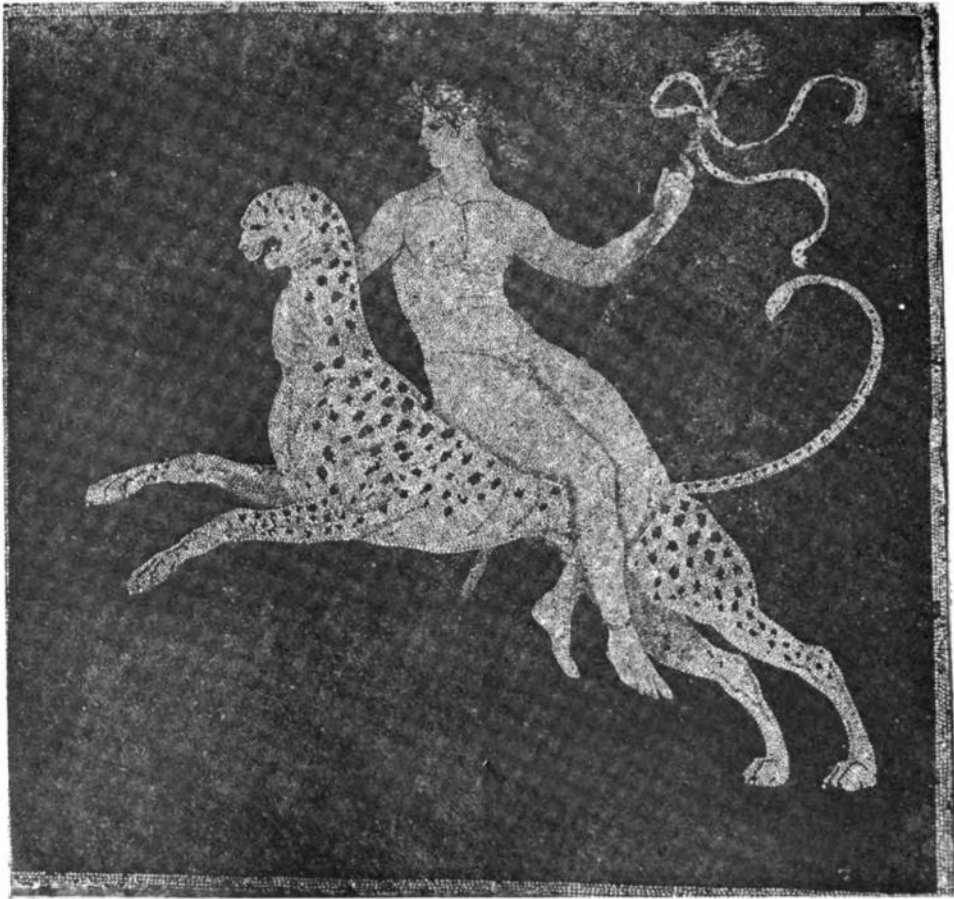


Πέλλα. Ψηφιδωτὸν δάπεδον οἰκίας τοῦ οἰκοδομικοῦ τετραγώνου 5 τοῦ τομέως 1. (Φωτο-
γραφία Σπ. Τσαβδάρου).

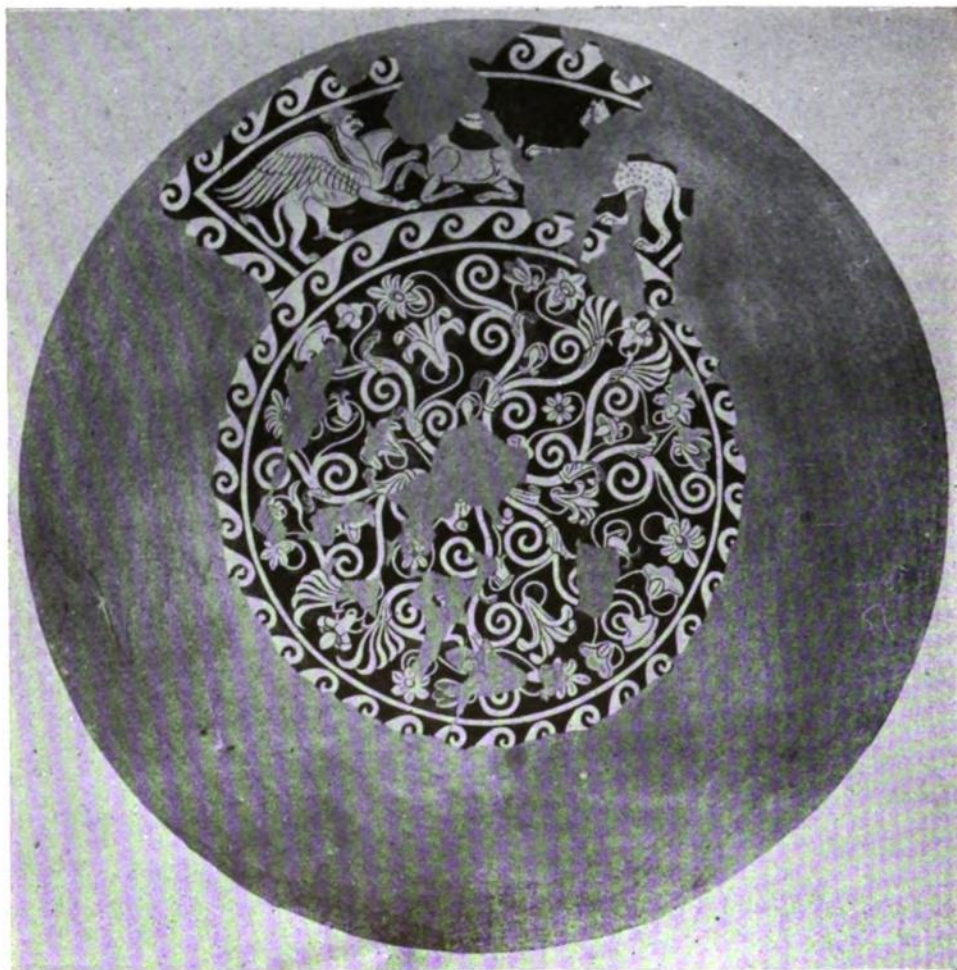


Πέλλα. Λεπτομέρεια τῆς εἰκόνης τοῦ Πίν. XIII. (Φωτογραφία Σπ. Τσαβδάρου).

Σ. Ι. ΜΑΚΑΡΟΝΑΣ



Πέλλα. Ψηφιδωτὸν δάπεδον οἰκίας τοῦ οἰκοδομικοῦ τετραγώνου 1 τοῦ τομέως I. (Φωτο-
(γραφία Σπ. Τσαβδάρου).



Πέλλα. Ψηφιδωτὸν δάπεδον τῆς θόλου τοῦ τομέως VI. (Σχέδιον Κωνστ. Ἑλιάκη).



Σφραγίσματα ἐπὶ κορινθιακῶν κεραμίδων: α. Πέλλης, β. Βεργίνης.
(Φωτογραφίαι Χ. Μακαρόνα).



α. Τὰ νότια ριζὰ τοῦ Πάικου. Τὸ λατομεῖο τῶν «Καλονπιῶν» σημειώνεται μὲ τὸ γράμμα Λ.
β. Διάφοροι δόμοι ἀπὸ τὰ κατώτερα σημεῖα τοῦ λατομείου.

Γ. ΜΠΑΚΑΛΑΚΗΣ



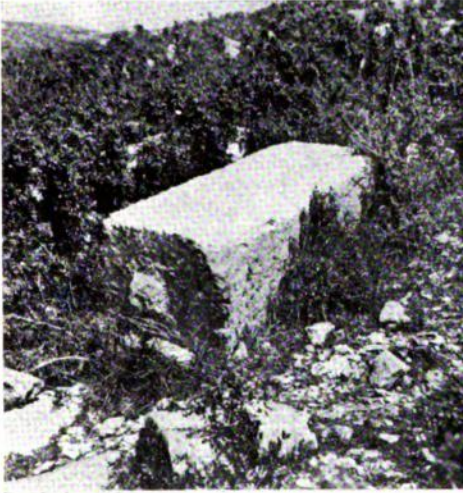
α - β «Κοίτες» ἀρχαίων δόμων καὶ δόμοι «ἐξευροσμένοι».

Γ. ΜΠΑΚΑΛΑΚΗΣ



α. Τὸ «στῆθος» τοῦ πετρώματος. β - γ. «Ὁρθοὶ καὶ εὐγώνιοι» δόμοι. δ. Ὁ μοναδικὸς σπόνδυλος. ε. Ἡ κατεύθυνση τῶν σφηνόσχημων κοιλοτήτων τοῦ πετρώματος τῶν 3,91 X 1,80 μ. Πρβ. Πίν. XXIVα καὶ XXVα - γ.

Γ. ΜΠΑΚΑΛΑΚΗΣ

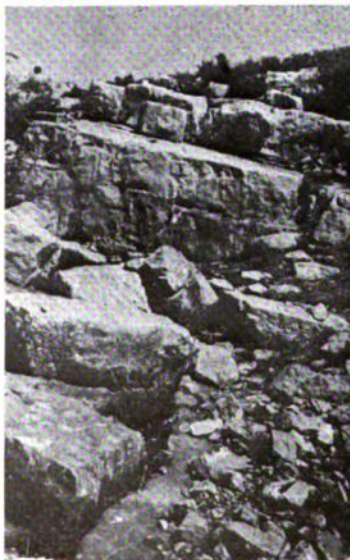
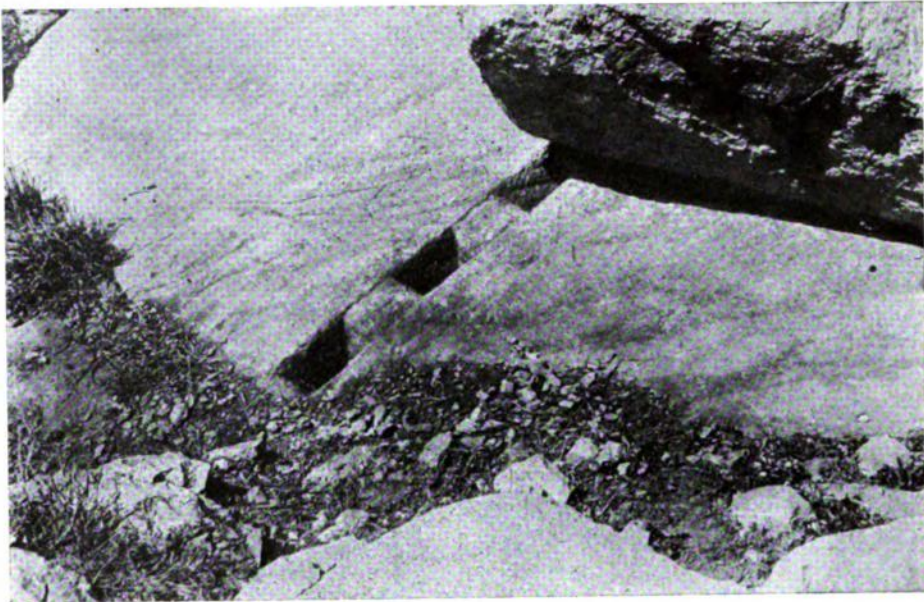


α - δ. «Ὁρθοὶ καὶ ἐγγώνιοι» δόμοι.



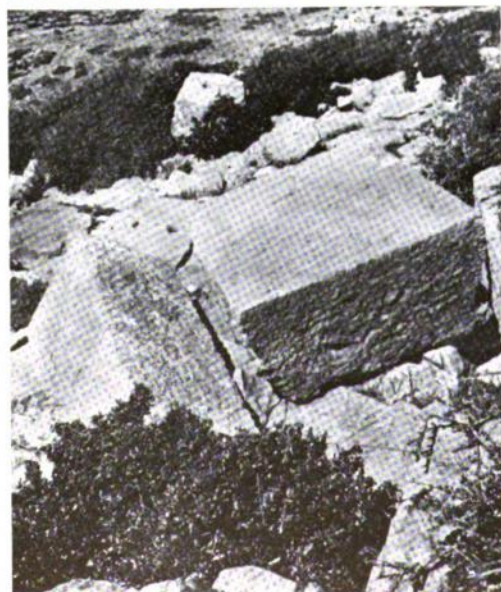
α. Τὸ «στήθος» τοῦ ἐτοιμασμένου πετρώματος τῶν 7 X 3μ. Δεξιὰ μας μέρος τοῦ πετρώματος 3,91X1,80μ. Πρὸβ. Πίν. XXIIε καὶ XXVα-β. β-γ. Οἱ σφηνόσχημες κοιλότητες τοῦ «στήθους» τῶν 7X3 μ.

Γ. ΜΠΑΚΑΛΑΚΗΣ



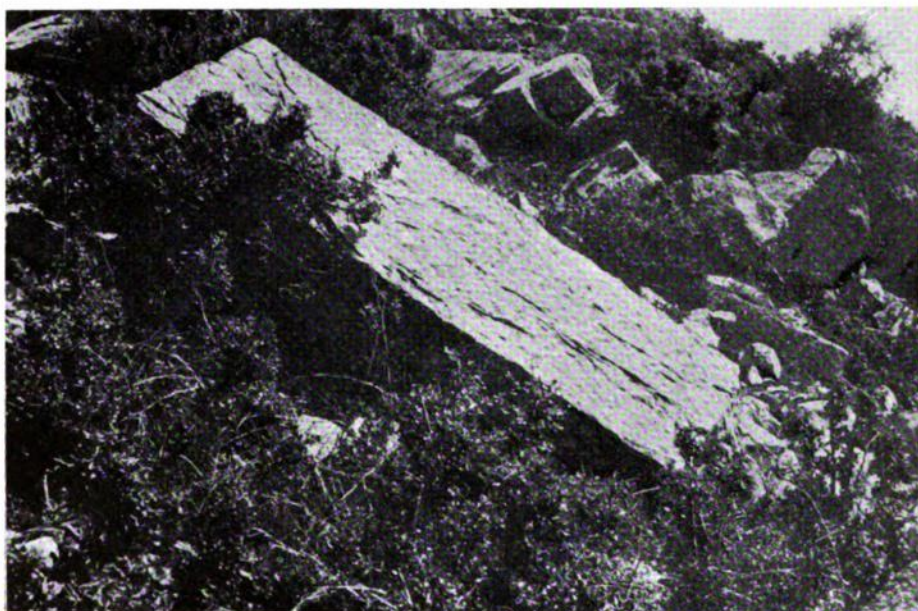
β. Τὸ «στῆθος» καὶ ἡ ἐπάνω ἐπιφάνεια τοῦ πετρώματος τῶν 3,91 X 1,80 μ. α, γ.
 Λεπτομέρειες τῶν σφηνόσχημων κοιλοτήτων τῆς ἐπιφάνειας τοῦ πετρώματος
 τῆς Εἰκ. β. Πρβ. Πίν. XXII ε.

Γ. ΜΠΑΚΑΛΑΚΗΣ



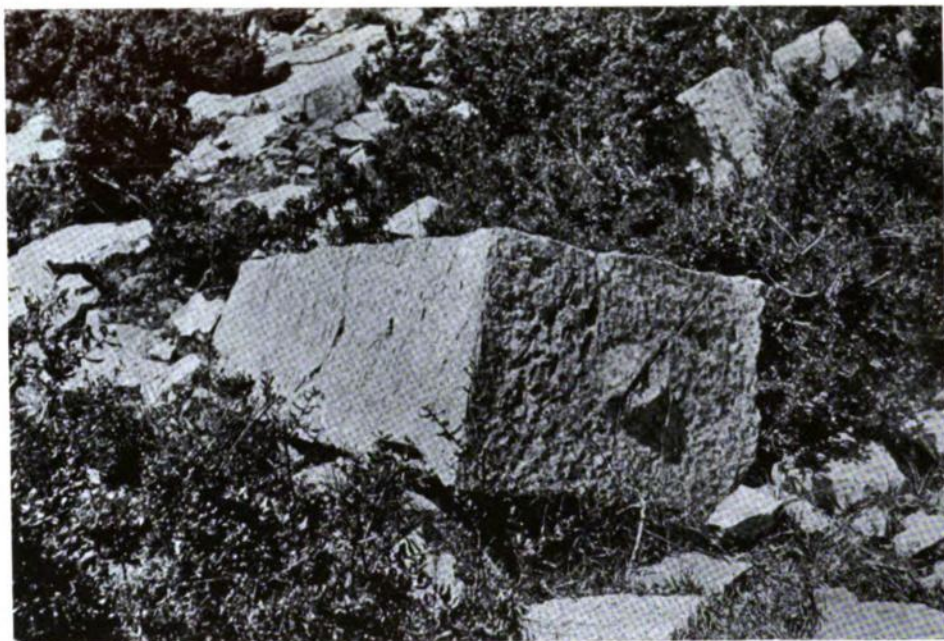
α- β. Ὁ μεγαλύτερος δόμος πὸν κείτεται ἀσάλευτος. γ. Ὁ δόμος Εἰκ. 2,7.
δ. Ὅπῃ στὸ πλαίσιο «δρομόν» γιὰ πάσσαλο ἀναχαίτισης κατὰ «τὴν λιθαγωγίαν».

Γ. ΜΠΑΚΑΛΑΚΗΣ



α. 'Ο δόμος Εἰκ. 2,1. β. 'Ο δόμος Εἰκ. 2,2.

Γ. ΜΠΑΚΑΛΑΚΗΣ



α. 'Ο δόμος Εἰκ. 2,3. β. 'Ο δόμος Εἰκ. 2,4.

Γ. ΜΠΑΚΑΛΑΚΗΣ



α. 'Ο δόμος Ειχ. 2,5. β. 'Ο δόμος Ειχ. 2,6.

Γ. ΜΠΑΚΑΛΑΚΗΣ



α. Δρόμος «λειτουργία». β - γ. Ἀρχαῖοι δόμοι ἀπὸ τὸ λατομεῖο τῶν «Καλοντιῶν»
στὸ Παλαιόκαστρο.

Γ. ΜΠΑΚΑΛΑΚΗΣ



α. Δόμοι από τὸ λατομεῖο τῶν «Καλουπιῶν» στὸ Παλαιόκατρο. β. Ἡ ἐργασία τοῦ κάτω δόμου τῆς διπλανῆς εἰκ. α. γ - δ. Ἀγαλμάτιο κιθαρωδοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀπὸ τὴν περιοχὴ τοῦ Παλαιοκάστρου. Μουσεῖο Πέλλας.

Γ. ΜΠΑΚΑΛΑΚΗΣ

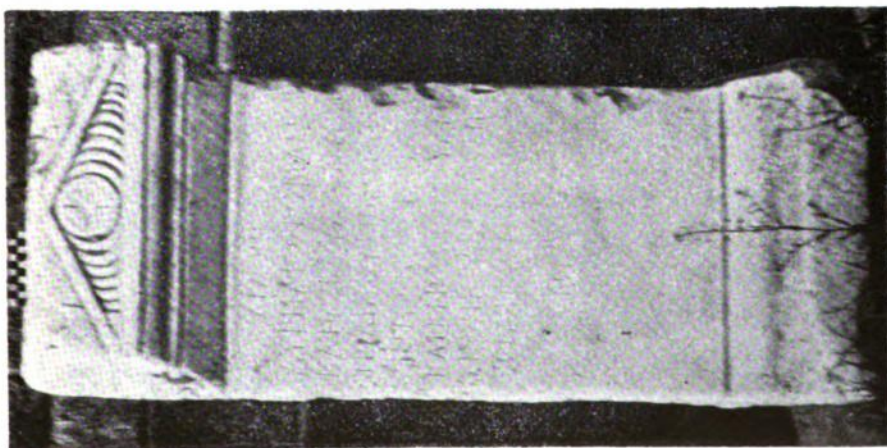


b. Inscription containing letters of Demetrius II to Harpalos. Museum at Beroea.



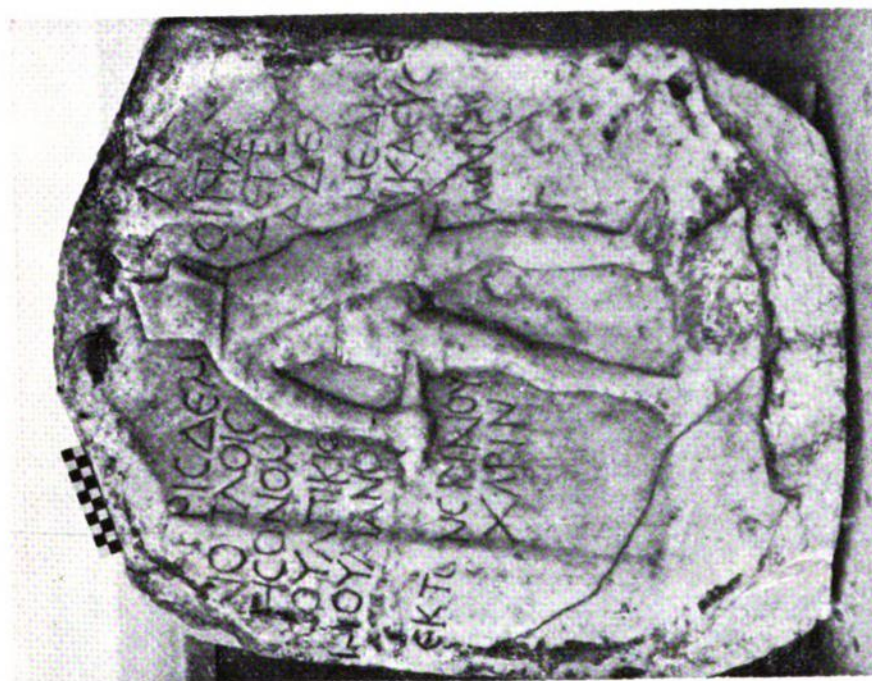
a. Inscription from Beroea.

J. M. R. CORMACK

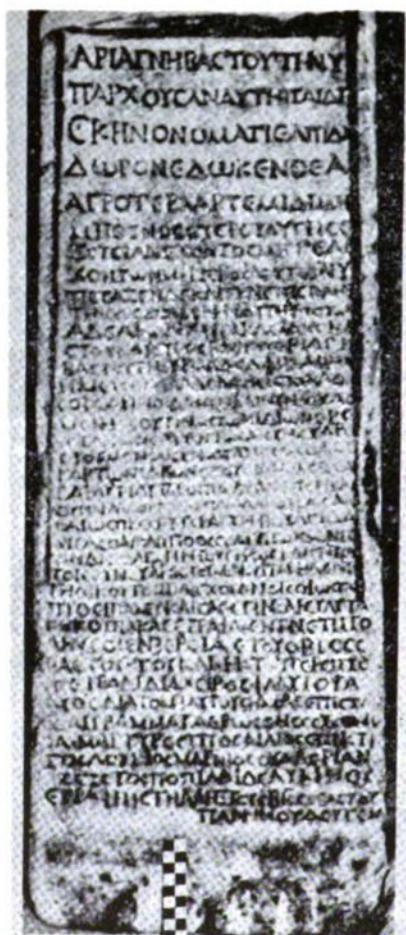


a. *Bomos* from Beroea.

J. M. R. CORMACK



b. *Gladiatorial relief*. Museum at Beroea.



a. Manumission A.D. 181. b. Inscription from Beroea. Museum at Beroea.

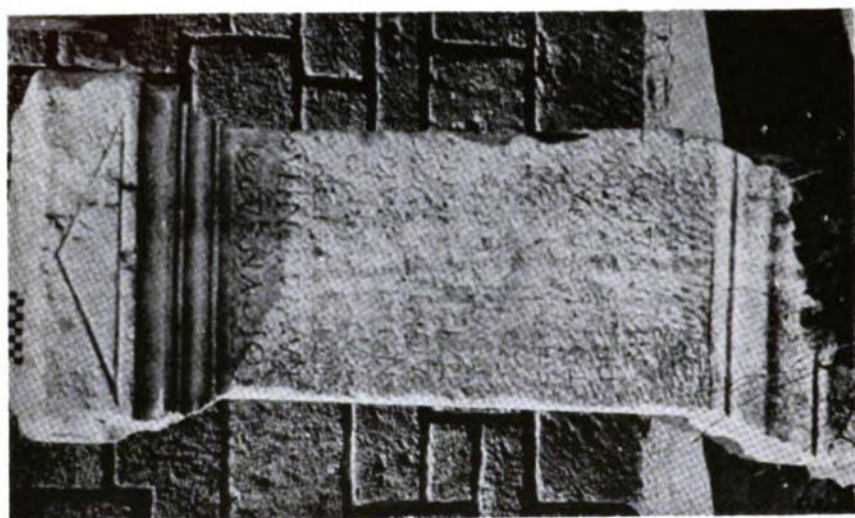
I. M. R. CORMACK



a-b. *Inscriptions Museum at Beroea.*

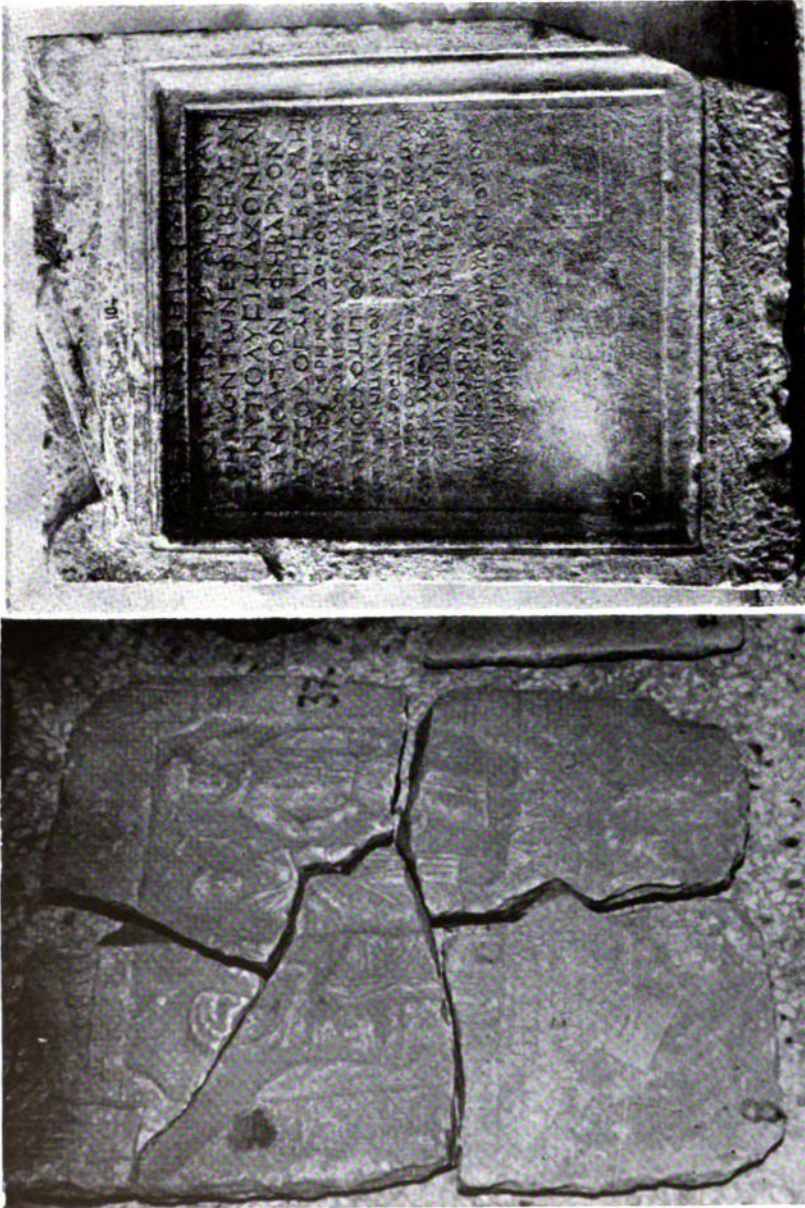


J. M. R. CORMACK



a-b. *Inscriptions in the courtyard of the Museum at Beroca.*

J. M. R. CORMACK



a. *Stele from Beroea.* b. *Ephebic catalogue. Mosque-Museum at Edessa.*

J. M. R. CORMACK

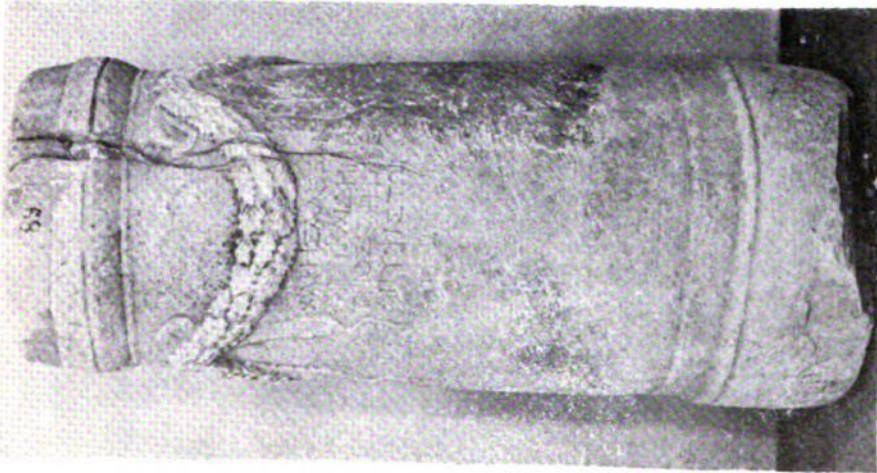


a. Ephebic catalogue. b. Fragment of an epitaph. Mosque-Museum at Edessa.

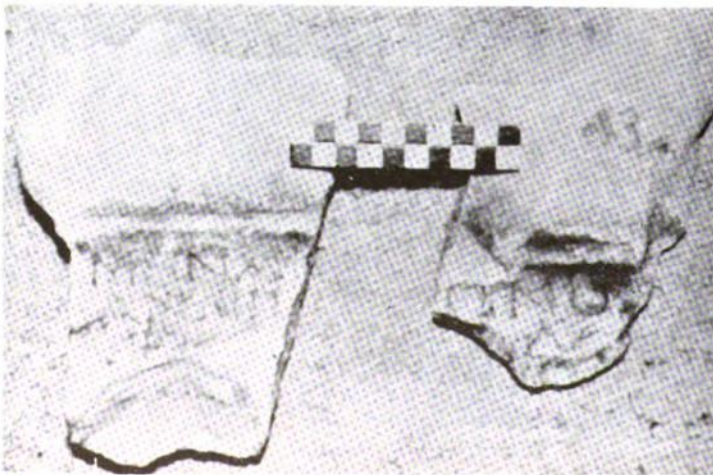
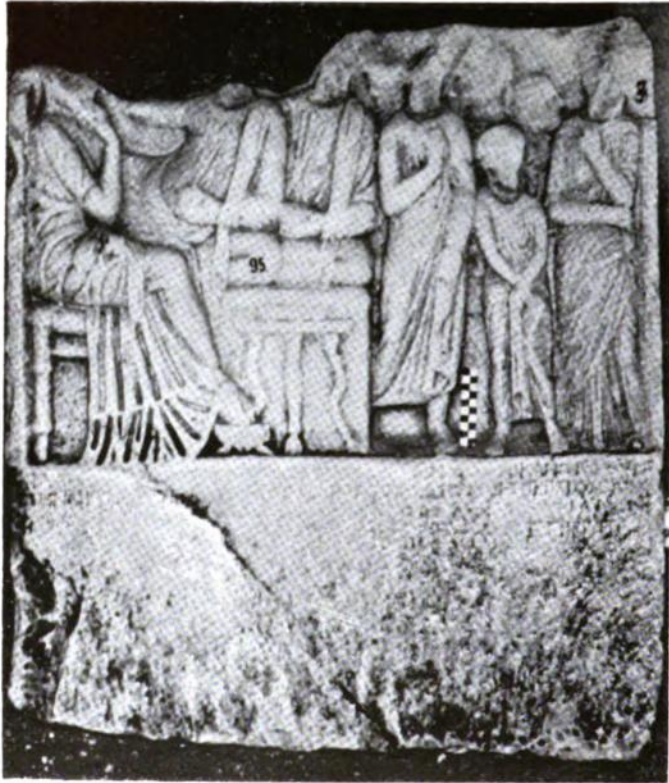
J. M. R. CORMACK



*a. Dedication to Zeus Hypsistos. b. Stele with a Thracian rider.
Mosque-Museum at Edessa.*



J. M. R. CORMACK



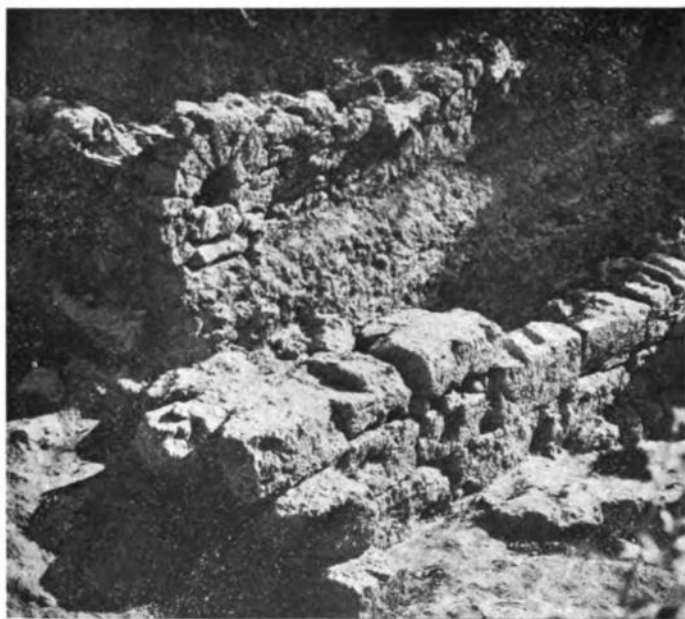
a. Hellenistic funerary stele. b. Two fragments of a Hellenistic stele, Mosque-Museum, Edessa.

J. M. R. CORMACK



*Ἡ διασχίζουσα τὸν «Λόγγον» τῆς Ἐδέσσης ἡμιονικὴ ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τῆς Μονῆς
τῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος πρὸς τὴν νῦν πόλιν τῆς Ἐδέσσης.*

Φ. Μ. ΠΕΤΣΑΣ



α. Ἀρχαία καὶ νεώτερα λείψανα, ἀριστερὰ τῷ κατερχομένῳ, κατὰ τὸ σημεῖον τῆς διακλαδύσεως πρὸς Ἀγίαν Τριάδα ἀφ' ἐνὸς καὶ πρὸς Ἁγίον Νικόλαον ἀφ' ἑτέρου. β. Ἀρχαία λείψανα ἀριστερὰ τῷ κατερχομένῳ πρὸς τὴν Ἀγίαν Τριάδα (ἀριθ. 7 ἐν Σχεδίῳ Α).

Φ. Μ. ΠΕΤΣΑΣ



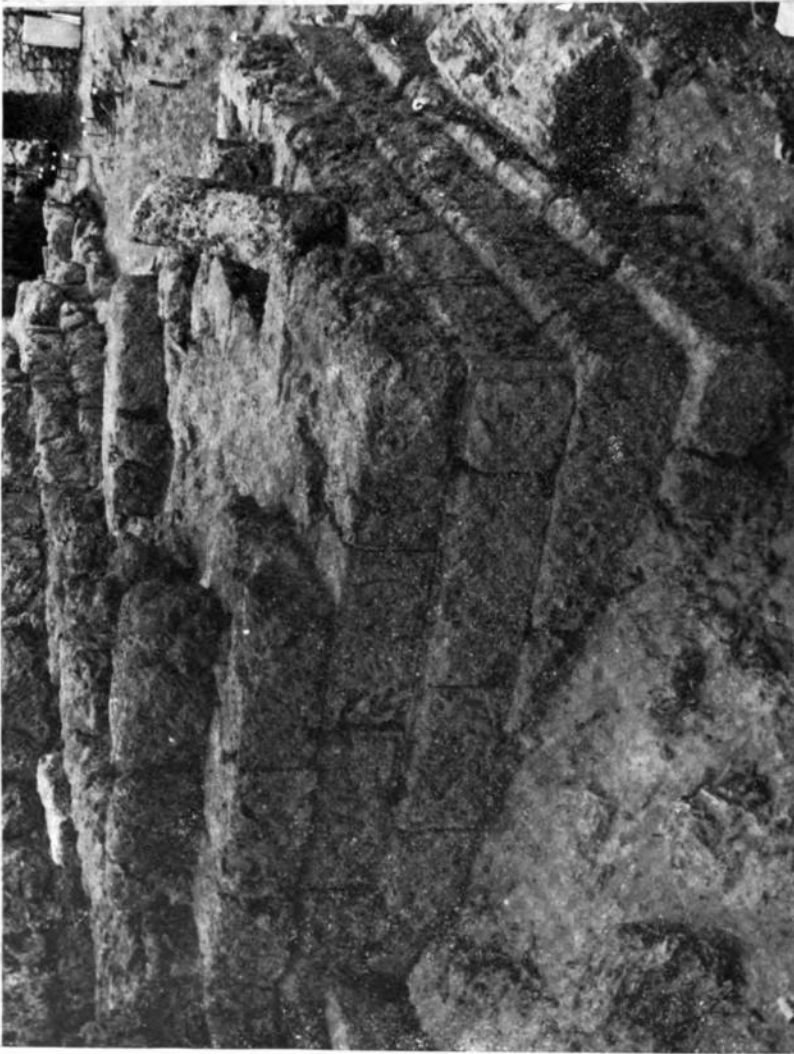
α. Ἀρχαῖα λείψανα δεξιὰ τῷ κατερχομένῳ πρὸς τὴν Ἀγίαν Τριάδα (ἀριθ. 4 ἐν Σχεδ. Α.)
β. Τὸ παρὰ τὴν νοτίαν Πύλιν ὄρατόν μετὰ τὴν ἀποψίλωσιν τοῦ ἐδάφους μέρος τοῦ τείχους.

Φ. Μ. ΠΕΤΣΑΣ



Ἑσωτερικὴ ὄψις τοῦ τείχους παρὰ τὸν ὀρθογώνιον Πύργον.

Φ. Μ. ΠΕΤΣΑΣ



Ὁ ὀρθογώνιος Πτέργος ἀπὸ νότον.

Φ. Μ. ΠΕΤΣΑΣ



‘Ο ορθογώνιος Πύργος ἀπὸ ΝΑ καί, ἀριστερά, ἡ τειχισθεῖσα Πύλη.

Φ. Μ. ΠΕΤΣΑΣ

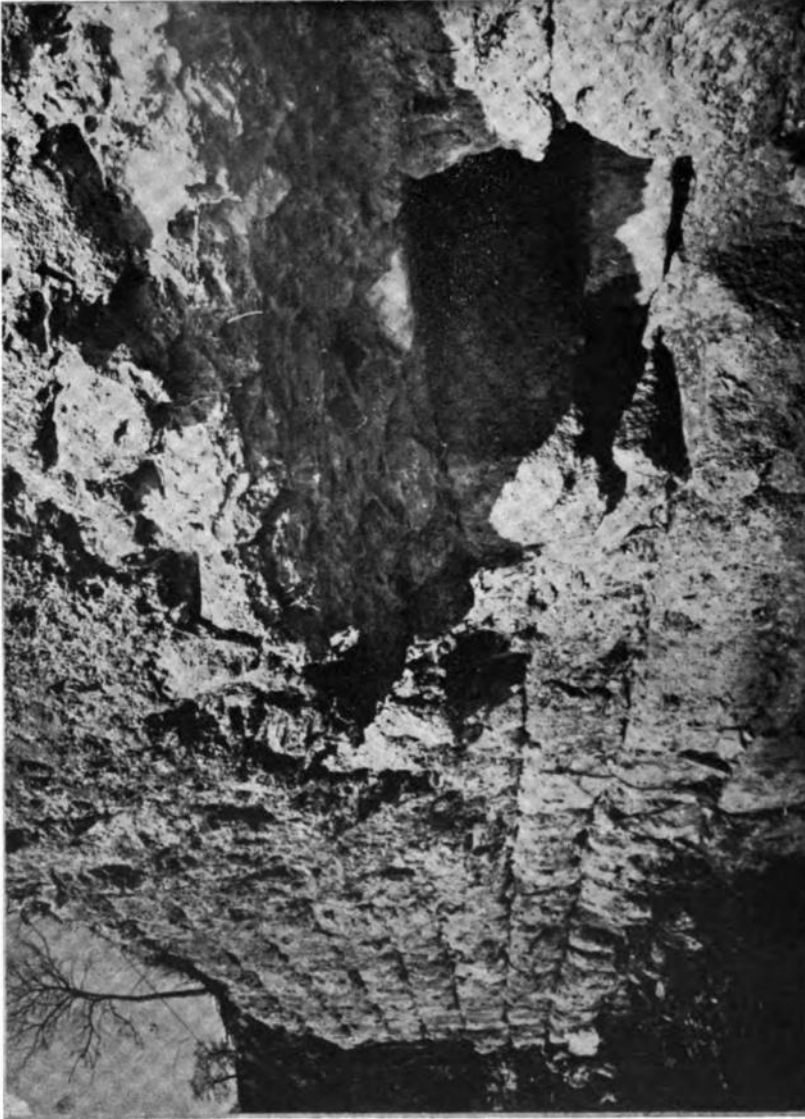


α. Μέρος τοῦ βράχου παρὰ τὴν ἀφειτηρίαν τοῦ «Μεγάλου Κρημνοῦ». β. Ὑποψη
ἀπὸ τῆς περιοχῆς τῆς κάτω Πόλεως τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἑδέσσης πρὸς τὴν Ἑδεσσαν.



Μέρος τοῦ τείχους ἀποκαλύφθὲν μετὰ τὸν καθαρισμὸν, ἀπὸ δυσμῶν.

Φ. Μ. ΠΕΤΣΑΣ

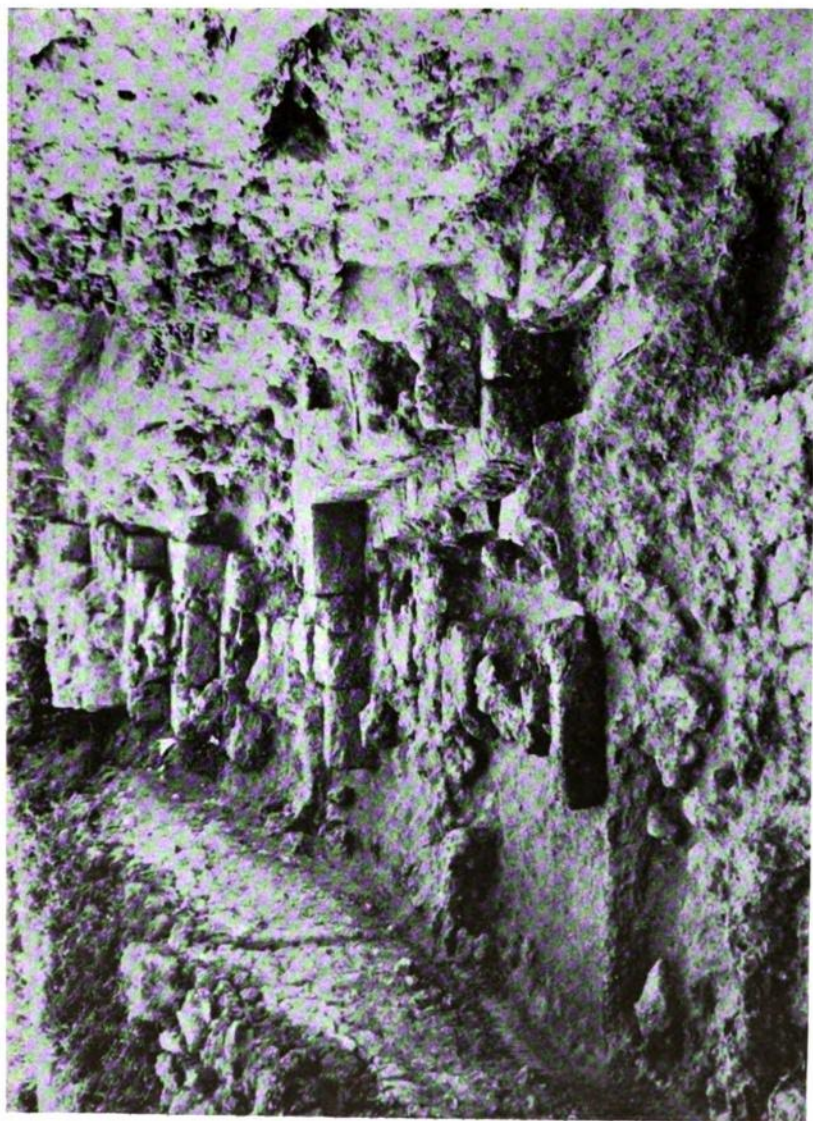


Υπόνομος καὶ ἱζηματογενῆς βράχος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχαίου τείχους.

Φ. Μ. ΠΕΤΣΑΣ



α. Ἀρχαῖα λείψανα ἐντὸς τοῦ μεταγενεστέρου σπηλαίου. β. Ἰζηματογενὴς βράχος ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους καὶ τὸ μεταγενεστέρας λαξευθὲν ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ σπήλαιον.



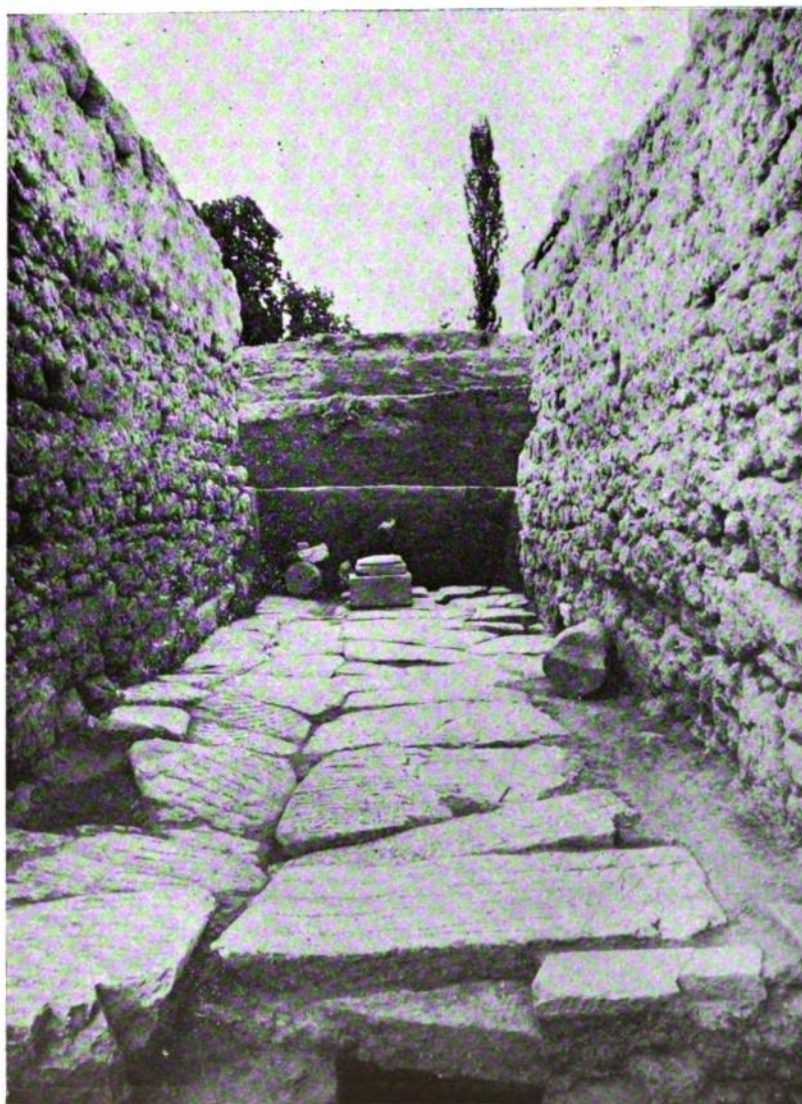
Λείψανα τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ τεύχους κατὰ τὴν ΒΑ γωνίαν αὐτοῦ.

Φ. Μ. ΠΕΤΣΑΣ



Ἡ νοτία Πύλη.

Φ. Μ. ΠΕΤΣΑΣ



Ἡ ὑστέρων ρωμαϊκῶν χρόνων διαρρυθμιστὶς τῆς Πύλης.

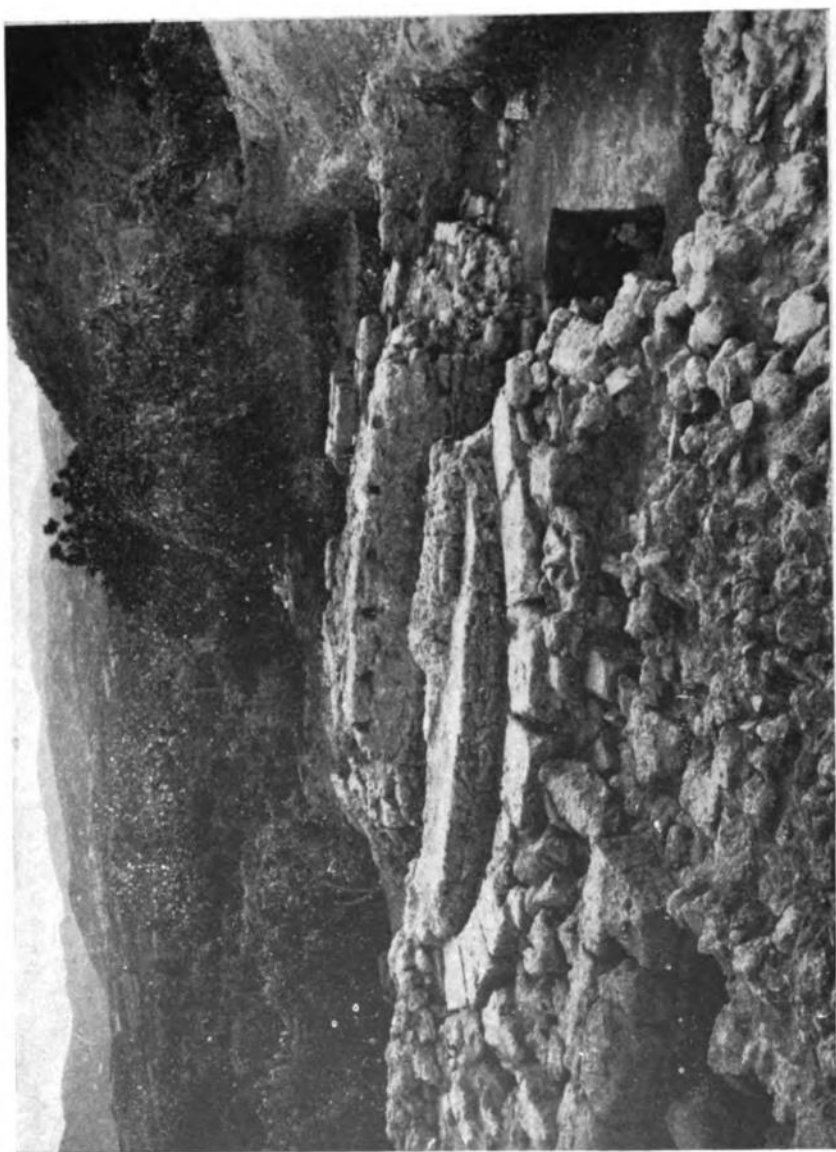


Τὰ ἀριστερὰ τῆς νοτίας Πύλης ἀρχαῖα λείψανα αὐτῆς.



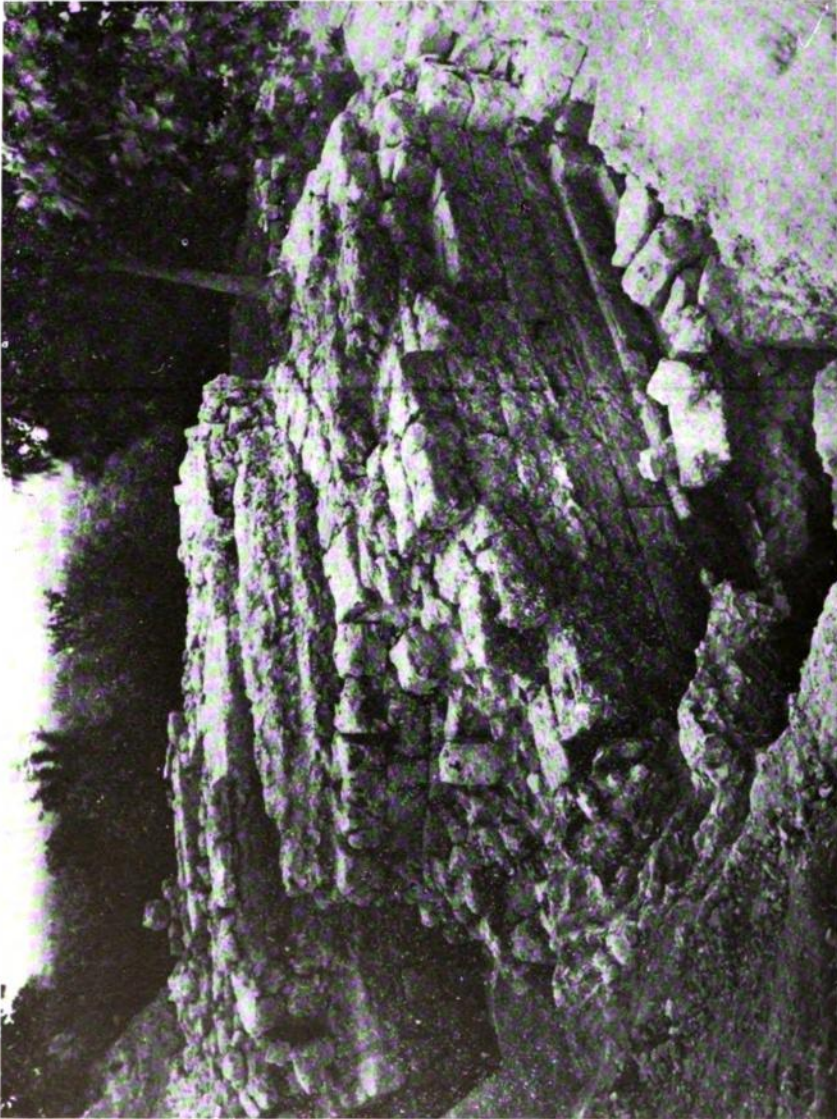
Ἡ ὑστέρων ρωμαϊκῶν χρόνων δεξιὰ παρειαὶ τῆς νοτίας Πύλης.

Φ. Μ. ΠΕΤΣΑΣ



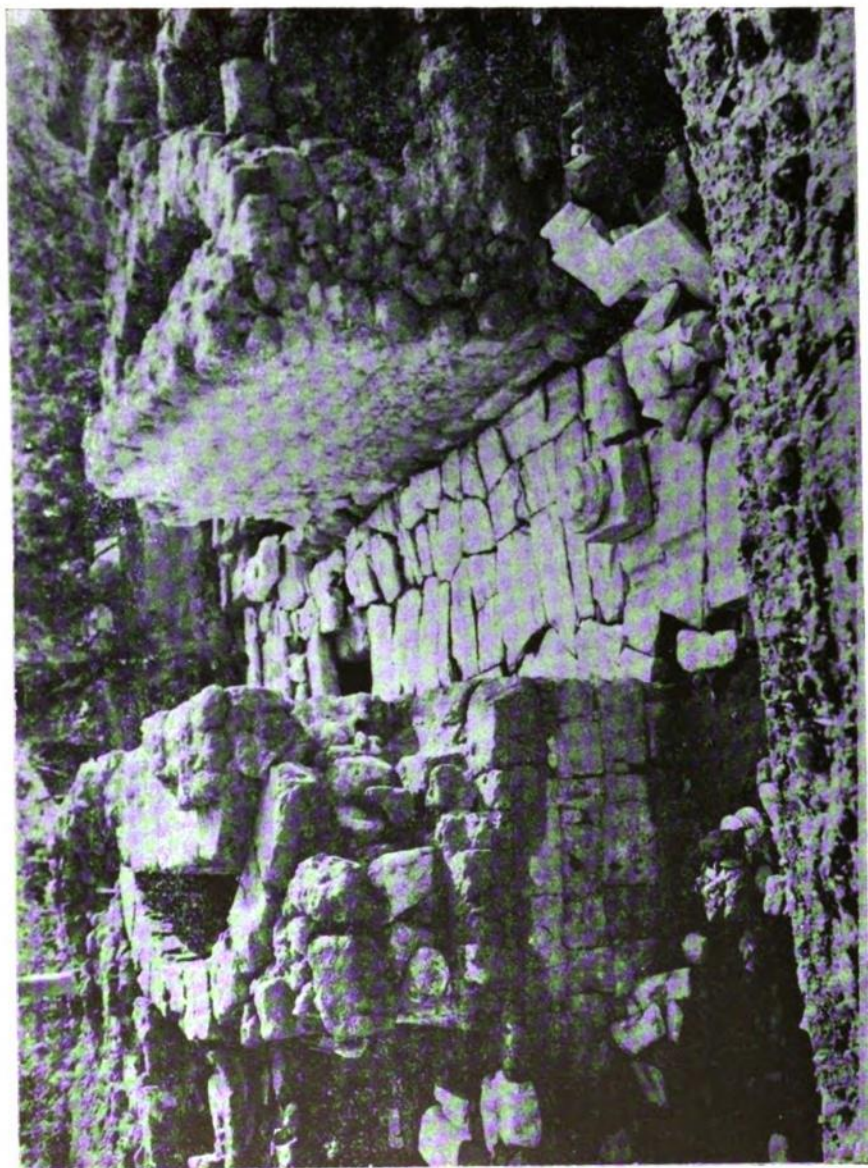
Ἀπομνηστικὸν ἀπὸ ἀνατολίων τοῦ ἀρχαίου ὄρθουρίου μετὰ κεκλιμένης αὐλῆς Πύργου
τῆς νοτίας Πύργου.

Φ. Μ. ΠΕΤΣΑΣ



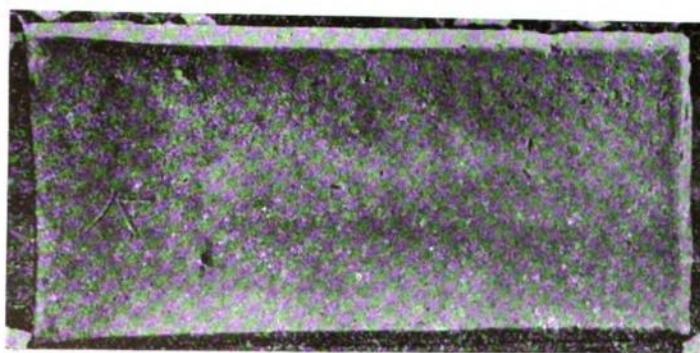
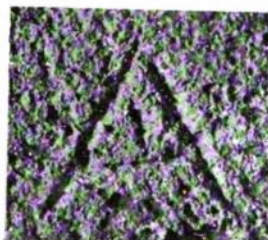
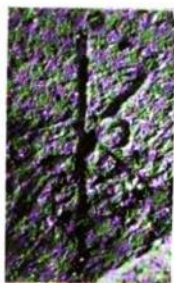
Ἀπομυκρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου ὀρθογωνίου Πύργου τῆς πόλεως.

Φ. Μ. ΠΕΤΣΑΣ



Ἡ νοτία Πύλη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑσωτερικοῦ τῆς πόλεως.

Φ. Μ. ΠΕΤΣΑΣ



α. Ὀστρακὸν μικρογραφικῆς κύλικος. β - γ. Μονογράμματα εἰς τὴν παρεῖαν τῆς νοτίας Πύλης. δ. Γράμμα ἐπὶ πωρίνης πλίνθου. ε. Στρωτὴρ φέρον μονόγραμμα.

Φ. Μ. ΠΕΤΣΑΣ



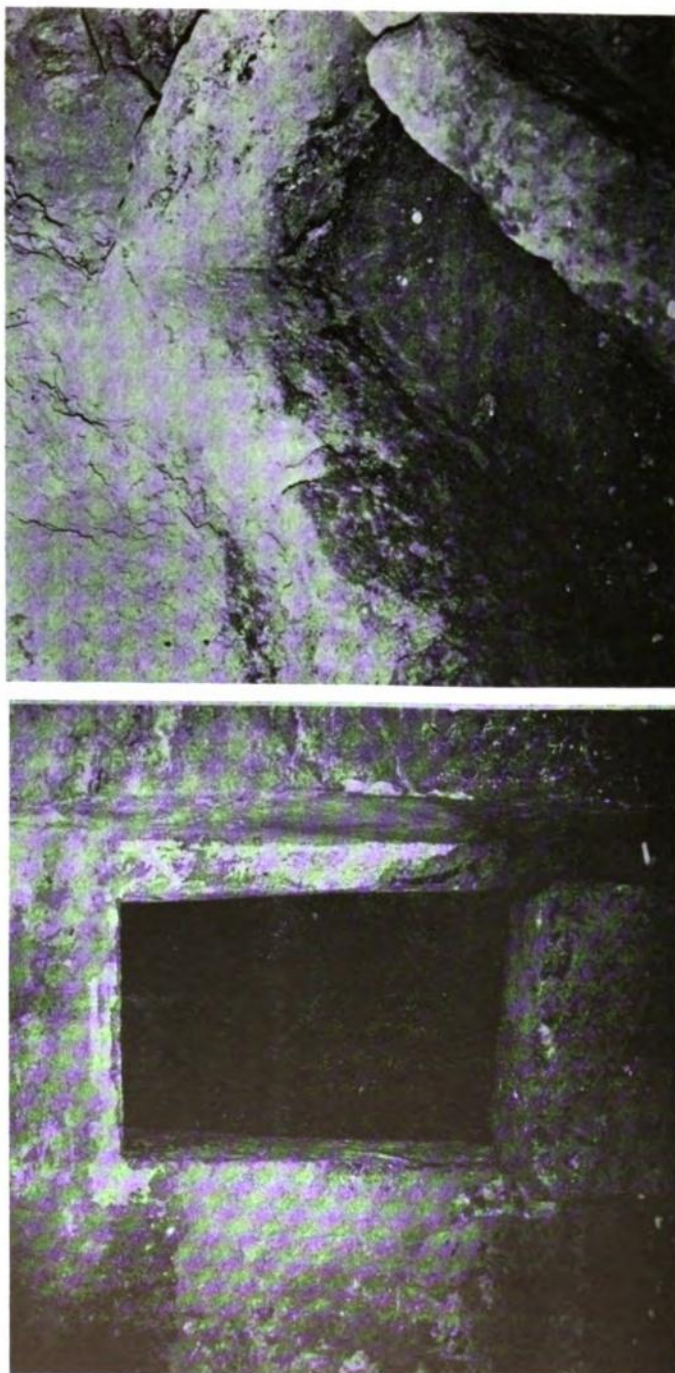
Ἐπιτάφιον ἀνάγλυφον μετ' ἐπιγράμματος εἰς θανάοντα χοῖρον.

Φ. Μ. ΠΕΤΣΑΣ



Βέργουα. Συνοικισμὸς Καλλιθέας. Λαξευτὸς τάφος μετὰ πλευρικοῦ θαλάμου.

A. K. ΑΝΔΡΕΙΩΜΕΝΟΥ



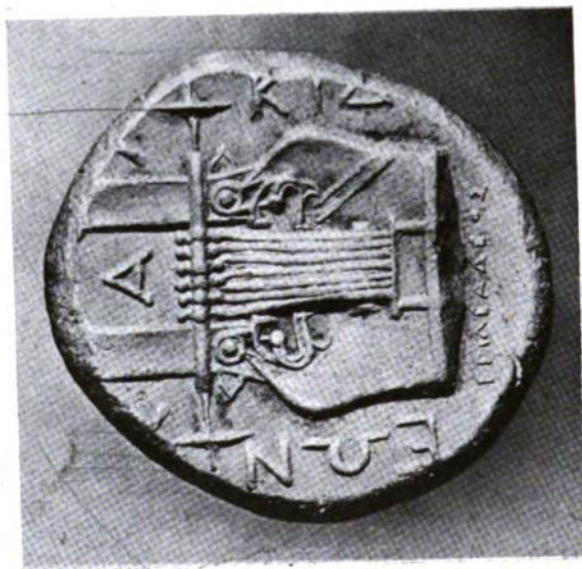
α - β. Βέροια. Στοιχειώδης Καλλιθέα. Αξιοπύς τάφος μετά πλεονηκῶς θαλάμου.
8 Σεπτεμβρίου 1967.

Α. Κ. ΑΝΔΡΕΙΩΜΕΝΟΥ



Group J, No. 43, enlarged (Olynthus, IX, p. XXVIII).

P. A. CLEMENT



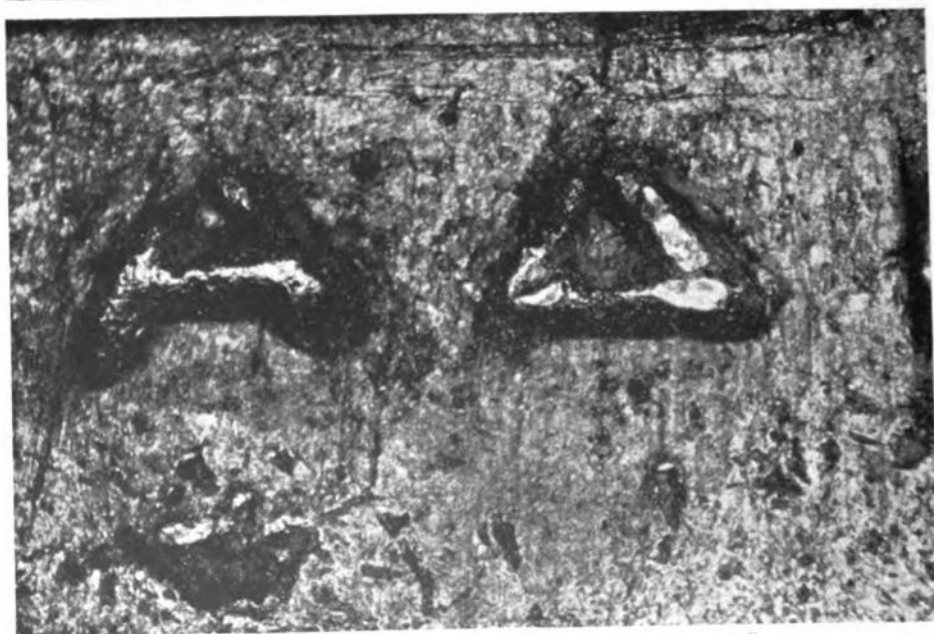
Group P, No. 94a, enlarged (ibid., p. 63).

P. A. CLEMENT



No. 94a a. Detail of reverse. b. Detail of magistrate signature.

P. A. CLEMENT



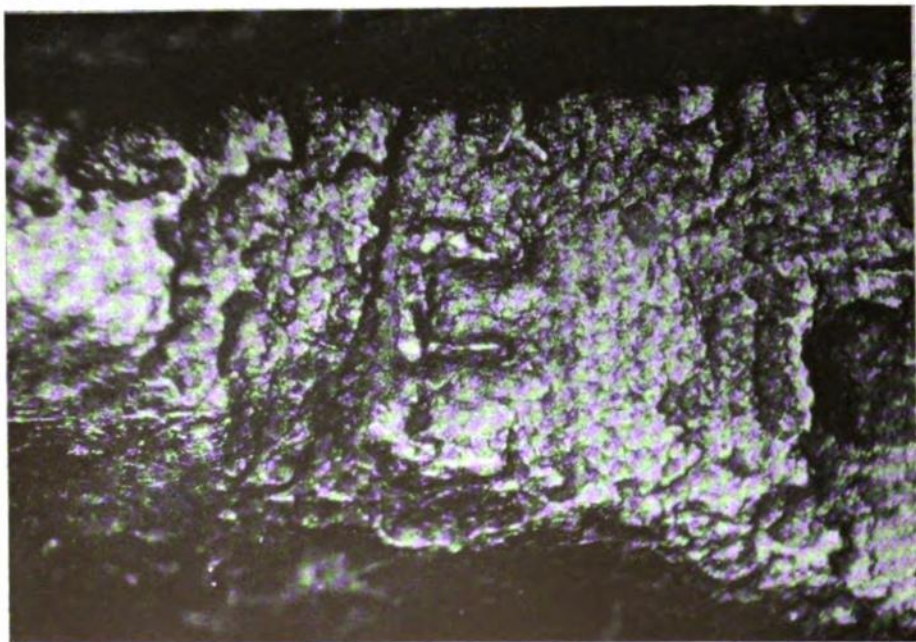
No. 94a a. Second detail. b. Third detail.

P. A. CLEMENT



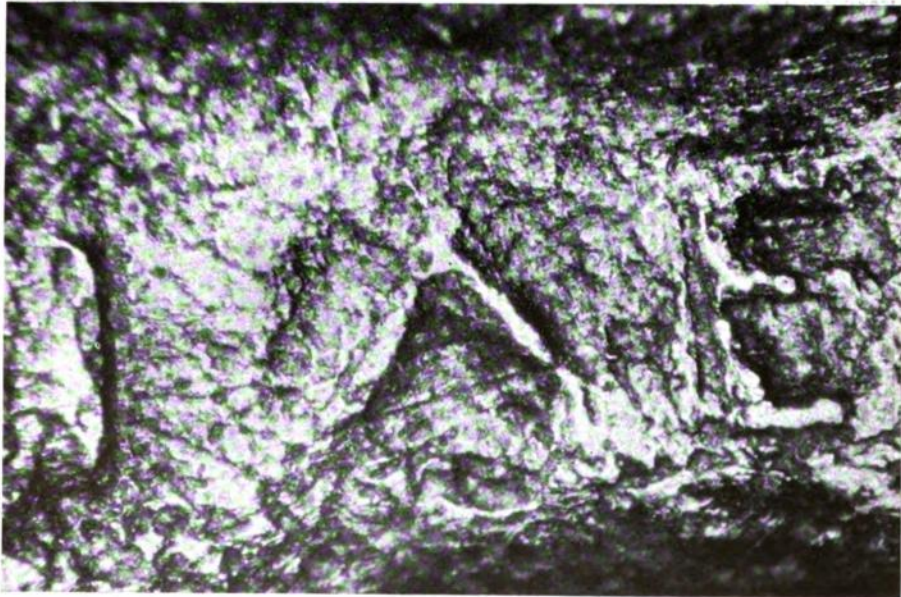
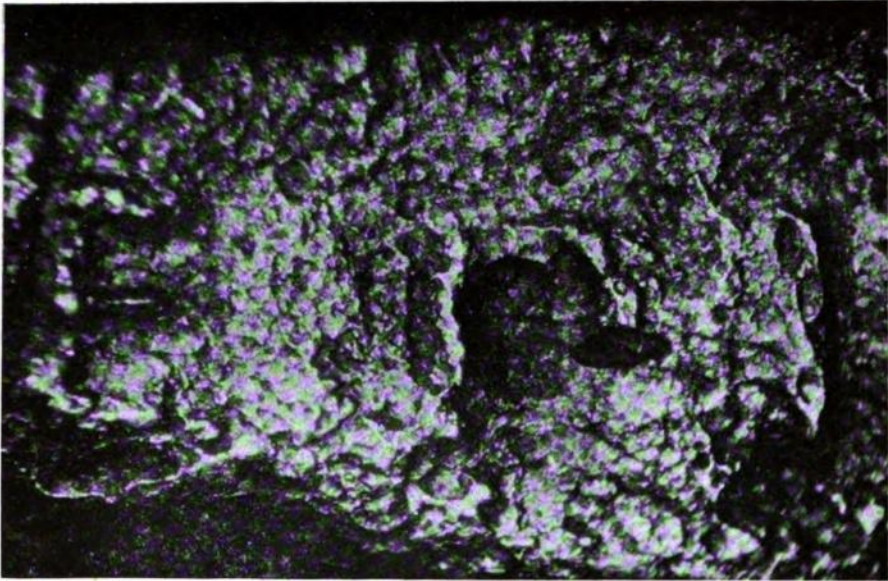
No. 94a a. Fourth detail. b. Fifth detail.

F. A. CLEMENT



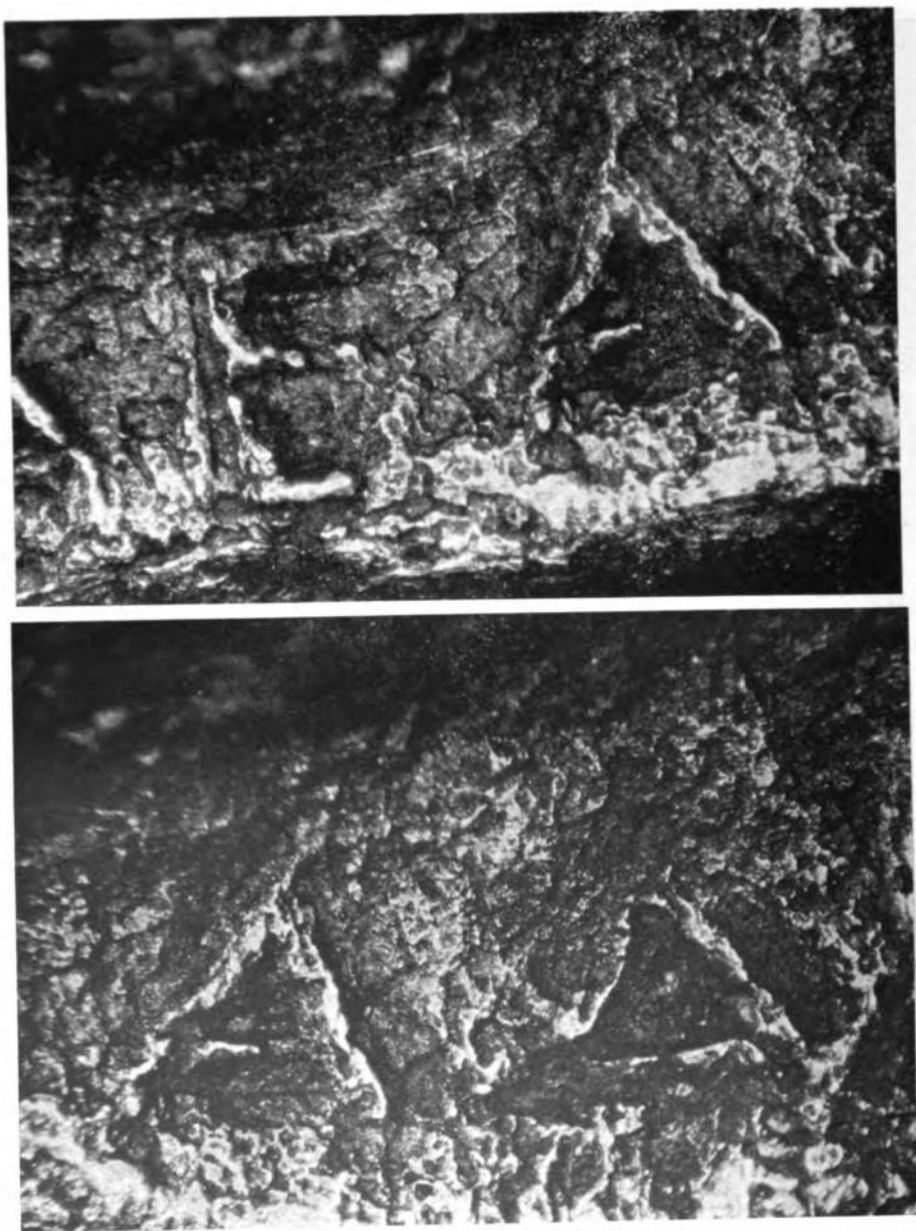
No. 43 *a. Detail of reverse. b. Detail of forged magistrate-signature.*

P. A. CLEMENT



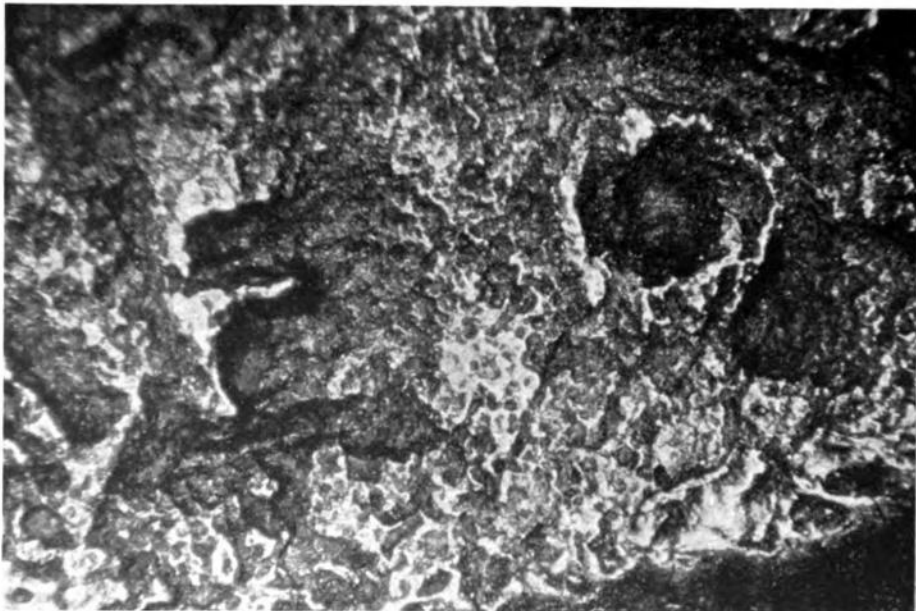
No. 43 *a.* Second detail. *b.* Third detail.

P. A. CLEMENT



No. 43 *a. Fourth detail. b. Fifth detail.*

P. A. CLEMENT



No. 43. a. Sixth detail. b. Seventh detail.

P. A. CLEMENT



No. 43 Eighth detail.

P. A. CLEMENT



1. A.N.S. 16.92 gm. 2. A.N.S. 16.98 gm. 3. A.N.S. 16.80 gm. 4. A.N.S. 16.50 gm.
5. Berlin 16.66 gm. 6. A.N.S. 16.81 gm. 7. A.N.S. 15.80 gm. Photographs of the
American Numismatic Society.

P. A. MACKAY



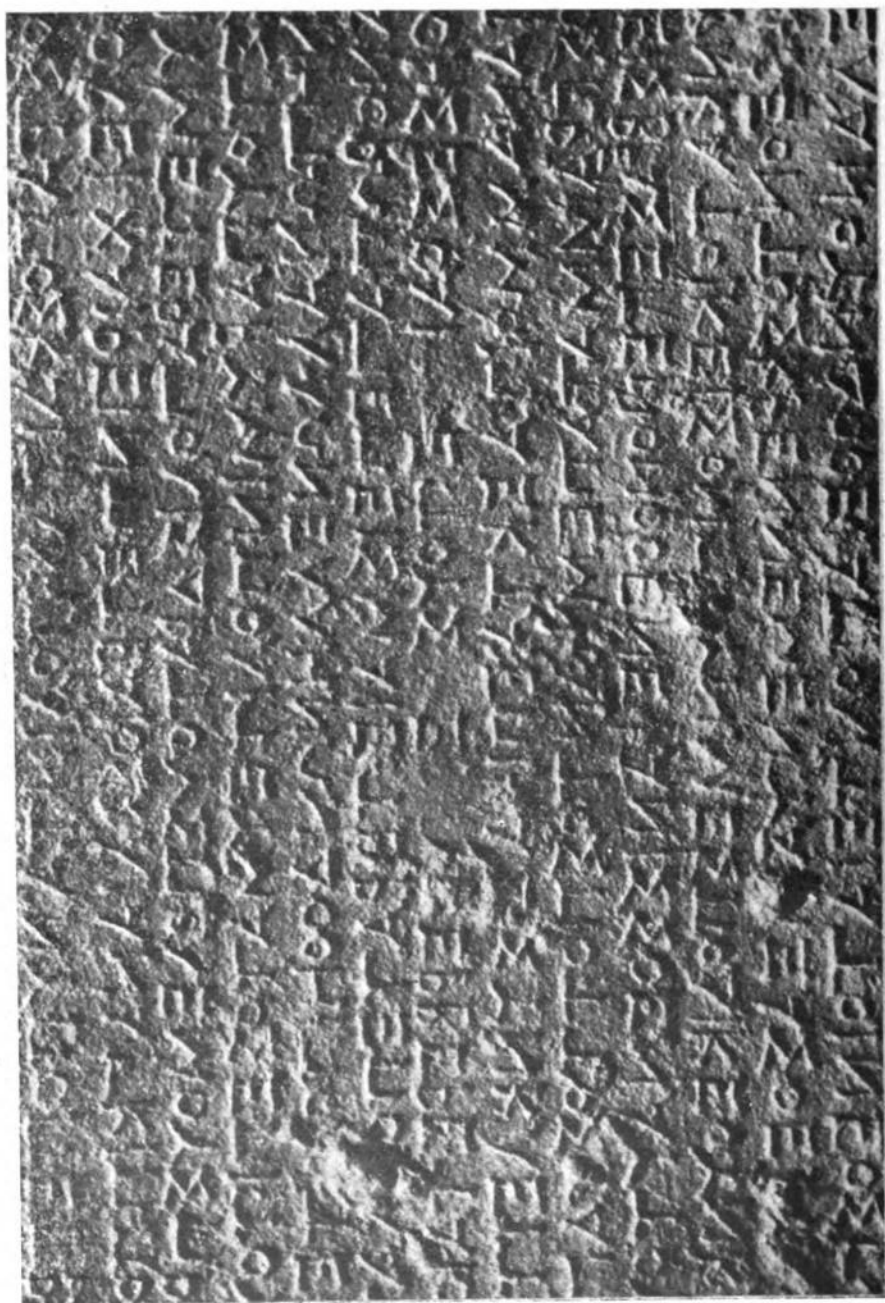
8. ANS. 16.77 gm. 9. ANS. 16.66 gm. 10. ANS. 16.80 gm. 11. ANS. 16.60 gm.
12. ANS. 16.83 gm. 13. ANS. 16.77 gm. 14. Naville XIII (1928), No. 564.
16.77 gm. Photographs courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

P. A. MACKAY



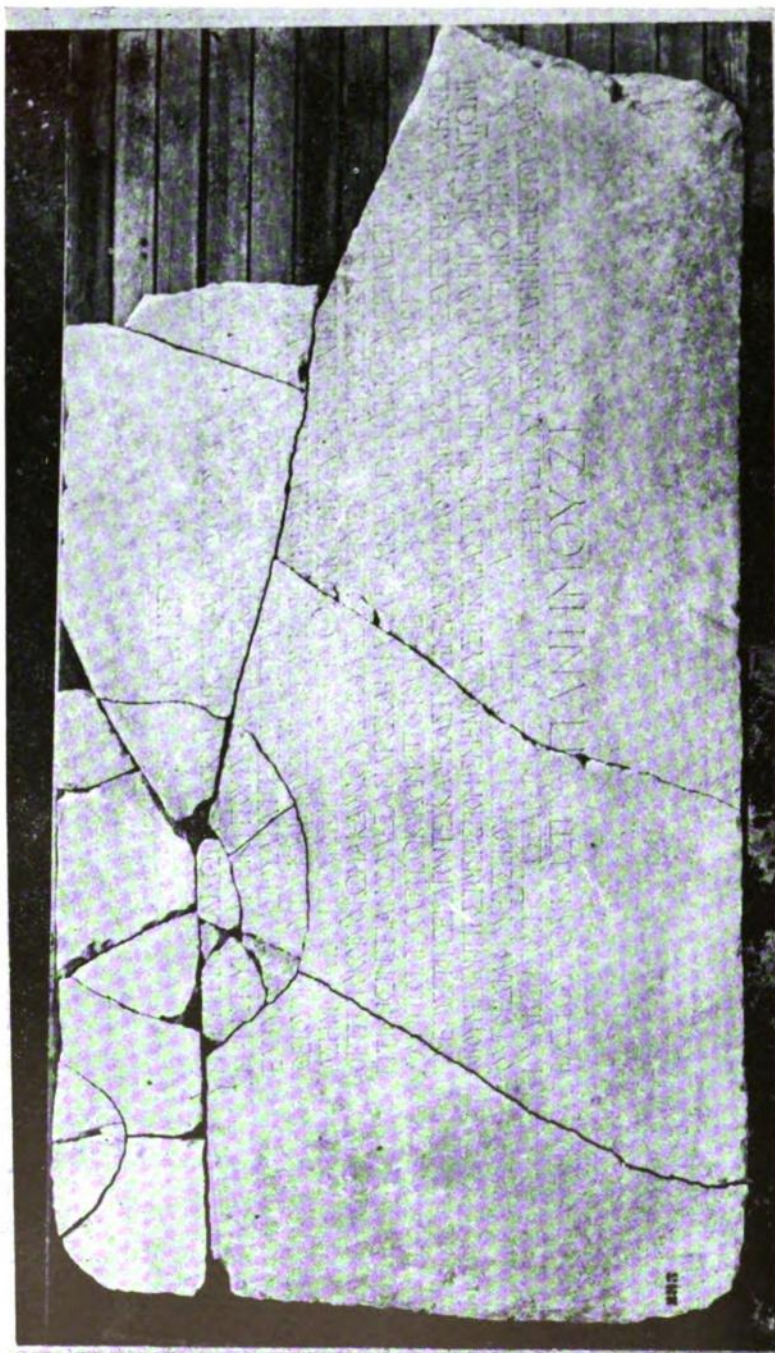
Proxenieurkunde aus Gonnos.

CHR. HABICHT



Brief Philipps V. Ausschnitt vom Abklatsch.

CHR. HABICHT



Ἐπιγραφή ἐκ Βερούας Β.

Ι. Η. ΤΟΥΡΑΤΣΟΓΛΟΥ



Frontispiece to novel «Cassandre» by Gauttier de Coste de la Calprenède.



Engraving by Charles Le Brun.

R. W. HARTLE



Painting by Mignard.

R. W. HARTLE



Painting by Charles Le Brun. Detail.

R. W. HARTLE



Drawing by Charles Le Brun.

R. W. HARTLE



Sketch by Charles Le Brun for the Grande Galerie de Versailles.

R. W. HARTLE